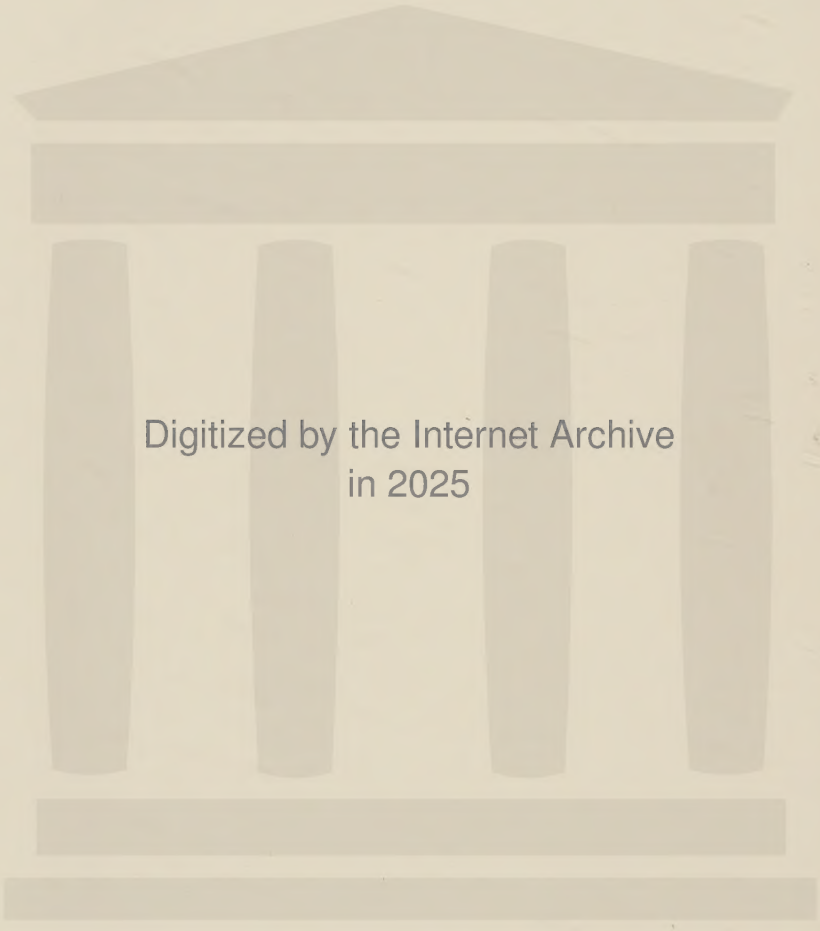
0 .T77 1902
ill, H. D. (Henry Duff),


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/socialengland0000hdtr_c9v0

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

SOCIAL ENGLAND

ILLUSTRATED EDITION—VOL. IV

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES THE FIRST TO THE DEATH OF ANNE

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

JAMES I.

(Hampton Court Palace.)

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

SOCIAL ENGLAND

A Record of the Progress of the People

In Religion, Laws, Learning, Arts, Industry, Commerce, Science, Literature and Manners, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day

EDITED BY

H. D. TRAILL, D.C.L.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

AND

J. S. MANN, M.A.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD

VOLUME IV

CASSELL AND COMPANY, LIMITED

LONDON, PARIS, NEW YORK & MELBOURNE. MCMIII

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

First Edition *September*, 1895
Reprinted 1897, 1901.
Illustrated Edition, 1903.

11568

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

CONTENTS.

PAGE

NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS ix
LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS li
PREFATORY NOTE (*J. S. Mann*) liii

CHAPTER XIII.

THE STUARTS AND THE NATION. 1603–1642.

THE RULE OF THE STUARTS: JAMES I. (*Arthur Hassall*) . . 1
THE RULE OF THE STUARTS: CHARLES I. (*Arthur Hassall*) . 10
THE ANGLICAN REACTION (*W. H. Hutton*). 24
PURITANISM AND NONCONFORMITY (*John Brown*) . . . 50
THE ARMY IN TRANSITION (*Arthur Hassall*) 57
THE NAVY (*W. Laird Clowes*) 62
EXPLORATION AND COLONISATION (*Charles Raymond Beazley*) . 70
ARCHITECTURE AND ART (*Reginald Hughes*) 89
NATURAL SCIENCE (*Thomas Whittaker*) 110
WITCHCRAFT AND ALCHEMY (*Robert Steele*) 118
THE UNIVERSITIES (*W. H. Hutton*) 123
LITERATURE (*George Saintsbury*) 130
THE ADVANCE IN AGRICULTURE (*R. E. Prothero*) . . . 159
THE GROWTH OF MANUFACTURE (*G. Townsend Warner*) . . 168
TRADE AND FINANCE (*J. E. Symes*) 180
PAUPERISM AND THE POOR LAWS (*W. A. S. Hewins*). . . 196
PUBLIC HEALTH (*Charles Creighton*) 205
SOCIAL LIFE (*Mary Bateson*) 214
SCOTLAND, 1584–1642 (*James Colville*) 236
IRELAND AND ENGLAND (*P. W. Joyce*) 266
AUTHORITIES, 1603–1642 277

CHAPTER XIV.

CIVIL WARFARE AND REPUBLICAN RULE. 1642-1660.

PAGE

THE COURSE OF THE CIVIL WAR (*A. L. Smith*) . . . 280
THE CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE (*A. L. Smith*) 296
THE LINES OF DIVISION (*A. L. Smith*) 302
THE ART OF WAR, 1603–1660 (*C. W. C. Oman*) . . . 313
THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE (*Arthur Hassall*). . 333
EPISCOPACY AND ITS ADVERSARIES (*W. H. Hutton*) . . . 343
PRESBYTERIANISM AND DISSENT (*John Brown*) 353
CROMWELL'S FOREIGN POLICY (*Arthur Hassall*) 362
THE NAVY (*W. Laird Clowes*) 367
INDUSTRY AND TRADE (*J. E. Symes*) 375
THE COINAGE (*Reginald Hughes*) 385
PHILOSOPHY (*T. Whittaker*) 388
NATURAL SCIENCE (*T. Whittaker*) 396
RELIGIOUS LITERATURE (*W. H. Hutton*) 398
SECULAR LITERATURE (*George Saintsbury*) 409
SOCIAL LIFE (*Mary Bateson*) 425
SCOTLAND (*James Colville*). 448
IRELAND, 1640–1660 (*P. W. Joyce*) 466
AUTHORITIES, 1642–1660 472

CHAPTER XV.

FROM RESTORATION TO REVOLUTION. 1660-1688.

POLITICAL HISTORY (*Arthur Hassall*) 474
CHURCH AND STATE (*Arthur Hassall*) 483
THE RESTORED CHURCH (*W. H. Hutton*) 488
THE DEVELOPMENT OF LAW (*F. C. Montague*) 497
THE ARMY (*G. Le M. Gretton*). 507
THE NAVY (*W. Laird Clowes*) 515
ARCHITECTURE AND ART (*Reginald Hughes*) 531
MUSIC (*W. S. Rockstro*) 548
NATURAL SCIENCE (*T. Whittaker*) 553
PHILOSOPHY (*T. Whittaker*) 560
THE UNIVERSITIES, 1642–1688 (*W. H. Hutton*) 562
THE CAROLINE DIVINES (*W. H. Hutton*) 572

PAGE

LITERATURE (*George Saintsbury*) 579
AGRICULTURE (*R. E. Prothero*) 600
MANUFACTURE AND MINING (*G. Townsend Warner*) . . . 608
ECONOMIC PRACTICE AND THEORY (*J. E. Symes*) . . . 621
MEDICINE AND PUBLIC HEALTH (*C. Creighton*) 630
THE COMPOSITION OF SOCIETY (*A. L. Smith*) 647
SOCIAL LIFE (*Mary Bateson*) 655
SCOTLAND (*James Colville*) 682
AUTHORITIES, 1660–1688 693

CHAPTER XVI.

THE END OF A DYNASTY. 1689-1714.

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM III. (*Arthur Hassall*) 696
THE REIGN OF ANNE (*Arthur Hassall*) 703
ENGLAND AND EUROPE (*Arthur Hassall*) 706
TAXATION AND FINANCE (*A. L. Smith*) 712
THE DIVIDED CHURCH (*W. H. Hutton*) 729
THE ARMY (*G. Le M. Gretton*). 740
THE NAVY (*W. Laird Clowes*) 750
PAINTING, SCULPTURE, AND COINAGE (*R. Hughes*) . . . 766
SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY (*T. Whittaker*) 770
LITERATURE (*George Saintsbury*) 781
THE PROGRESS OF MANUFACTURE (*G. Townsend Warner*) . . 794
PUBLIC HEALTH (*Charles Creighton*) 802
SOCIAL LIFE (*Mary Bateson*) 807
SCOTLAND (*James Colville*) 833
IRELAND (*P. W. Joyce*) 843
AUTHORITIES, 1689–1714 851

INDEX 853

COLOURED PLATES.

(*Brief Notes on some of these will be found with those on the remaining illustrations.*)

JAMES I., BY VAN SOMER (*Hampton Court Palace*) *Frontispiece*

FRUIT TRENCHERS OF THE JACOBEAN PERIOD (*British Museum*) . . . . . *To face page* 160

CHILDREN OF CHARLES I., BY VANDYCK (*National Portrait Gallery*) . . . . . „ „ 218

ARTILLERISTS AT WORK (*MS. Add.* 15,726) . . „ „ 316

SEAFIGHT IN A HARBOUR, BY VANDEVELDE (*Hampton Court Palace*) . . . . . „ „ 374

WILLIAM III. LANDING AT BRIXHAM (*From the picture* [*portion*] *at Hampton Court Palace*) „ „ 482

LIFEGUARDSMAN IN UNIFORM, 1661 (*Cannon's "Historical Records of the British Army"*) . „ „ 512

THE COMTESSE DE GRAMMONT (*Hampton Court Palace*) . . . . . „ „ 656

A WEDDING IN CAMP (*From the picture* [*portion*] *by Rugendas, at Hampton Court Palace*) . „ „ 742

POTTERY, LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (*Victoria and Albert Museum*) . . . . . „ „ 798

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

NOTES TO ILLUSTRATIONS.

Volume IV.

PAGE

James I., by Van Somer . . . . . *Frontispiece*

Painted about 1620; the Banqueting House at Whitehall (begun in 1619, finished in 1622) is seen through the window on the left. The painter died early in 1621.

Seal of James I. 2

The king wears the collar of the Garter, and is described as "by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland." On the reverse the royal arms, supported by a dragon and a greyhound.

A Proverb Applied 3

From an anti-monarchical pamphlet published under the Commonwealth. The cat is looking across at the frontispiece of the book, on which is a portrait of James I., with his motto, "Beati pacifici" (Blessed are the peacemakers—here ironical), and a famous prophecy as to the rulers of England from Henry VIII. to the Commonwealth: "Mars, Puer, Alecto, Virgo, Vulpes, Leo, Nullus" (a war-god, a boy, a Fury, a virgin, a fox, a lion, no one). James I. is, of course, the fox. The text contains hostile biographies of various Kings of England, especially of James I.

Conference of English and Spanish Plenipotentiaries in 1604 . 5

They met in old Somerset House, on August 18, 1604. to conclude a treaty of peace and commerce between James I. and Philip III. of Spain, with whom the Archduke Albert of Austria was associated in the treaty as Governor of the Netherlands. James bound himself to give no further aid to the Hollanders or other enemies of the king and the archduke, and in return English subjects trading abroad were exempted from molestation by the Inquisition. This was the beginning of the estrangement between England and Holland. The British Commissioners, beginning from the window, and on the spectator's right, are: Thomas, Earl of Dorset, Lord High Treasurer, holding his wand of office; Charles, Earl of Nottingham, who, as Lord Howard of Effingham, defeated the Spanish Armada; the Earl of Devonshire; the Earl of Northampton; and Robert Cecil, Viscount Cranborne, afterwards Earl of Salisbury. The Spanish Commissioners, on the spectator's left, are: Juan de Velasco, Constable of Castile and Leon; Juan Baptista de Tassis; Alexander Rovida, an eminent jurist. The Commissioners for the archduke and archduchess are Charles, Prince and Count of Aremberg; Jean Richardot, knight; Lodovic Verreyken, knight. (A fuller account of this picture will be found in the *Catalogue* of the National Portrait Gallery.)

One of King James's Guard 7

From a drawing in the album of Tobias Oelhafen von Schöllenbach, containing autographs, drawings, etc., collected by him in the years 1623–1625, during his travels in France, England, and the Low Countries. Such albums were common at this period and till much later.

PAGE

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF BOHEMIA 9

Daughter of James I. and wife of the Elector Frederick, King of Bohemia. The lock of dark hair falling to her left shoulder and the mourning band on her left arm are supposed to relate either to her champion, Christian, Duke of Brunswick, who died in 1626, or to her husband, who died in 1632. (Law, *Catalogue of the Pictures at Hampton Court.*)

KING CHARLES I. 11

The picture is possibly a replica of an original at Windsor, but by some authorities is regarded as itself the original. The figure walking is the king's equerry, M. St. Antoine, who was sent over with a present of six splendid horses for Prince Henry, son of James I., by Henry IV. of France. (Law, *op. cit.*)

GEORGE VILLIERS, FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, K.G., AND FAMILY 13

His wife, the daughter of the Earl of Rutland, holds on her lap the successor to the title, the poet and companion of Charles II. The eldest child, standing beside her, was afterwards Duchess of Richmond and Lenox.

THOMAS WENTWORTH, EARL OF STRAFFORD, K.G. 16

An old copy from a painting by Vandyck.

BUST OF JOHN HAMPDEN 17

In terra cotta ; sculptor unknown.

HEAD AND LIMBS OF AN APPRENTICE HANGED FOR TREASON . . 19

Prefixed to a ballad in the Roxburghe Collection on the execution of an apprentice who was hanged, drawn and quartered for using treasonable language in 1632. His name was John Stevens.

EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF STRAFFORD (by Hollar) 22

On the scaffold on Tower Hill he told the crowd that he had always believed Parliaments in England to be the happy constitution of the kingdom and nation, and the best means, under God, to make the king and his people happy ; and he further asked whether it were well that the beginning of the people's happiness should be written in tears of blood. Refusing to bind his eyes, he, after a prayer, spread forth his hands as a sign to the executioner, and the axe ended his life. (Dr. S. R. Gardiner in the *Dictionary of National Biography.*)

THE CHAPEL, HAMPTON COURT PALACE 27

Here Edward VI. was christened, and the body of his mother, Jane Seymour, lay for twelve days before her funeral. Queen Anne had the Gothic mullions taken out of the windows, a pavement laid down of black and white marble, and the carving, by Grinling Gibbons, put in. Law, *History of Hampton Court*, III., 184.

RICHARD BANCROFT, BISHOP OF LONDON (painter unknown) . . 29

THE "GUY FAWKES" CONSPIRATORS, 1605 31

The eight principal conspirators. R. Winter and Bates were executed in St. Paul's Churchyard, January 31, 1606 ; Guy Fawkes and T. Winter on the following day in Palace Yard, Westminster. Catesby, Percy, and the two Wrights were killed at Holbeach in Staffordshire while resisting arrest.

ALTAR RAILS IN GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL, ATTRIBUTED TO LAUD . . 33

These have been regarded as later in date than the Restoration, but there is no record in the Acts of the Cathedral Chapter as to any

PAGE

renewal of them at that period. The tradition of the cathedral ascribes their erection to Laud, who is known to have introduced rails for the communion table in the English Church. They are certainly Renaissance in style, very old, and with signs of later work. They are in the Lady Chapel. (This information has been kindly supplied by the Very Rev. the Dean of Gloucester.)

LANCELOT ANDREWES 35

PORCH OF THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY THE VIRGIN, OXFORD. . . 37

The University Church; built under the superintendence of Adam de Brome, and as a memorial of Queen Eleanor of Castile. John Henry Newman was its incumbent from 1834 to 1843. This porch, "a curious mixture of Gothic and rococo," as Mr. T. G. Jackson has remarked, was erected at the cost of Dr. Morgan Owen, one of Archbishop Laud's chaplains, at a cost of £230, and the image of the Virgin and Child gave material for one of the articles of Laud's impeachment. *Cf.* T. G. Jackson, *Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford*, 1897. The design is attributed to Inigo Jones, but was probably carried out and altered by one of the Stones. *Cf.* text, pp. 97–99.

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL 39

The spire, finished in 1221, and 520 feet in height, was struck by lightning and burnt down, together with the roof, on June 4th, 1561. The roof was completely restored by 1566, out of the proceeds of a subscription, headed by Queen Elizabeth; for a new steeple only drawings were made. In 1620, the church having suffered greatly from the coal smoke, James I. was induced to appoint a commission to consider the subject, but nothing was done beyond the purchase of some Portland stone, afterwards used by the Duke of Buckingham to build the watergate of York House (p. 98). The church was thoroughly restored in 1631–1632, when Laud was Bishop of London. It was, of course, intended to add a spire eventually (Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, ed. 1668, pp. 153–160). The inscription containing the name of Thomas Barlow indicates that he paid the cost of the engraving and presented it to the book.

THE TWO HOUSES OF CONVOCATION 42, 43

From a print entitled "A Venerable Aspect of both the Houses of Convocation of the Reverend Prelates and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, assembled by his Majestie's authority, first at St. Paul's, London, Februarie 13, 1623, thence removed to Westminster and there yet continuing this 23 of Aprill, 1624." The Upper House was assembled in Henry VII.'s Chapel, the Lower House "in another distinct place on the north side of Westminster Church." The Archbishop of York and the four Bishops of the Northern Provinces (apparently at the left corner of the table) are stated to be present, sitting not in their robes, but only in episcopal attire. The Archbishop of Canterbury heads the table, seemingly with the Bishops of Lincoln and London. The Prolocutor of the Lower House is Dr. John Young, Dean of Winchester. The letterpress appended states, however, that some absentees are shown as present.

LITTLE GIDDING CHURCH 47

The church, which was used as a barn when Ferrar's mother bought the manor in 1624, was repaired by him and "provided with everything necessary for that decency of divine worship which Laud was striving to introduce." It was spoiled by Puritans in 1647 and the community broken up, but was carefully restored in 1853. Some of Ferrar's

PAGE

church furniture has been recovered. (Bishop Creighton in *Dictionary of National Biography*.)

THE RECTORY, BEMERTON, WILTS 48

Herbert restored the building, and the garden contains a fig-tree and a medlar said to have been planted by him. On the front is this inscription, which he composed :—

"If thou chance for to find
A new house for thy mind
And built without thy cost,
Be good to the poor
As God gives the store,
And then my labour's not lost."

INTERIOR OF ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, LEEDS 49

A rare example of an entirely new church built and endowed at this period. It was provided by the munificence of one man, John Harrison, and is an interesting example of the Anglican reaction at this period. The masonry is nearly all late Gothic, the carving and woodwork Jacobean. Blomfield, *Renaissance Architecture*, I., 136.

SCROOBY MANOR HOUSE, NOTTS 53

Near Bawtry and Retford; identified, with practical certainty, by modern historians as the Puritan meeting place; the original authorities do not mention the name. It is now a farmhouse.

MRS. LUCY HUTCHINSON 56

A CULVERIN 59

From a MS. containing drawings of various kinds of cannon and their shot, which belong to the later years of Elizabeth's reign or the earlier part of that of James I.

PIKEMAN OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY 60

CUIRASSIER OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY 61

Interesting as some of the last examples in history of the use of armour in actual warfare.

PIKES 62

MODEL OF A SHIP, *TEMP.* JAMES I. 64

TITLE-PAGE TO SELDEN'S "DOMINION OF THE SEA" 65

THE *ROYAL SOVEREIGN*, DESIGNED BY PHINEAS PETT 68

THE *ROYAL PRINCE*, DESIGNED BY PHINEAS PETT. 69

VIEW OF ORMUZ, ABOUT 1570 72

THE COAST OF MASSACHUSETTS 75

THE COAST OF MAINE 77

These are sections of a map given in John Smith's "Generall History of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles" [Bermuda], 1624. Together they represent the coast from Cape Cod to the Penobscot, the "River Forth" being the Kennebec.

SMITH'S RESCUE BY POCAHONTAS 78

Smith was captured while exploring the river Chickahominy, and saved himself by exhibiting a mariner's compass to his Indian captors.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

PAGE

He was brought eventually before Powhatan, their "emperor," when two great stones were laid down and preparations made to dash his brains out on them; but Pocahontas, "the king's dearest daughter, when no entreaty could prevail, took Smith's head in her arms and laid her own upon his to save him from death." Powhatan relented, and ultimately brought Smith back to Jamestown.

POWHATAN'S HABIT 79

About 7 feet 2 inches long, by 5 feet 3 inches wide; made of two deer skins and adorned with "roanoake" shellwork, which is akin to the better known wampum, but made from West Indian shells —an instance of the extent of trade among the Indians at this period. The animals may represent some real animal of the region, depicted in the conventional manner of Indian picture-writing, or some mythical composite creature, such as other Algoaquin tribes are known to depict, according to Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, Part I., pp. 406, 416. Several Indian mantles are mentioned in the original catalogue of Tradescant's collection, which formed the nucleus of Ashmole's, but this alone remains. It may possibly have been presented by Captain John Smith himself. (E. B. Tylor in *Archiv für Ethnographie* (Leyden), I., p. 215.)

RELICS OF MILES STANDISH 83

Preserved at the "Pilgrims' Hall," Plymouth, Mass.

SCENE ON THE NORTH-EAST PASSAGE TO THE INDIES, 1594 . . . 87

From an account by the Dutch explorer, Linschoten, of his voyages along the Arctic coast of Europe as far as the Obi, in 1594 and 1595.

HATFIELD HOUSE, SOUTH FRONT 90

The manor had belonged to the Bishops of Ely, who had a palace here, rebuilt (of brick) by Cardinal Morton, *temp.* Henry VII. Part of this still survives, and is used as stables. Henry VIII. received the property from the see of Ely in exchange for other church lands seized at the Dissolution, and exchanged it in 1607 for Theobalds (nearer London) with Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, who rebuilt the house by 1611. The northern wing was burnt down in 1835, and the then Marchioness of Salisbury lost her life in the flames. It was rebuilt exactly according to the original plan.

TEMPLE NEWSAM 91

Near Leeds; on the site of a preceptory of the Templars. After the Order was suppressed it was given to Sir J. d'Arcy, whose descendant was beheaded for his share in the Pilgrimage of Grace. It then passed to the Earls of Lennox, and Darnley, husband of Mary Queen of Scots, was born in the house. The existing building was erected in 1612.

THE HALL STAIRCASE, CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD 93

This is stated to have been erected in 1640 for Dean Fell, by one "Smith of London." But it has been suggested that Smith may have used the drawings of Wolsey's architect, as the date is very late for Gothic architecture.

PORTAL OF THE BODLEIAN, BY THOMAS HOLTE (*see* text) . . . 94

DESIGNS FOR THE INNER COURT OF WHITEHALL PALACE . . . 95, 96

Preserved, with many other drawings by Inigo Jones, at Sir John Soane's Museum, Lincoln's Inn Fields. The Banqueting Hall, still extant as the United Service Museum, is the lower building on the

PAGE

left of the picture. The palace, which was never completed according to Inigo Jones's design, was burnt down in 1697.

ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING OF ST. PAUL'S, COVENT GARDEN . . 97

BRIDGE AT WILTON, DESIGNED BY INIGO JONES 97

THE WATER GATE OF YORK HOUSE 98

Built of Portland stone originally collected for the restoration of St. Paul's, *temp.* James I., but appropriated by the Duke of Buckingham, who was assassinated before the building of his great mansion had proceeded very far.

TOMB OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, WESTMINSTER ABBEY . . . 100

The queen was determined to falsify the prediction, fulfilled in the case of Edward VI. and Mary, that "no child of Henry VIII. should be buried with any memory," and this tomb was the result. For many years the monument was the best known of those in the Abbey. Stanley, *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, p. 153.

DANIEL MYTENS AND HIS WIFE, BY VANDYCK 101

COINS OF JAMES I. AND CHARLES I. 103, 105, 106

Page 103: The spur ryal of James I. was so called because the sun's rays on the reverse suggest the point of a spur. On the obverse, as also on the obverse of the angel, is "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." All the above coins are of gold. The rose ryal was worth 30s., and the spur ryal 15s. The farthing token was coined under a patent granted in 1613 to Lord Harrington of Exton, and is the first English copper coin. Page 104: The legend on the obverse of the gold 20s. piece or unite shows the change in the royal title to "King of Great Britain," etc., from "King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland" (*cf.* the sovereign, p. 105), which was made in the second year of the king's reign. That on the obverse ("I will make them into one nation") is based on Ezekiel xxxvii. 22. Page 105: The sovereign of James I. (*b*) belongs to his first issue of coins (*see* above as to change of title). On the reverse, "Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered." The rose ryal (*g*) is double the value of the spur ryal and has the same motto. The "laurel coin," a "unite" (*f*), is the first instance of a laurelled bust on English coins. James liked to pose as a Roman. The above coins are gold. On the silver crown of James I. (*a*) the motto is "What God hath joined together let no man put asunder." The plume indicates that the silver came from the Welsh mines near Aberystwith. Charles I.'s silver crown bears the motto "I reign with Christ as my patron." The plume above the shield indicates that the silver was Welsh, but the coin was struck at the Tower mint. The half-crown with the plume (*d*) was coined at Aberystwith mint (1637–1642). The Bristol unite (gold, *e*) was coined in 1645 at the Bristol mint (1643–1646). On the reverse is a scroll containing in an abbreviated form the legend "The Religion of Protestants, the Laws of England, the Liberty of Parliament"—a reference to the king's declaration to the Privy Council at Wellington, September 19, 1642. The Exeter crown (silver, *c*) was struck in that city at the mint existing there 1642–1645. Charles I.'s crown (silver, *h*) was struck by Nicholas Briot (*see* text), of Lorraine, by machinery, and not by the hammer process. So were the gold unite and angel on page 106. The motto on the obverse of the former is "United kingdoms flourish"—on which, as on the olive branch carried by the king on several of the coins shown, the state of England and Scotland during the period of their issue (1632–1636) affords a sufficient commentary.

PAGE

ENDYMION PORTER, BY DOBSON 109

This noted diplomatist and connoisseur in art had a Spanish mother and was brought up in Spain. He was employed in several diplomatic missions in that country, and was a devoted Royalist.

PART OF A PAGE FROM HARRIOT'S "ARTIS ANALYTICÆ PRAXIS" . 112

ASTROLABE OF 1574, WHICH BELONGED TO PRINCE HENRY . . . 113

SET OF "NAPIER'S BONES" 115

The rods serve as a calculating machine by which (through the aid of numbers and their multiples of these inscribed on them) multiplication and division, as well as the extraction of square and cube root, can be performed by addition and subtraction only. The invention, like that of logarithms, was described by its inventor as devised to do away with "the tediousness of calculations," but the elaborate numbering on the rods defies any attempt at concise description. An explanation will be found in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., Vol. XVII., p. 184.

WILLIAM HARVEY (painter unknown) 117

SCOLD'S BRANK, WITH TONGUE PIECES 119

Used either as a punishment for scolding women, or to prevent alleged witches from crying out while being burnt. The tongue pieces represent three degrees of punishment; one is quite smooth, the others spiked, so as to pierce the flesh when the mouth is opened. They fit into the front of the brank or bridle.

TWO WITCHES DISCOVERED 121

The frontispiece of Matthew Hopkins's "Discovery of Witches:" a defence, in the form of question and answer, to objections "which have been or are likely to be brought against him." In March, 1644, he states, seven or eight witches had their meetings every six weeks, on Friday nights, near his house, and offered their sacrifices to the devil. Hearing one of these witches bid her imps go to another witch, he had her seized and searched by women for certain well-known "witch-marks." These being found, the magistrate ordered that she should be kept awake for two or three nights, "expecting in that time to see her familiars, which the fourth night she called in by their several names," and told the watchers their shapes before they came in. This witch is shown on the spectator's left calling her familiar "Holt," the white kitten by her; "Vĭnegar Tom," "when this discoverer spoke to [him] and bade him go to the place provided for him and his angels," took the shape of a headless child of four years old, gave half-a-dozen turns about the house, and vanished at the door. Her other familiars are "Jarmara" (like a legless spaniel), "Sack and sugar," and "Newes." She then implicated other witches and named their familiars, "whose names no mortal could invent," and they were induced to call them up similarly. One of these, with the spirits whose names showed their diabolical origin, is on the right of the page. Hopkins, who seems to have believed in his own powers, undertook to clear a town of witches for 20s., expenses included. He promised not to accept confessions obtained by torture, promises, or leading questions; but his method above described probably caused more suffering than physical torture would.

A WITCH AND HER FAMILIARS 122

From an illustrated MS. of "Dæmonologia: a discourse on witch-craft as it was acted in the family of Mr. Edward Fairfax of Fuyston in the County of York in the year 1621." The author's two daughters,

PAGE

Helen, aged 21, and Elizabeth, aged 7, and a child of twelve, Maud Jeffray, fell into trances, in which they saw and audibly conversed with the devil and seven witches and their familiars. Six of the witches, who were known as residents in the neighbourhood, were prosecuted at York Assizes, but acquitted under direction of the judge, the evidence being insufficient. Fairfax, who was not an extreme believer in witchcraft, then published his narrative. It has been edited by William Grainge (Harrogate, 1882) and for the Philobiblon Society of London (1854). Imposture was suspected at the time, but the girls were probably subject to some nervous disease. The figures of birds seem to be merely decorative.

VIEW OF OXFORD ABOUT 1615 125

Taken from nearly the same place (above New Hinksey, to the W.S.W. of the city) as Turner's famous view.

NEVILLE'S COURT, TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE (*see* text) . . 126

THE GARDEN FRONT, ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD 127

Taken from the north.

BUST OF SIR THOMAS BODLEY 129

THE AUTHORISED VERSION: DR. JOHN RAINOLDS. 131

THE AUTHORISED VERSION: DR. THOMAS HOLLAND 132

THE AUTHORISED VERSION: JOHN KING, BISHOP OF LONDON . . 133

These three took part in the preparation of the new translation.

JOHN SELDEN (painter unknown) 137

SIR KENELM DIGBY (by Vandyck) 139

TITLE-PAGE TO CORYAT'S "CRUDITIES," 1611 141

The pictures are, more or less, burlesques of incidents of his travels. At top, on the left, Coryat crossing the Channel (a rough passage of seven hours); at the bottom of the same side (B), Coryat travelling in a cart between Montreuil and Abbeville (twenty miles—five hours); opposite on the right (C), saddle-horse awaiting him; on the left side, Coryat carried over the pass between Aiguebelle and Chambery in Savoy, in a *chaise à porteur* (D); opposite again, an adventure in Venice (E), a woman whom he had offended, pelting him with eggs as he left her house in his gondola; opposite, in the left-hand column (G), the result of trying to convert a Jew, also in Venice (this is a humorous exaggeration, as, according to the text, Sir Henry Wotton, the English Ambassador, passed the Ghetto in a gondola just in time to save Coryat from violence); above the other Venetian episode on the right (H), the indignant owner of a vineyard assaulting Coryat for helping himself to grapes; above this, Coryat's travelling dress (I), very much the worse for wear; below, in the centre, his portrait, with France, Italy, and Germany paying him doubtful compliments (L); at top, on the left, Coryat "lying in livery" with his horses unsaddled (M); on the right, "being in fear to be robbed, he most learnedly begs" (N). The pictures are explained in humorous distichs.

TITLE-PAGE TO BURTON'S "ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY," 1628 . . 144

RUINS OF BACON'S HOUSE, NEAR ST. ALBANS 146

The house is in Gorhambury Park, and was erected by Bacon in 1601. The present house dates from 1778.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

PAGE

BACON'S MONUMENT, ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, ST. ALBANS . . . 147

Erected by his friend and secretary, Sir Thomas Meautys; the resemblance is certified by the inscription "sic sedebat"—thus he sat.

BUST OF SHAKESPEARE, STRATFORD-ON-AVON CHURCH 148

This bust, attributed to Gerard Johnson, is "a rudely carved specimen of mortuary sculpture; the round face and eyes present a heavy, unintellectual expression, and it has no claim to be regarded as an accurate likeness" (Sidney Lee, in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*). Still, it and the portrait in the Folio of 1623 are the only representations of the poet that are fully authenticated (*ibid.*). *See* note on illustration, Vol. III., p. 717.

THE GLOBE THEATRE IN 1612 149

From a print reproduced by Wilkinson in 1810 from Visscher's large view of London, 1612. A patent to perform plays here was granted to William Shakespeare and others by James I., in 1603. The thatch of the building caught fire in 1612; it was burnt down, and a new theatre was erected in 1613.

PORTRAIT OF BEN JONSON (an old copy from Gerard Honthorst) . 150

GEORGE CHAPMAN 151

DEKKER DREAMING 152

From the frontispiece of "Dekker his Dreeme," a poem interspersed with prose passages, dedicated to Endymion Porter, and published in 1620. It is a vision of the Last Day and the final judgment of souls, in which, however, classic imagery is mixed with Christian. Mr. J. O. Halliwell, who reprinted the poem, thought that the portrait was almost certainly that of Dekker.

JOHN MILTON, FROM A MINIATURE 157

FRUIT TRENCHERS OF THE JACOBEAN PERIOD . . . *to face* 160

GOING TO MARKET (*see* note to illustration on p. 7) 160

TITLE-PAGE TO GERVASE MARKHAM'S "CAVALARICE," 1617 . . . 161

HOW TO LAY OUT A GARDEN 162

Gervase Markham (1568–1637), reputed "the first hack-writer," wrote books on horsemanship, horticulture, and drill, and was something of a poet. He seems to have bred horses, and is said to have been the first to import the Arab breed into England.

THE FENS UNDRAINED 165

THE FENS DRAINED 167

BRASS OF THOMAS HAMON, M.P., MAYOR OF RYE, 1607 169

The name indicates that he or his ancestors were of French extraction, probably refugees.

THE STEELYARD (OR STILLIARD) 171

Of this famous settlement of the Hanse Merchants (*cf.* Vol. I., p. 743, Vol. II., p. 523) the last relics were swept away by the construction of Cannon Street Station. Its history has been written by J. M. Lappenberg (*Urkundliche Geschichte des Hansischen Stahlhofs zu London*, 1851).

THE CLOTH MARKET, LEEDS, 1640 173

Demolished in 1890; part of the site (opposite the Midland Railway station) is now occupied by the General Post Office. The entrance was in Park Row

PAGE

An Alderman (*see* note to illustration on p. 7) 174

Winding off Silk 175

From a translation, published in 1607 by N. Geffe, of a work on silk and silkworms, by Olivier des Serres (1539–1619), Seigneur de Pradel, an eminent French nobleman of the sixteenth century, who devoted himself to the scientific study of agriculture, as a relief from the religious controversies of the time. His work on silk was published in 1599; his chief work, *Théâtre d'Agriculture*, in 1600.

Flax Dressing 177

From the most popular educational work of the great Moravian educational reformer, the Czech John Amos Komensky, better known as Comenius, the advocate of natural methods in education. One of his principles was that the teaching of words should always be conjoined with that of things, and this book contains elementary lessons in Latin, together with pictures of the subjects of the lessons. It was translated into many languages, and was for some time the most popular school book in Europe. Comenius was specially known in England from his efforts to start a college of science in London, which were cut short by the outbreak of the Civil Wars. Among the biographies of him the most convenient is that of Prof. S. S. Laurie (Pitt Press Series, 1899).

A Sussex Iron Foundry, 1636 179

One of the series of firebacks in Lewes Museum, of which examples have already been given, Vol. II., p. 552, and Vol. III., pp. 211, 748. This example represents Richard Leonard of "Bred Fournis" with his dog, trade mark, furnace and tools; and is interesting as being the only known representation of a Sussex iron foundry. (*Cf.* Starkie Gardiner in *Archæologia*, Vol. LVI.

Bakers at Work 181

From a MS. book of rules of the Company of Bakers, 1596. The double-page illustration, of which half is here given, shows the career of the virtuous apprentice. Below the original is the distich, "Whoso observeth these precepts well, In heaven shall have his place to dwell."

The Custom House, London (from the same view as the Steelyard) . 183

The English Merchants' House, Middelburg, Holland . . . 184

This house was purchased by the City of Middelburg in 1516 from one Andries Andriesz, and was eventually sold to Prince William of Orange, but repurchased in 1582 for 14,000 florins. The Scottish or English "Court," a community of merchants settled at Middelburg under a contract with the authorities dated September 25, 1582, had the house assigned to them for a residence. In 1621 these merchants quitted Middelburg, and one of the rooms was then assigned to the English Nonconformist refugees (presumably as a chapel), while the rest was taken over by the West India Company, so that the building came to be called the West India House. In 1636 part of it became a Mont de Piété, or public pawnbroking office, a function it still fulfils. A settlement of English merchants or "English House" at Middelburg is mentioned as early as 1512, but its site is unknown. The English (? Nonconformist) residents at Middelburg had the chapel of the building, called "Cellebroers," previously a factory of tapestry of some celebrity, assigned for their use in 1629. Other places of worship assigned to English use in Middelburg were the "Grothnerkerk" and the "Vischmarktkerk." The mention of Scottish merchants as using this house is probably an error, as the regular

PAGE

Scottish settlement was at Veere, near Middelburg. For the above information the Editor is indebted to the courtesy of Mr. W. O. Swaving, Gemeinde-Archivär, Middelburg.

CALICUT 185

THE ATROCITIES AT AMBOYNA (*see* text) 189

A SATIRE ON GILES MOMPESSON, MONOPOLIST (*see* text) . . . 193

(1) Mompesson approaching an inn; the landlady opposes, fearing he will threaten to cancel her licence in order to extort money; (2) Mompesson running away from a gaoler (after Parliament had dealt with him); (3) Mompesson after his punishment.

THE POOR MAN AND THE DEVIL (*see* text) 198

A ballad, published about 1630.

IN AN ALEHOUSE 199

From a ballad in praise of "the little Barleycorn," published *c.* 1645.

THE CUNNING NORTHERN BEGGAR 199

From a ballad of about 1635; he describes how he disguises himself as a cripple, a wounded soldier, a sailor plundered by the Dunkirk privateers, an epileptic, a blind man, or a victim of fire.

LIBERALITY (*see* note on illustration, p. 177) 203

ARCHBISHOP ABBOT'S HOSPITAL, GUILDFORD 205

Founded by the Archbishop in 1619 to set the poor to work.

NAVE OF OLD ST. PAUL'S (*see* note on p. 39) 207

A PRESCRIPTION AGAINST THE PLAGUE 210

THE PLAGUE IN LONDON, 1625 213

ANNE OF DENMARK, TRINITY HOUSE (probably by Zucchero) . . 215

JAMES I., PRINCE HENRY, AND A YEOMAN OF THE GUARD . . . 216

See note to illustration on p. 7.

THE EARL OF SOMERSET AND LADY ESSEX 217

CHILDREN OF CHARLES I. . . . . *to face* 218

Charles, Prince of Wales (afterwards Charles II.), aged 7, has his hand on the dog's head; Mary, mother of William III., aged 6, on the left; James (afterwards James II.), aged 4; Elizabeth, aged 2 (she died at Carisbrooke Castle); Anne, aged 1, who died in infancy. The original, by Vandyck, is at Windsor Castle.

SIR THOMAS OVERBURY 218

A LADY OF THE COURT OF ENGLAND (by Hollar) 219

DRESSES FOR MASQUES, DESIGNED BY INIGO JONES . . . 222, 223

The originals are at Chatsworth; these illustrations are reproduced from Peter Cunningham's *Life of Inigo Jones*, 1848.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY . . . 225

1, Clarion, a high-pitched trumpet. 2, French flageolet, a whistle-headed flute, played sometimes by ladies: Pepys (*Diary*, March 1, 1666) records that his wife had a master for it. 3, Virginal, specially a

PAGE

woman's instrument, whence probably its name. Its predecessor was the psaltery, a shallow box strung with wires, played by the fingers or a plectrum. In the Virginal the wires are plucked by a piece of leather or quill inserted into a slip of wood called the "jack." When the key is depressed the jack at the other end rises, and the string is sounded; on releasing the key the jack falls silently, and the string is muted by a piece of cloth. 4, Treble viol. 5, Tenor viol. 7, Bass viol (viol da gamba). The viol differs from the violin in having deeper ribs, a flat back, five, six, or seven strings, and "frets," or pieces of gut tied across the finger board, as in the lute and guitar. Viols were kept in "chests" consisting of two trebles, two tenors, and two basses. 6, Hunting horn. 8, Hautboy, or waight, the successor of the shawm, used by the peripatetic watchmen and waits.

A Promise and a Triumph 227

A passage in William Prynne's "Histriomastix," attacking stage plays, had been taken as a reflection on the queen's character, and he had been sentenced to imprisonment for life in the Tower, degradation from his degree, a heavy fine, and the loss of his ears (1634). In the Tower he wrote an unsigned attack on the Bishop of Norwich, as part of the penalty for which on June 30, 1635, he was pilloried with John Bastwick (charged with attacking the bishops) and Henry Burton, charged with preaching seditious sermons. His entry into London was the result of his petition for redress to the Long Parliament which cancelled the two sentences.

The Hall, Ludlow Castle 228

The castle, for many years the residence of royalty, was subsequently occupied by the Lord President of Wales and the Marches, and it was before the Earl of Bridgwater, the holder of that office, that Milton's *Comus* was first performed in this hall in May, 1633. *See* also note on illustration, Vol. II., p. 423.

The Burning of the Book of Sports (see *post*, note on p. 345) . . 229

Women's Dress under Charles I. (by Hollar) 231

A Lady Masked 232

Gloves of the Time of James I. 233

Costume of Lady and Child (*see* note on p. 122) . . . 235

Middle Class Costume under Charles I. 237

John Knox 239

Painter uncertain; on a panel.

The Door of the Old Tolbooth 241

When the old Tolbooth or jail of Edinburgh, made famous by the "Heart of Midlothian," was pulled down in 1817, the door was presented to Sir Walter Scott, and erected at Abbotsford, where it still remains.

Jenny Geddes's Stool 242

Given to the Scottish Antiquarian Society in 1818 by a Mr. J. A Watson, who asserted that it was used in the High Kirk of Edinburgh by Jenny Geddes, presumably as a missile. It is dated 1565.

Medal of the Union of the English and Scottish Crowns . 244

PAGE

TYPICAL SCOTTISH CASTLES 245

The simplest type of Scottish residential "fortalice" is the square keep, to which turrets and wings are added as the first step to comfort, but in the seventeenth century Scottish architects had progressed far beyond this. Glamis Castle, of which no extant part dates beyond the fifteenth century, was built chiefly between 1578 and 1615; it has been compared with Chantilly. Its site is associated vaguely with the murder of Duncan by Macbeth, more definitely with that of Malcolm II., and it contains the famous secret chamber, popularly supposed to be haunted, but in fact meant as a refuge in time of danger, the entrance of which is known only to the owner, the heir, and one other person to whom it is imparted. Craigston Castle, built 1604–1607, is described as consisting of a main block with two wings thrown out to the front, and joined by an arch surmounted by an ornate balcony. Wintoun House (1620), attributed to William Wallace, the first builder of Heriot's Hospital, shows considerable English influence; Pitreavie House (between 1615 and 1644) is "an advanced type of seventeenth century planning, and a perfect contrast to the tall, vaulted towers of the previous and even the same century." Macgibbon and Ross, *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, II.

MORAY HOUSE, EDINBURGH 247

Cromwell had quarters in this house, both before and after the battle of Dunbar. It is a good example of a sixteenth century town house, and is now a theological college.

THE TRON STEEPLE, GLASGOW 248

The name is derived from the "tron," or public weighing machine, which was on the ground floor till about 1850. The steeple belonged to the collegiate church of St. Thomas, built in 1525 and burnt down in 1793.

LAIRD'S GALLERY, PITSLIGO CHURCH, ABERDEENSHIRE . . . 250

Re-erected in the new church.

PANELS FROM CRAFTSMEN'S GALLERIES IN CHURCHES . . . 251, 252

The painting from Crail Church, Fifeshire, of a sailor using an astrolabe, was found about 1880, forming part of the floor of the church, but one of the parishioners remembered a time when it adorned the front of a gallery. Its date, however, is probably about 1756. There were originally six trades' lofts in Crail Church. Beveridge, *Churchyard Memorials of Crail* (privately printed), 1893. The galleries in Burntisland Church bore trade symbols till a restoration in 1822; those of the shoemakers and hammermen alone remain.

SACKCLOTH GOWN OF REPENTANCE (from the church of West Calder) . 253

RELICS OF DAILY LIFE 255

The tankard is etched with figures of goats feeding, and inscribed "J. Wolff, 1601." The wooden cup was found above the ceiling in Mary of Guise's house in Edinburgh. The candlesticks are of stone. One has a tailor's scissors and "goose" in relief and the date 1646. The spoons were found at Culrain, Ross-shire; two are dated 1617, and they are marked I.S.

A SCOTCHWOMAN.—THE BONNIE SCOT IN ENGLAND 257

The dress of the Scot corresponds fairly well with the text, but the illustration comes from a ballad published about 1690.

PAGE

SECTION OF A MAP OF SCOTLAND 261

From the great atlas, in eleven volumes, first published in 1662, of Jan Blaeu, a map maker of Amsterdam, whose father, Willem Blaeu, was even more distinguished as a maker of terrestrial globes.

THE DEMAND FOR SCOTTISH COAL 263

From a pamphlet entitled "Artificial Fire," London, 1644, giving illustrated directions for making what are now called briquettes from small coal. The author says that London ladies used formerly to dislike the use of coal for cooking or warming rooms; now it is indispensable, but the war has made it so scarce that a substitute must be found, so he has devised these. Scottish coal, he adds, must be mixed with the fuel to make it burn.

TOMB OF SIR GEORGE BRUCE, CULROSS CHURCH 265

Sir George Bruce of Carnock gave a great impulse to the prosperity of the town by establishing collieries and saltworks. On one occasion he took James I. down his mine and brought him up unexpectedly through the shaft, which was sunk in the Forth and enclosed in a circular wall. On emerging on to this artificial island the king suspected a conspiracy, and had to be prevented by hasty explanations from using his sword against his host. The monument is modelled on that of Lord Kinloss, Sir George's elder brother, in the Rolls Chapel.

SCOTTISH BRIDGES 267

The "Twa Brigs o' Ayr" are immortalised by Burns; the older bridge is in front. The Brig of Balgownie, two miles from Aberdeen, over the Don, was built by Bishop Cheyne, or by King Robert Bruce, about 1320, and is mentioned by Byron in "Don Juan." For Berwick, *see* the text.

AN IRISHWOMAN 269

GREENCASTLE, CO. DONEGAL 270

Erected 1305 by Richard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, to keep down the O'Dohertys and O'Donnells; granted to Sir Arthur Chichester in 1610.

CHARLEMONT FORT 271

From a MS. of coloured plans, by Nicholas Pynnar, entitled "State of the Fortes of Ireland as they weare in the yeare 1624." This fort was constructed by Lord Mountjoy in 1602, as a check on the Earl of Tyrone. Lord Caulfield, who erected stronger buildings, was seized and murdered here in 1642 by Sir Phelim O'Neill, who held the fort till 1650.

PAGE FROM THE "ANNALS OF THE FOUR MASTERS" 275

Showing the writing of Michael O'Clery.

HIBERNO-ROMANESQUE DOORWAY OF KILMORE CATHEDRAL 276

Brought from the ruins of Trinity Abbey, on one of the islands in Lough Oughter, and erected in the cathedral of Kilmore, when it was rebuilt as a memorial of Bishop Bedell in 1858–60.

CLOUGHOUGHTER CASTLE NEAR CAVAN 279

Bishop Bedell was confined in this castle, which is on an island in Lough Oughter, by the O'Reillys in the wars of 1641.

THE LAST OF THE STAR CHAMBER (see *post*, note on p. 345) 281

PRINCE RUPERT, BY SIR PETER LELY 283

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

PAGE

BATTLEFIELD OF ROUNDWAY DOWN, WILTS 284

Waller, who was besieging Devizes, withdrew to Roundway Down (above the town) in order to oppose a relieving force of cavalry under Wilmot, and charged down upon it, but was badly defeated, and his infantry were compelled to surrender.

THE HAMPDEN JEWEL 285

A cornelian set in silver, containing a "posy"—"Against my king I never fight But for my king and country's right." (The sense depends on the punctuation after "fight.") Webb, *Civil War in Herefordshire*, I., 143, *note*.

SIR WILLIAM WALLER (painter unknown) 286

BATTLEFIELD OF MARSTON MOOR, YORKSHIRE 287

The Parliamentary army, which was besieging York, marched out to the hill overlooking Marston Moor, seven miles west of the city, to engage the relieving force under Prince Rupert. He, however, evaded them, reached York, brought with him the beleaguered force, and appeared on the moor below them, inviting battle, but not attacking. For some hours the armies confronted each other till, between 6 and 7 p.m., the Parliamentary troops charged, taking their adversaries unawares at supper time, and completely routed them—at once on the centre and right, and eventually on the left also.

ACCOUTREMENTS OF CHARLES I. AND PRINCE RUPERT AT WISTOW HALL 291

Charles I. stayed here for a night after the battle of Naseby.

CORNET JOYCE 292

HOLDENBY HOUSE, NORTHANTS 293

Originally built for Sir Christopher Hatton by John of Padua, this became a royal residence under James I., and was afterwards the property of the great Duke of Marlborough. It has been rebuilt on a much smaller scale than the original, parts of which, however, have been incorporated with the present structure.

CARISBROOKE CASTLE 295

There was probably a fortress here in pre-Roman times; the oldest part of the present structure is Norman.

BRADSHAW'S BULLET-PROOF HAT 296

Bradshaw, who presided at the king's trial, expected to be shot at from the galleries of Westminster Hall, and wore this beaver hat, lined with steel, as a protection. S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, IV., p. 299.

EXECUTION OF CHARLES I. 297

He stepped on to the scaffold probably from the central window of the Banqueting House, Whitehall, attended only by Bishop Juxon. Colonels Hacker and Tomlinson, with the executioner and his assistant (both the latter masked), were also there. The scaffold was guarded by soldiers, the crowd being in sympathy with the king.

GENERAL HENRY IRETON. (By Robert Walker) 300

DEATH WARRANT OF CHARLES I. 301

Mr. W. J. Thoms (*Notes and Queries*, 4th S., X., pp. 1, 21, republished as a pamphlet) states that the warrant is in many of its important parts written over erasures and by a different hand, and concludes

PAGE

that fifteen of its fifty-nine signatures were attached later than its ostensible date, to get a good show of support for the execution. He adds that, even if the trial was legal, the execution under such a document certainly was not.

OLIVER CROMWELL (by Samuel Cooper) 303

THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY, EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON (by Sir Peter Lely) 306

LUCIUS CAREY, VISCOUNT FALKLAND (by Vandyck) 307

Though the portrait is inscribed "Henry Carey," no doubt seems to be entertained that this is Lucius Carey, not his father Henry, the first Viscount.

PARLIAMENTARIAN HELMETS 310

Found in digging the foundation of houses in Maidstone; doubtless relics of its storming by Fairfax. From the back part they are known as "lobster-tailed."

MAP ILLUSTRATING THE CIVIL WARS 311

BRISTOL IN 1670 (from a contemporary plan) 312

SIR JACOB ASTLEY (Sutherland Collection: *see post*, note on p. 477) . 313

FIGURES FROM NEADE'S "DOUBLE-ARMED MAN" (*see* text) . . 314, 315

ARTILLERISTS AT WORK . . . . . *to face* 316

From a French MS., entitled "Description entière de ce en quoy principalement consiste l'Artillerie et équipages d'icelle." Prefixed is an order of the Grand Master of Artillery, Maximilien de Béthune, Marquis de Rosny, dated "Au Camp de Mans, le 2e Août, 1620." The MS. also contains coloured drawings of artillery on the march, of the appliances used for the wounded, and of the arrangements for saying mass on active service.

POSITIONS DURING THE SIEGE OF THE ILE DE RHÉ 316

Buckingham landed at the south-east point of the island, and eventually, after failing to reduce the fort of St. Martin, re-embarked from the east point of the Ile de Loix. He arrived on July 10, and left on October 30

PIKEMAN OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY 317

MUSKETRY DRILL 319

DRAGOONS FIRING FROM HORSEBACK 321

From a broadsheet signed by Nathaniel Burt, which contends that dragoons may do good service by firing without dismounting: (1) by hanging on the rear of a retreating enemy, the files being in open order; the front rank then fires, the second passes up through it and fires in its turn, and so on; or (2), when themselves retreating, the rear rank facing about, delivering its fire, and then wheeling for the next rank to do likewise. The whole shows that the dragoons were generally regarded merely as mounted infantry.

NATHANIEL FIENNES 323

This portrait is the only known representation of the costume of an officer under the Commonwealth.

HOPTON CASTLE, HEREFORDSHIRE 325

Near the Shropshire border. With Brampton Bryan House (text, p. 436), it was a refuge for sympathisers with the Parliament, and was defended by Samuel More of Linley with only thirty-one soldiers

PAGE

against a greatly superior Royalist force, partly consisting of Irish, under Sir Michael Woodhouse, from February 18 to March 13, 1643. They were then forced to capitulate, and were all barbarously massacred. T. W. Webb, *Civil War in Herefordshire*, I., 387.

AN ARMY IN FORMAL BATTLE ARRAY 327

This illustration represents the formal order of battle of a small army of eighteen squadrons of horse, ten and a half regiments of foot, and eighteen guns. (Hutham's regiment is incomplete, having only half the force of the other ten.) It will be noticed that there is an advanced guard of a regiment of foot ("The Gards"), three squadrons and six guns. Then comes the first line, divided according to the old fashion into "Main-Battail," "Rearguard" and "Vanguard" The latter terms only mean left and right wing respectively, and have no real sense except for marching. There are second and third lines, the former composed of three and a half regiments of foot, the latter of three. In each corps the pikemen are drawn up in front of the musketeers. The horse is formed in equal halves on the flanks of the foot, and the main force of artillery, twelve guns, with an escort of one squadron of horse, is in rear of all. The names above the regiments are those of their colonels. The whole is a scheme (never really carried out) for Charles I.'s army against the Scots in 1639. For the above note the Editor is indebted to Prof. Oman.

PARLIAMENTARY STANDARDS 328, 329

From a print entitled "The Devises, Mottoes, etc., used by the Parliament officers on standards, banners, etc., in the late Civil Wars, taken from an original MS. done at that time, and now in the hands of Mr. Benjamin Cole, of Oxford."

ROYALIST STANDARDS 330

From a sheet published in 1722, and intended to accompany Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion."

SOLDIERS OF THE "NEW MODEL" 331

Carved in oak on the staircase of Cromwell House, Highgate.

MEMORIAL RINGS OF CHARLES I. 333

GREAT SEAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH 335

On the obverse a map of the British Isles, with a fleet of warships; on the reverse the House of Commons in session.

SEAL OF OLIVER CROMWELL AS PROTECTOR 337

On the obverse the symbols of England, Scotland, and Ireland, below an escutcheon with a lion rampant, the arms of Cromwell. Below a motto, "Peace is sought by war." On the reverse the Protector on horseback, with view of London.

OLIVER CROMWELL PREACHING 339

From a Dutch print; probably referring to the story that Cromwell preached after the battle of Worcester, September 3, 1651. The Protector wears a triple crown, surmounted by a plume of peacock's feathers; he apparently has a tail, so that he combines papal and diabolical characteristics; a spirit is by his side, adjuring him; a battle (of Worcester?) is seen through one window, a conference on the seashore through the other; on the panel of the pulpit Charles I rising from the grave, and presenting a book to Cromwell.

CAST OF OLIVER CROMWELL'S FACE 341

Stated to be from a wax original at Warwick Castle. A similar "death mask," the authenticity of which has been questioned, is exhibited at the British Museum.

PAGE

SEAL OF RICHARD CROMWELL AS PROTECTOR 342

The face is slightly altered from the seal used by his father, as is also the inscription on the reverse.

ICONOCLASM 345

From a Puritan pamphlet, published in 1648, entitled "The True Information of the beginning and cause of all our troubles," containing a grossly exaggerated account of the behaviour of the English army on their march to York in 1639, as depicted here. Some of the illustrations in the pamphlet, including that here given, are ascribed to Hollar, others are clearly not by him.

PULLING DOWN CHEAPSIDE CROSS (from the same pamphlet) . . 346

THE SECTARIES AND THE BIBLE (from a satirical print of 1641) 347

EXECUTION OF ARCHBISHOP LAUD AND OTHERS (by Hollar) . . 349

From the pamphlet mentioned above, in the note to p. 345.

ARCHBISHOP JUXON (by Vandyck) 352

VARIETIES OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND PRACTICE, 1644 355

The Familists were members of the "Family of Love," an Anabaptist sect, possibly of Dutch origin, whose tenets were introduced into England, probably by one Henry Nicholas, in the reign of Edward VI. But severe measures had been taken against them in 1580, and they seem to have nearly died out at this date. The Adamites of this period are hardly identifiable: a sect of the name existed in the second century, and attempts to return to a state of primitive innocence in costume (accompanied with a profession of sinlessness) have been made by eccentric religionists down to our own time. The Libertines were Antinomian Anabaptists; the Seekers denied that any true Church existed, and professed to expect one. The Divorcers "would be quit of their wives for slight occasions."

A PROTEST AGAINST TOLERATION 357

The legend in the mouths of the figures and the text beneath indicate a fear that the Independents will put down Presbyterianism if tolerated at all.

A PERSECUTED QUAKER 360

Attributed to Hollar in Parthey's Catalogue, but very doubtful.

A QUAKERS' MEETING (from a satirical print) 361

DUNKIRK ABOUT 1641 (from Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, 1641–1644) . 365

A SATIRE ON THE NAVIGATION ACT OF 1652 369

From a contemporary Dutch print entitled "A Curious Game of Backgammon." Cromwell, with a collar of deaths' heads and cross-bones, in allusion to the execution of Charles I., expresses his satisfaction at his first throw of the dice. Holland, opposite, remarks. "It may change;" Spain, with folded arms, says, "I rest;" France, seated at the table, expresses inability to play again; Denmark proposes to play; Scotland says, "It is not lost;" Ireland declares for Holland; Portugal gives up playing. The jesters are ridiculing the war. Cromwell's Navigation Act led to war with Holland; Spain could rest, as her old enemies were engaged; France gave way to Cromwell, while Denmark took part by intercepting a fleet laden with ammunition for England; Scotland and Ireland were desirous of siding with Holland through their hostility to Cromwell; Portugal preferred to keep out of war and attain her ends by treaties. *Cf. Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires* [Prints] *in the British Museum*, I., No. 844. The letters refer to the accompanying Dutch text.

PAGE

ROBERT BLAKE (as a young man; afterwards Admiral) 371

Bought by Wadham College (of which Blake was a member) in 1826. "Its authenticity rests on tradition, which may be said to be confirmed by internal evidence" (J. Wells, *Wadham College*), and it is at any rate one of the two best attested portraits of the hero. Prof. J. K. Laughton, however, doubts if cravats were yet worn in England when Blake was young (*Dict of National Biography*).

MICHAEL ADRIENSZOON DE RUYTER (by Blooteling) 372

GEORGE MONK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE 373

SEAFIGHT IN A HARBOUR, BY VANDEVELDE . . . . . *to face* 374

One of a series of five pictures, of which four are at Hampton Court, depicting engagements at morning, noon, sunset, and night.

MEDAL FOR THE NAVAL ACTIONS OF 1653 374

These medals were issued in commemoration of the naval victories over the Dutch in February, June, and July, 1653, and were presented to Blake, Monk, Penn, and Lawson. Smaller medals of similar device, but with less decoration, were presented to the flag officers and captains engaged. This is the first English example of such a presentation.

BILBOES (one end locks to the floor, the other confines the ankles) . . 375

TOKEN COINS OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE . . . 376

Under the Commonwealth there was no official copper currency, and tokens, issued by tradesmen or others, supplied its place. This example bears the arms of the Cobham family, whose seat is near Rochester. The farthing was officially coined under the Protectorate.

MAP OF CONNECTICUT AND NEW YORK IN 1666 380

MANASSEH BEN ISRAEL (by Rembrandt) 382

A DEBTORS' PRISON (from a broadside of 1644) 384

COINS OF THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD, COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE 386, 387

Page 386: Commonwealth twenty shilling gold piece. "Broad" of the Protectorate, 1656; motto on the reverse, "Pax quæritur bello" (peace is sought by war), with the arms of the three kingdoms and of the Lord Protector. Page 387: *f*, £3 piece, struck in 1643, at the mint set up in New Inn Hall, Oxford. The quotation on the reverse is from Psalm lxviii. 1, and the inscription ("The Protestant Religion, the Law of England, the Liberty of Parliament") has reference to the king's declaration to the Privy Council at Wellington, on September 19th, 1642. The gold of these pieces is said to have come largely from the Welsh mines. *a*, Silver crown from Shrewsbury mint, with a similar inscription. *e*, Gold crown from York mint, marked EBOR. *c*, Colchester piece (unique) with gateway of Colchester Castle. *d*, Siege-piece of Beeston Castle, value fourteen pence, with the gateway (or, according to some authorities, of Lathom House). *b*, Lozenge-shaped shilling of Pontefract, with view of castle and motto "Dum spiro spero" (While I breathe, I hope).

TITLE-PAGE TO HOBBES'S "LEVIATHAN" 389

This embodies Hobbes's theory that the State is essentially a Person composed of all its members, who have so completely surrendered their own wills to it as to render it absolutely despotic over them. The State is also the Church, in his view, and temporal power involves spiritual supremacy. The compartments on each side are emblematic of civil and ecclesiastical power respectively. The fourth on the right side represents the then discredited logic of the medieval

PAGE

schools, and the fifth a meeting of Jesuits. Hobbes's theory of the State necessarily made him as hostile to Romanism as to Republicanism.

THOMAS HOBBES (by John Michael Wright) 393

THE GATEWAY, WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD 397

The philosophical club, which developed into the Royal Society, met first at Wadham College, and, according to tradition, in the rooms over this gateway. Mr. J. Wells (*Wadham College*, 1898), however, decides that the meeting took place in one of the rooms of the present lodgings of the Warden.

KING CHARLES THE MARTYR 399

WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH (Sutherland Collection: see *post* on p. 447) . 401

THOMAS FULLER 403

TITLE-PAGE TO THOMAS FULLER'S "HOLY WARRE" (the Crusades) . 405

ILLUSTRATION TO JEREMY TAYLOR'S "HOLY DYING" 406

Probably the clergyman is Jeremy Taylor himself, and the lady the Countess of Carberry, whose funeral sermon he preached. The quotations are from James v. 23, and (modified) from Matt. xxiv. 42.

RICHARD BAXTER (painter unknown) 408

SIR THOMAS BROWNE 411

From his "Pseudodoxia Epidemica," sixth edition.

SIR JOHN SUCKLING (attributed to Dobson) 415

SIR WILLIAM DUGDALE (painter unknown) 418

MONUMENT OF ARCHBISHOP TILLOTSON 421

TOMB AND EFFIGY OF ROBERT SOUTH 423

SAINTS AND SINNERS 427

THE SOLDIER'S POCKET BIBLE 428

Texts from Scripture selected and arranged under headings, to illustrate the obligations of a soldier: *e.g.* "A souldier must not doe wickedly . . must be valiant for God's cause . . must denie his own wisedome, his own strength, and all provision for war . . must pray before he goes to fight," etc.

THE BULL- AND BEAR-BAITING RINGS, BANKSIDE 429

Bear-baiting was prohibited by James I. on Sundays, and stopped altogether at the end of 1642, partly on the ground of the troublous times, and partly because the keeper of the bear-garden had resorted to intimidation to secure signatures to a petition in favour of peace.

OLIVER CROMWELL DISSOLVING THE LONG PARLIAMENT . . . 431

The Protector is accompanied by Lambert, Cooper, and Strickland; he is also represented as driving out with the mace a strange bird, presumably emblematic of the Parliament. General Worsley is directing the clerks to remove the books, and Harrison is dragging the Speaker from his chair. The poodle is probably a caricature of the British lion. The owl is said to be a satire on the committeemen of the time. (*Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires* [Prints] *in the British Museum*, I., No. 858.)

PAGE

ELIZABETH, MOTHER OF OLIVER CROMWELL 434

Her maiden name was Steward; she has been supposed to have been of kin to the Stuart kings, but the family is only traceable to certain Stywards of Norfolk.

ELIZABETH, WIFE OF OLIVER CROMWELL 435

She was the daughter of Sir James Bourchier, a city merchant; the portrait was reproduced by the Protector's descendant and namesake, in his "Memoirs of the Protector, and of his Sons Richard and Henry," published in 1821.

CASTLES DEFENDED BY THEIR CHÂTELAINES 437

For Brampton Bryan *see* the text. Corfe Castle was approached by a force of seamen from Poole in 1643, charged to demand from Lady Bankes (Sir John being with the king) the surrender of the four small cannon which formed its armament; but the five men in the castle, with the maid-servants, mounted the guns and put the seamen to flight. The castle was soon after besieged by a force of some 600 men, who were repeatedly driven back by the garrison of 80 (furnished by Prince Maurice). In their last (nocturnal) assault, the upper ward of the castle was successfully defended by Lady Bankes herself, "with her daughters, women, and five souldiers." The besiegers hastily retired on August 4. A second siege took place in 1645–6, and was only terminated by the treachery of one of the defenders. Lady Bankes, with her children, was allowed to depart in safety. Wardour Castle was held for the king in May, 1643, by Lady Arundel of Wardour and 25 men against a force of 1,300 during a five days' bombardment, Lord Arundel being with the king at Oxford. The garrison surrendered when the besiegers prepared to blow in the door with petards. Colt Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, Dunworth, p. 157, quoting from a writer in *Mercurius Rusticus*, 1685.

A FUR TIPPET, 1645 439

Several drawings of muffs and furs were done by Hollar, presumably as *tours de force*.

A CAVALIER OF 1646 440

From a print, with sarcastic description in verse, entitled "The Picture of an English Anticke," and dated 1646.

VIRGINAL OF 1651, FROM YORK MUSEUM 441

On the origin of the virginal *see* above, note to illustration, p. 225.

COSTUME OF CAVALIERS AND ROUNDHEADS 442

From "A Dialogue or rather a Parley between Prince Rupert's Dog Puddle and Tobie's Dog Pepper," 1642, which ridicules each party, but ends by the conversion of the Puritan dog to Cavalier principles. "Tobie's Dog" describes himself as "Tobie's housedog, the dog which Walker the Ironmonger so often commends for a mannerly and well-bred dog in his several Tub-lectures."

POSTBOY 443

A woodcut decorating the first page of the *London Post*, an early newspaper, of February 4–11, 1646.

ADVERTISEMENTS FROM "MERCURIUS POLITICUS." 1658 . . 445, 446

THE TEMPLE, FROM THE THAMES 447

PAGE

DUNS LAW 449

The Scottish army under Leslie was encamped here in 1639, and as it barred the progress of the British forces, negotiations began, and resulted in the pacification of Berwick.

CHARLES II. AND THE KIRK 451

A Scottish minister compels the king to stoop while "Jockie," *i.e.* the Scottish layman, turns the handle. The print is on a broadside, entitled "Old Sayings and Predictions verified and fulfilled touching the young King of Scotland and his good subjects." The lines appended predict that Charles will "a Presbyterian brother be, And vow to ratifie their Hierarchie. . ."

"But this religious mock we all shall see
Will soon the downfall of their Babel be."

JAMES GRAHAM, MARQUIS OF MONTROSE 452

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE EXECUTION OF MONTROSE . . . 453

To be worn by his partisans and friends as a memorial.

MOUND FROM WHICH CROMWELL RECONNOITRED THE ENEMY'S POSITION AT DUNBAR 455

Cromwell, having failed to engage the Scottish army near Haddington, and finding his troops suffering much from sickness and difficulty in obtaining supplies, decided to occupy Dunbar as a stronghold and magazine. The Scottish troops followed him and barred his way just beyond the town, occupying Doon Hill, which commands the way southwards, and then descending to the right bank of the Broxburn, apparently intending to attack the English should they attempt to embark any of their forces. Cromwell and Lambert, reconnoitring the new position from the mound shown, which is in the grounds of Broxmouth House, decided that it gave an opportunity for attack in front and flank, which they took next day, September 3, 1650, and routed the greatly superior forces of the enemy. Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, I., pp. 324–327.

THE OLD STEEPLE, DUNDEE 457

Built about the middle of the fourteenth century, though popularly ascribed to the twelfth; 156 feet in height. When General Monk attacked the town in 1651, the Royalist garrison held the tower until smoked out by a fire of burning straw. It was restored in 1872.

SEAL OF SCOTLAND UNDER THE PROTECTORATE 458

The obverse is similar to that of the seal of Oliver Cromwell for England (p. 337), except that the arms are a saltire of St. Andrew for Scotland, and over all an escutcheon charged with the arms of Cromwell. The view on the reverse may be Edinburgh from the south-east.

BRANKS (*cf.* note on illustration, p. 119) 461

CAP AND GOWN OF ALEXANDER HENDERSON 463

He was one of the most conspicuous opponents of Laud's attempt to introduce a service book into the Scottish Church, and he drafted the Solemn League and Covenant. He died in 1646.

HERIOT'S HOSPITAL, EDINBURGH 465

Founded by George Heriot in 1628 as a school for poor and fatherless boys, but not completed till 1650, and then used as a hospital for

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

PAGE

Cromwell's soldiers after the battle of Dunbar: it was first used as a school in 1659. The design has been attributed, without evidence, to Inigo Jones, but was more probably the work of William Aytoun or William Wallace, who were concerned in building the edifice. It is a striking example of Scottish Renaissance architecture.

ENGLISH SOLDIER RAISED FOR SERVICE IN IRELAND 467

From a broadside published in 1642, entitled "The English Irish Souldier with his new discipline, new Armes, old Stomacke, and new taken pillage: who had rather eate than fight." The soldier carries a hayfork and string of sausages instead of his musket and match, and wine-bottles instead of bandoliers. Charles I.'s Irish army is known from other sources to have plundered the civil population.

IRISH ATROCITIES OF 1641 468

From a work of 1647, entitled "Ireland: a booke, together with an exact mappe, of the most principal towns, great and small, in the said Kingdom," and purporting to contain also "A true description of . . the perfidious outrages and barbarous cruelties which the Irish Papists have committed upon the persons of the Protestants . . since A.D. 1641." The illustrations are attributed to Hollar, and exemplify a means of inflaming English feeling against the Irish people in general, which has been, unhappily, common down to the present day. For "we must not suppose that outrages were confined to the rebels. There were wholesale murders also on the other side; and the numbers of the Irish that were killed all over the country in places where there had been no rising far exceeded those of the settlers that had fallen victims in Ulster. . . . The two lords justices sent parties of military from Dublin through the county all round, who massacred all the people they met, whether engaged in rebellion or not. Their general, Sir Charles Coote, committed horrible excesses, especially in Wicklow, surpassing the worst excesses of the rebels, killing and torturing women and infants, as well as men. In Munster, Sir William St. Leger slaughtered vast numbers of innocent persons." (Dr. P. W. Joyce, *A Child's History of Ireland*). The Irish, however, had no means of making known their side of the case. It must be added that the responsibility for the insertion of these, as of other illustrations, rests with the Editor and Publishers only.

MAGDALENE STEEPLE, DROGHEDA 469

The battlements still show the damage done by Cromwell's cannon. The tower was part of a Dominican abbey founded in 1224.

CHARLES II. RIDING TO HIS CORONATION 473

From a print of 1661: the Duke of York and the Lord Chancellor are in front.

CHARLES II. (by Mrs. Beale) 475

ANTONY ASHLEY COOPER, FIRST EARL OF SHAFTESBURY (by Sir P. Lely) 476

THE ATTACK ON CHATHAM BY THE DUTCH IN 1667 477

From a print by Romeyn de Hooghe in the great collection of over 19,000 prints at the Bodleian, contained in several "Grangerised" books, including Clarendon's History of the Rebellion and Burnet's *History of My Own Times*. The collection was begun by Mr. A. H. Sutherland and continued by his widow, who presented the whole to the Bodleian.

THE FLIGHT OF JAMES II. 479

PAGE

MEETING OF CHARLES II.'S FOURTH PARLIAMENT, 1680 480

From a ballad entitled "Long lookt for come at last," which expresses the hope that traitors will receive their due, no doubt with reference to Danby, Lauderdale, and other unpopular ministers. *Roxburghe Ballads*, ed. Ebsworth (Ballad Society) IV., p. 192.

MEDAL SATIRISING THE RYE HOUSE PLOT 481

On the obverse Charles II., as Hercules, wards off with his hand the Hydra, which is threatened by a hand above armed with thunderbolts. The legend signifies "They shall perish by a stroke of lightning." On the reverse a shepherd watching his flock, with two wolves (Algernon Sidney and Lord William Russell) hanging on a gibbet. The motto, from Virgil, Eclogues I., 6, signifies "God hath given us this repose." The seven heads of the Hydra are those of the Duke of Monmouth, Lord William Russell, Hampden, Algernon Sidney, the Earl of Essex, Lord Howard, and the Devil.

WILLIAM III. LANDING AT BRIXHAM (artist unknown) . . *to face* 482

The date was November 5, 1688, not February 5, 1689, as stated on the picture. "Every incident of the landing as detailed by Macaulay is depicted here" (Law, *Catalogue*).

THE SEVEN BISHOPS ON THEIR WAY TO THE TOWER 483

The engraving is in the Crace Collection at the British Museum.

THE WHIG RAMPANT 485

From a ballad in the Roxburghe Collection (II., 517) published in 1682, exulting ironically in the approaching restoration of Puritanism and a republic.

LORD CHANCELLOR JEFFREYS TAKEN IN WAPPING 487

A CONVENTICLE, AND ITS DANGERS 489

THE SAVOY IN THE TIME OF JAMES II. 490

THE DEAN OF WESTMINSTER.—PREBENDARIES 491

POPULAR RELIGION IN 1682 494

Appended to a broadside (*Roxburghe Ballads*, II., 400), which is noteworthy as indicating that the spirit of religion, which has always been alive among the mass of the English people, survived even under the Restoration.

THE SEVEN BISHOPS 495

Sancroft is in the centre; around him are Turner of Ely, Ken of Bath and Wells, and Trelawney of Bristol on the spectator's left, and Lloyd of St. Asaph, Lake of Chichester, and White of St. Asaph on the right.

PUBLIC WORSHIP (Sparrow, *Rationale of the Book of Common Prayer*, 1661) 497

SUITORS UP FROM THE COUNTRY 498

From a broadsheet of about 1670, entitled "Michaelmas Term: the Citizens' kind welcome to countrymen that from all parts of the land come hither about their needlesse occasions (needful I mean) with a description of the seasons and manners of the people therein employed."

PAGE

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE KING'S BENCH AND LORD CHIEF BARON.—MASTERS IN CHANCERY 499

SERJEANTS-AT-LAW 500

SIR HENEAGE FINCH (by Sir Peter Lely) 501

THE HABIT OF A JUDGE (by W. Hollar) 505

ARMOUR OF JAMES II. 508

It consists only of a headpiece, back and breast plates, and a long gauntlet to protect the bridle arm—a good illustration of the reduction in the amount and weight of armour as compared with earlier periods. All the pieces bear the king's initials, and the face guard is pierced with the design of the Royal Arms.

MINOR ARTILLERY 509

FLINT-LOCK MUSKET OF THE TIME OF JAMES II. 509

The calibre is ·73 in., the length of barrel 31 in.

COLLAR OF BANDOLIER, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY 510

FIGHT OF FOOT AGAINST FOOT 511

LIFEGUARDSMAN IN UNIFORM, 1661 . . . . . *to face* 512

From the volume dealing with the history of the First Regiment of Life Guards in the "Historical Records of the British Army," a series of 71 regimental histories, published under the supervision of the Adjutant-General in 1834–1850. The illustrations are probably based on contemporary drawings, which are in the possession of the War Office, but are not accessible to the public. Major Clifford Walton (*History of the British Standing Army*), in a MS. note to the illustrations, states that he has always found these volumes trustworthy as to details of costume.

SCYTHES USED IN THE BATTLE OF SEDGEMOOR 515

TANGIER ABOUT 1685 516

THE ENGLISH FLEET OFF VLIELAND, AUGUST 8–10, 1666 . . . 517

The fleet was under the joint command of Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle. In the distance the storehouses at Terschelling and about 140 Dutch vessels are being burnt by a detached squadron of frigates, fireships, and smaller craft, under the command of Sir Robert Holmes.

SIR JOHN NARBROUGH'S VOYAGE, 1669–1670 519

TRIPOLI ABOUT 1675 (by W. Hollar) 521

JAMES DUKE OF YORK, LORD HIGH ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET . . 526

AN ENGLISH SECOND-RATE OF 1670 (from a print published in 1801) . 528

MODEL OF H.M.S. *BRITANNIA*, 1682 529

INTERIOR OF ST. JAMES'S CHURCH, PICCADILLY (by Wren) . . . 533

TWO OF WREN'S CHURCHES 535

St. Mary-le-Bow gives its name to "Bow Bells."

PAGE

ST. VEDAST, FOSTER LANE (by Wren) 536

THE FOUNTAIN COURT, HAMPTON COURT 537

The court is nearly square, 117 ft. by 109 ft., and most probably suggested by some French palace. Law, *Guide to Hampton Court*, p. 173.

THE TWIN TOWERS, ALL SOULS' COLLEGE, OXFORD 538

The North Quadrangle, of which these form part, was designed by Hawksmoor in 1720, but not completed till 1740. The towers are of extreme interest as an adaptation of Gothic architecture to eighteenth century taste.

CASTLE HOWARD, NEAR MALTON, YORKSHIRE 539

Built from designs by Vanbrugh, between 1702 and 1731; the front is 360 ft. long.

STATUES OF MELANCHOLY AND RAVING MADNESS 544

These were placed above the entrance gate of Bethlehem Hospital, then in Moorfields, in 1680, and are said to have represented patients in that asylum, one of whom had been porter to Oliver Cromwell. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

VESTRY OF ST. LAWRENCE JEWRY, SHOWING CARVING BY GRINLING GIBBONS 545

COINS OF CHARLES II. AND JAMES II. 546. 547, 548

A rose on some of the silver crowns of 1662 indicates that the silver came from the West of England mines. The shields are those of the four kingdoms, England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. The Petition Crown (*see* text) was intended by Simon for comparison with the crown of 1662, and bears on its edge an appeal to the king to "compare this tryall piece with the Dutch, and if more truly drawn and embossed, more gracefully ordered and more accurately engraven, to relieve him" (Simon). The copper halfpenny and farthing of 1672 were the first copper coins issued by the Mint, the previous halfpence and farthings being tradesmen's tokens. The elephant-and-castle appears on some of the guineas and half-guineas of James II. and the following reign.

WESTMINSTER CHOIR-MEN 549

CHOIR-MEN OF THE CHAPEL ROYAL 549

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY 551

The cittern (1), or citole, usually had four pairs of wire strings, which were plucked with a plectrum, like the now popular mandoline. The theorboe lute—the present specimen (5), by Mattje Hoffmann of Antwerp, 1619—was employed as an accompaniment to the voice, while the pandurina, or little lute (3), was used for melody, the large bass lute (chittarone, 2) being reserved for orchestral purposes. These instruments were superseded in the next century by the guitar, which first appeared in Spain, probably under Moorish influence. The *gittern*, as it was then called (4), was furnished with five pairs of double strings instead of six single strings, and was sometimes played with a bow (Rev. F. W. Galpin).

THE HON. ROBERT BOYLE (by Friedrich Kerseboom) 553

ELIAS ASHMOLE 554

PAGE

REMAINS OF THE DODO, FROM TRADESCANT'S COLLECTION . . . 555

A stuffed dodo was part of Tradescant's collection, and passed with his other rarities to the Ashmolean Museum, but had to be destroyed in 1755; the head and right foot, however, were preserved.

NEWTON, BY ROUBILLAC 557

NEWTON'S SCHOOLROOM, THE KING'S SCHOOL, GRANTHAM . . . 559

The school was founded by Bishop Fox in 1525, and reorganised under Edward III.; the room has been but little altered since Newton was a boy there.

RALPH CUDWORTH 561

TITLE-PAGE TO GLANVILL'S "SADDUCISMUS TRIUMPHATUS" . . . 563

The book, as is indicated by its title "Sadducee-ism Vanquished" ("The Sadducees say that there is neither angel nor spirit"), professes to adduce evidence of the possibility and actual existence of witchcraft and apparitions. The book contains, *inter alia*, the well-known story of the Drummer of Tedworth.

FELL, DOLBEN, AND ALLESTREE (by Sir Peter Lely) 565

This picture commemorates the loyalty of these three divines to the Church of England in privately maintaining its services and administering the Sacraments according to its liturgy at Beam Hall, Oxford, in defiance of the prohibition. Dolben, who became Archbishop of York in 1666, is in the centre, Fell on the right, Allestree on the left.

THE SHELDONIAN THEATRE, OXFORD 568

An imitation of ancient theatres, and one of Wren's earliest and best works. It is internally 80 ft. by 70 ft. Here, of course, is held the Encænia or Commemoration of Founders and Benefactors in June of each year.

STATUE OF JAMES II., UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD 569

Given to the College by Dr. Obadiah Walker, its Master from 1676 till his expulsion after the Revolution. He had become a Roman Catholic, and caused Mass to be celebrated in the college.

COURT OF CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE 573

110 ft. by 150 ft. The hall is on the spectator's left, King's College Chapel behind on the right. The college was rebuilt between 1635 and 1656; the designer is unknown. *See* text of this volume, p. 92.

BUST OF ISAAC BARROW 575

GEORGE BULL, BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S 577

ANDREW MARVELL 579

By Adrian Hannemann; reproduced in Dr. Grosart's edition.

BUST OF JOHN MILTON 581

Left to Christ's College by John Disney, who died in 1816. The artist is said to have been one Pierce, who executed a bust of Wren now in the Bodleian, and the face to have been a plaster cast from the original mould (Mr. Leslie Stephen in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*).

HUDIBRAS AND RALPHO IN THE STOCKS 584

Hudibras, Part II., Canto I., lines 77 *seq.* Hudibras and his squire Ralpho, being worsted in their attack on the enchanted castle of

PAGE

Crowdero, are placed in the stocks, and visited by the widow, with her usher and waiting-maid.

SAMUEL BUTLER, AUTHOR OF "HUDIBRAS" (by Sir P. Lely) . . 585

JOHN BUNYAN, BY THOMAS SADLER 587

Regarded as one of the best of Sadler's works; the original of a well-known mezzotint.

MR. BADMAN BREAKS HIS LEG 588

Riding home after a drinking bout, he was thrown from his horse; at first he swore, then he grew alarmed, and prayed; but "when his pain was gone and he had got hopes of mending, even before he could go abroad, he cast off prayer and began his old game, to wit, to be as bad as he was before."

CHRISTIAN KNOCKING AT THE GATE 589

After his deviation from the way on the advice of Mr. Worldly Wiseman.

BEDFORD GAOL AND BRIDGE 590

Compare the illustration of St. Ives bridge, Vol. II., p. 353. The gaol was originally a chapel. Francis Perry, the artist, died in 1765.

JOHN DRYDEN (by Sir Godfrey Kneller) 593

One of the famous portraits of members of the Kitcat Club, founded *temp.* James II., which originally met at a tavern kept by Christopher Catling in Shire Lane, near Temple Bar, and consisted of Whig politicians and men of letters. Eventually Jacob Tonson, the bookseller, and a member, built a dining room for the club at his house at Barn Elms, Barnes, and hung it with their portraits by Kneller; as it was too low for half-lengths, the artist devised this special size. The portraits are now at Bayfordbury, Herts, in the possession of Mr. Clinton Baker, a descendant of Tonson.

BUST OF JOHN DRYDEN, WESTMINSTER ABBEY 598

ILLUSTRATION TO APHRA BEHN'S "PERJURED BEAUTY" 599

The fair Ardelia, who has already jilted one lover, and caused his death at the hands of his best friend Don Henrique, retires into a convent. Repenting, she prepares to escape, but with Don Henrique's enemy Don Sebastian. Don Henrique, however, is warned by Don Sebastian's self-sacrificing sister Elvira (whom he has jilted, and who is a nun in the same convent), and arrives in time to intercept Ardelia. Don Sebastian strikes at him, but kills her: the rivals kill each other, and the "injured and neglected Elvira, whose Piety designed quite contrary effects," is seized with fever and dies within twenty-four hours, "with all the happy Symptoms of a departing Saint."

PLAN FOR LAYING OUT A FARM 603

Hartlib also gave a rectangular scheme in the same work.

EARLY AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY, FROM DESIGNS BY PLATTES . . 605

The machine in the distance is devised for grubbing up tree-stumps. The sowing drill is Worlidge's improvement on Plattes's design. A furrow is cut of any desired depth by a movable coulter (not well shown) descending in front of the curved spout which points forwards and conveys the seed from the hopper. The flow of seed into the furrow is regulated by a small wooden wheel in the neck of the

PAGE

hopper, edged with leather and driven by the two small solid connected wheels, which communicate motion to it from the back wheels of the vehicle. The iron rod, bent to avoid the hopper, serves as steering gear; the handles behind are to lift the machine when it is necessary to turn. The seed, of course, only runs when the machine is moving, and the small wheel in the neck of the hopper is thereby rotated. "One horse and man may work the instrument, and sow land as fast as, or faster than, six horses can plough."

SAWMILL 606

Described as "the Norway engine to be moved with the force of water or of wind." The wood is drawn on against the saws by the weights.

BORING AND SHAPING MILL 607

"For the more facile perforation and boring of lumber to make pipes and aqueducts, and the excavating of columns." It was used in Switzerland, and Evelyn suggested its introduction, with improvements, into England.

CHARCOAL BURNING 609

The wood to be converted into charcoal is built up round a pole 9 feet high, being closely stacked except near the centre, where the wood is arranged in triangles to provide space for fuel and air, as shown in the centre drawing. The stack is then covered with earth and turf (drawing on left), the pole pulled up, and burning charcoal thrown down the cavity, and vent holes for the smoke are made from time to time (as shown on the right). The heap may burn for six days and cool for three.

BIRMINGHAM IN 1656. 611

The drawing was executed by Hollar for the first edition of Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, published in 1656; it is here reproduced from the edition of 1730.

THE EXCHANGE AND GUILDHALL, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE 612

Rebuilt in 1655 from designs by Robert Trollop, of York; refronted and modernised in 1796 and 1809.

ALLEGED MALPRACTICES AT NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE 613

These are appended by Gardiner (*see* text) to his summaries of evidence given before the Committee of Trade and Corporations at Whitehall in 1653, when it investigated Gardiner's charges against the Corporation of Newcastle. He states that preparations were made to draft an Act remedying the abuses complained of. The uppermost illustration represents two seizures of tobacco, and in one case of the owner with the horses which were carrying it away from the town, from John Williamson, of Broughton, Cumberland, and Isabel Orde respectively, on the ground that it was "foreign bought and foreign sold." The Corporation officers refused to restore it even under a judge's order. In the centre illustration a ship is shown on a rock near Tynemouth Castle; the master applied to "an antient ship's carpenter," William Cliff, of North Shields, to get her off—Newcastle being too far off and the charges of the ship-carpenters of the town notoriously exorbitant. Cliff, with his three men, got the ship off and beached her, and left his wife and married daughter, Anne Wallice, to superintend the repairs. The Mayor of Newcastle, however, meantime sent two serjeants, with several "free carpenters" of Newcastle, to arrest Cliff's workmen for touching the ship, as it was claimed that the privileges of the Newcastle carpenters extended to Tynemouth. On the women remonstrating, one serjeant knocked

PAGE

down Ann Cliff "by several blows on her body and head," so that she died a few weeks later; the other broke Anne Wallice's arm. Cliff and the men were imprisoned and forced to give bond never to work again. The third illustration is appended to a statement that shipmasters arriving at Newcastle are required to swear before the Mayor that they have not cast ballast "at sea between Sowter and Hartley or within 14 fathom water, to the hurt of the river Tyne." When the master has sworn that he has not, evidence is produced that he did, and he is condemned to pay £5, "or else to cut a purse which hangeth in the Town Chamber, with sand and money in it," and to pay the equivalent of what is in the purse, under pain of imprisonment. Nothing apparently came of this investigation, as the charters and privileges of the town were confirmed by Charles II. in 1664.

A Scold 614

Appended to a statement in the same work by a witness from Ipswich, that he saw one Ann Bidlestone "drove through the streets by an officer" of the Newcastle Corporation, who held a rope fastened to the branks, "which is like a crown, it being of iron," and had "a great tongue of iron forced into her mouth, which forced the blood out," and that this was the usual punishment for scolds in Newcastle, while drunkards were driven up and down the streets with a barrel in place of their clothing. The description, and the condemnation which follows—Gardiner says the legal punishment for scolds is ducking in a ducking-stool—imply that the branks were not in use in the South of England.

Ancient Implements for the manufacture of Salt . . . 619

Nos. 6 and 7, on the right of the illustration, are antique leaden pans, used in Northwich in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, or earlier; they were found in excavating in that town about 1882. A two-foot rule is placed perpendicularly across No. 7 to serve as a standard of size. The smaller pans were generally worked in ranges of six; the larger in ranges of four or six. No. 4 is a wooden trough used to receive the brine as brought from the springs until it was required in the pans, to which it was transmitted by the spout below (No. 12). No. 3 is a broken piece of No. 4. Nos. 1 and 2 are models of baskets or "barrows" used in the sixteenth century to drain (roughly) and mould the salt when taken from the pans; the smaller one produced a lump of 3 lb. weight; these were made chiefly for the London market. These baskets were superseded in the course of the eighteenth century by wooden tubs of similar shape, used for a light, flaky salt for dairying purposes, and by the oblong wooden moulds now used for the lump salt of commerce. No. 9 is a copper patch used for covering the drain-hole in the bottom of a cistern or pan. Nos. 9 and 10 are antique wooden raker-heads used for scraping up the salt in the pans, and No. 11 a wooden scoop for taking it out. No. 5 consists of two cores from deep borings made near Northwich about 1892. For this information the Editor is indebted to Mr. E. T. Ward, C.E., of Northwich.

Medal commemorating Morland's Pumping Engine . . . 620

Both obverse and reverse show the engine (possibly conventionalised). On the obverse is a ship in full sail, on the reverse are rain-clouds. The mottoes signify respectively "The waters and fire accord" and "Art rivalling the sky." Sir Samuel Morland made "water engines" and pumps, the former an improvement on the machine of Cyprian Lucar (1590), and brought water from Blackmoor Park, near Winkfield, to the top of Windsor Castle. *Medallic Illustrations*, Vol. I. (Charles II.), No. 279. Cyprian Lucar's engine,

PAGE

figured in his "Lucarsolace," 1590, consisted substantially of a funnel into which water was poured through an opening at the side, and then compressed by a screw so as to be squirted through the small end, *e.g.* at a house on fire.

SATIRE ON PATENTEES (by W. Hollar) 624

The patentee has screws for legs and hooks, carrying money bags, for fingers, and holds monopolist privileges for tobacco, wine, rags, soap, and other articles. Below are verses referring to the abolition of monopolies by Parliament in 1624. Clearly no amount of pamphleteering could have revived many of them at this period.

AMBASSADORS FROM BANTAM, 1682 625

A factory had been established by Lancaster at Bantam in Java in 1602 (*cf.* text, p. 71). After this embassy had left, the son of the King of Bantam, acting under Dutch influence, rebelled against his father, and seized the East India Company's factory, which they were unable to recover. Bruce, *Annals of the East India Company* (1810), I., 152, III., 473, 492.

THE OLD EAST INDIA HOUSE IN 1648 626

This house was probably in Leadenhall Street, on part of the site of the subsequent East India House, built in 1726, and refronted and enlarged in 1799.

SIR JOSIAH CHILD 627

SIR WILLIAM PETTY 628

SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS 631

Woodall's "Surgeon's Mate" was first published in 1617, and republished in 1639 and 1655. The instruments shown are "those most useful for amputations in the sphacelated [mortified] part," and include an iron for cautery.

BIHAM OR BEAM HALL, OXFORD 633

Now a tutor's house attached to Corpus Christi College; noteworthy as one of the places where service according to the use of the Church of England was performed when forbidden under the Commonwealth and Protectorate. *See* above, note on p. 565.

THOMAS WILLIS 634

THOMAS SYDENHAM, M.D., BY MARY BEALE 635

TOUCH-PIECE FOR THE KING'S EVIL 636

It bears the royal title, abbreviated, and a motto signifying "To God alone the glory." The hole is for a ribbon to suspend it about the neck of the person touched. For the ceremony, *see* Macaulay, *History of England*, II.

A SURVEY OF NEWINGTON IN 1670 639

On oaken panels; the road running diagonally across the lower right-hand corner, called "Blackmore Street," subsequently Blackman Street, is now the Borough High Street. Trinity Street meets the Old Kent Road not far from the "Cuckoo Field." The arms are those of Trinity House, which is also represented by the buoy in the design at the top right-hand corner.

MEMORIALS OF THE PLAGUE AT EYAM, DERBYSHIRE 643

The infection was conveyed to Eyam from London in a box of clothes sent by a tailor in September, 1665. Some of the inhabitants

PAGE

fled; but the rector of the parish, William Mompesson, bravely remained at his post. He was aided by the former rector, William Stanley, who had been deprived for nonconformity at the Restoration. Those who remained bound themselves to keep within the parish, and arrangements were made with neighbouring parishes for the periodical placing of food at certain spots whence it could be fetched by the villagers. The plague abated during the winter, but broke out again in spring, and eventually the church was closed for fear of infection, and services were held in "Cucklet Church"—a dell now much overgrown, from the archway of which the rector addressed his people. Mrs. Mompesson died in August, 1666, at the worst period of the plague, when also seven members of the Hancock family, whose graves are still shown, died within seven days. The last death was on October 11, 1666. A full account is given in W. Wood's *History and Antiquities of Eyam*, 4th ed., 1865.

BETHLEHEM HOSPITAL 644

Founded as "the Priory of the Star of Bethlehem" by Simon Fitzmary, Sheriff of London, 1246, it became known as a public hospital for lunatics before the dissolution of the monasteries, and after that event became the property of the Corporation of London. In 1675 the building shown was erected on the south side of Moorfields, at a little distance from the original site, and the establishment was removed to Southwark in 1812.

THE EFFECT OF THE GREAT FIRE OF 1666 645

The fire began in Pudding Lane, near Eastcheap, on September 2, 1666, and in four days "consumed every part of this noble city within the walls, except what lies within a line drawn from the north part of Coleman Street, and just to the south-west of Leadenhall, and from thence to the Tower. Its ravages were also extended without the walls, to the west, as far as Fetter Lane and the Temple. As it began in Pudding Lane, so it ended in Smithfield at Pye Corner" (Pennant, *London*, ed. 1793, p. 345).

TRADES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY 649

Randle Holme, whose father, grandfather, and son were, like himself, genealogists, added largely to a collection made by them of heraldic and genealogical MSS., now forming part of the Harleian Collection in the British Museum. The drawings shown are taken from his work, "The Academy of Armoury, or a Storehouse of Armoury and Blazon containing the several variety of created beings and how borne in coats of arms both foreign and domestic, with the instruments used in all Trades and Sciences, together with their terms of art." Those figured in the section of a page here shown are: No. 36, Upholsterer; 37, Embroiderer; 38, 39, Joiners; 40, Chandler; 41, Fisherman; 42, Angler; 44, Brewers; 45, Vegetable Hawker; 46, Bowyer; 47, Stringer; 48, Flax Dresser; 49, Weaver; 50, Cooper; 51, Carpenter; 53, Labourer; 54, Potter; 55, Ropemaker; 56, Printer; 57, Barber; 58, Maker of Felt Hats; 59, Astronomer or Astrologer.

GRADES OF SOCIETY IN 1670 651

From an account of the funeral of George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, by F. Sandford, Lancaster Herald.

THE COUNTRY ROUND CAMBRIDGE, SHOWING OPEN FIELDS . . . 653

For these fields, which indicate how largely the urban population in the Middle Ages was engaged in agriculture (*cf.* Vol. I., p. 642), *see* F. W. Maitland, *Township and Borough*.

PAGE

THE PEDLAR'S LAMENT 655

From a ballad lamenting the hard times for pedlars and "petty chapmen" and the decay of trade, and asking for custom since "To buy a new licence your money I crave."

ELIZABETH HAMILTON, COMTESSE DE GRAMMONT . . . *to face* 656

The finest of the series of "Beauties of Charles II.'s Court," painted by Sir Peter Lely. Miss Hamilton, a granddaughter of the first Earl of Abercorn, received great attention from the Duke of York, refused the Duke of Richmond and several other exalted suitors, but married Philibert, Comte de Grammont, in 1663, and left England the following year for France, but frequently revisited her native country (Law, *Catalogue of the Pictures at Hampton Court*). According to a story current at the time, the marriage was forced on by her brothers, who followed the Count to Dover, and asked him if he had not forgotten something. He promptly replied that he had forgotten to marry their sister, and returned to repair the omission. She is described as of exceptional beauty and intelligence.

THE STAGE ABOUT 1670 657

The stage is that of the Red Bull Theatre, and the figures are Falstaff and Dame Quickly (the hostess); Clause, in "Beggar's Bush"; the French dancing master in the Duke of Newcastle's "Variety"; the Changeling, from Middleton's tragedy of that name; the Clown, from Green's "Tu Quoque"; and the Simpleton, in Coxe's "Diana and Actaeon." The costume of the two Shakespearian characters is that of the time of Charles II., not of Henry V. (Planché, *History of Costume*, I., p. 402.) The gallery at the back of the stage precludes scenery.

THE ROAD FROM LONDON TO BRENTFORD 660

From Ogilby's "Britannia": a road book, consisting of elaborate descriptions of the main roads from London, with notices of junctions, and illustrated by "a century of copper sculps."

ST. JAMES'S PARK AND PALACE IN 1689 (Crace Collection) . . . 661

COMPANY AT A COFFEE HOUSE, 1688 (from a jest-book) . . . 663

DOCKWRA'S POSTMARKS 664

The side marks show the time of the despatch; the central mark is that of the chief post office in Lime Street, each office having a distinguishing letter. To the Inns of Court there were ten or twelve despatches daily; to other places from four to eight. With letters to be sent by carrier or stage coach, 2d. extra was enclosed for the driver. Money could be sent in sealed packages, the exact sum being stated on the cover (De Laune, *Present State of London*, 1681).

A CAVALIER; AN OLIVERIAN 665

Reproduced in a book of costume of the early nineteenth century from contemporary originals.

A LADY BUYING SHOES (by W. Hollar) 667

CITIZENS AT A TAVERN, 1680 669

From a ballad lamenting the wiles of landladies of taverns, and entitled "Tobie's Experience Explained."

CORONATION FEAST OF JAMES II. (April 23, 1685) 671

The dinner lasted from five to about seven. Besides the royal party of about 12 at the high table, the guests comprised 98 peers,

PAGE

64 peeresses, 32 Barons of the Cinque Ports, the two archbishops, 12 bishops, 12 judges, the attorney- and solicitor-general, the mayor, aldermen, and 12 principal citizens of London, heralds and pursuivants, 12 serjeants-at-law, and 18 masters or clerks in chancery —in all about 300. Buffets are placed at the sides of the hall. The champion (Sir Charles Dymoke) is seen on horseback making his challenge to anyone who questions the king's title. The tables are loaded with cold dishes and sweetmeats, though seventy-six hot dishes (in two courses) were served at the royal table alone. The *plats* included stags' tongues, turkey chicks, ortolans, puffins, pheasant, partridge pie (in April!), periwinkles, crabs, morels, (English truffles), caviar, olives, cold mince pie, "spinage tart," "salads of all kinds," and mangoes. Each table had a different *menu*. Sandford, *Coronation of James II.*, 1687.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS ABOUT 1700 (by Kip; *see* text) 673

THE SCHOALE INN, NORFOLK, BUILT IN 1655 675

Schoale [Scole] is near Diss. The inn still exists, and formerly possessed a bed even larger than that of Ware (Vol. III., p. 184).

THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE'S WATERMEN AND MASTER OF THE BARGE 677

THE PLAYGROUND.—THE SCHOOLROOM (*see* note on illustration, p. 177) 679

OBERWESEL, ON THE RHINE (by Hollar) 681

The Rhine was part of the "Grand Tour."

SATIRE ON THE RESTORATION OF EPISCOPACY 683

The "unwelcome hands" of two bishops in lawn sleeves try to remove the light of the Word of God, which is defended by two laymen.

JOHN GRAHAM OF CLAVERHOUSE (by Sir Peter Lely) 685

THE MAIDEN 686

An anticipation of the guillotine: among those beheaded by it were the Regent Morton in 1581, President Spottiswoode in 1645, the Marquis of Argyll in 1661, and the Earl of Argyll in 1685.

LADY GRIZEL BAILLIE'S LANTERN 687

Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth [1641–1724], created Earl of Marchmont in 1696, had been concerned in Argyll's expedition to Scotland after the death of James II., and on its failure had been constrained to conceal himself in a burial vault under Polwarth Church. A bed and bedclothes were conveyed there from the house, and his daughter Grizel (afterwards Baillie) brought him food and drink nightly at midnight, returning home before daybreak (Wodrow, *Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, ed. Burn, IV., 505).

TOBACCO PIPES 688

DRUMLANRIG CASTLE 689

At Durisdeer, Dumfriesshire: a seat of the Duke of Buccleuch; built by the first Duke of Queensberry, who, however, only passed one night in it, finding it too remote from medical advice (he was ill); restored about 1830.

ARCHBISHOP SHARP (by Sir Peter Lely) 690

GLASGOW AT THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY . . . 691

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

PAGE

MODEL OF THUMBSCREWS.—INSTRUMENTS OF TORTURE . . 692, 695

Torture, though illegal at common law in England, was applied by order of the Crown or Council, or by special tribunals like the Star Chamber, down to 1640. In Scotland it was only abolished by statute in 1708, and was used by the Duke of York (*see* p. 686).

WILLIAM III. (by Van Wyck) 697

SEAL OF WILLIAM AND MARY 699

The design is derived from that of Philip and Mary. The shield of the Royal Arms on the obverse bears a lion rampant for Nassau. On the obverse, a distant view of London and the Thames.

CELEBRATION OF THE CAPTURE OF NAMUR, 1695 701

Verses accompanying the print indicate that the lion is Louis XIV., who aimed at universal monarchy; William III., "Our Royal Cock," has awakened him. In the foreground, the Gallic cock skulks away beaten, followed by three hens. The device above may represent the supremacy aimed at by Louis XIV., and claimed in the verses for William III. thenceforward.

THE KENTISH PETITIONERS (by R. White) 702

The petition, signed by the deputy-lieutenants, magistrates, and grand jurors of Kent, was a protest against the peace policy of the Tories, and desired that Parliament should vote supplies instead of passing loyal addresses. It was voted insolent and seditious, and the presenters were imprisoned by order of the Commons.

ANNE AND HER SON WILLIAM 703

SIDNEY, EARL OF GODOLPHIN 704

JOHN CHURCHILL, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH 705

THE MAGIC LANTERN 707

Charles II. of Spain, in view of the First Partition Treaty, was frightened by the Church into bequeathing his dominions entire to the Prince of Bavaria. The supposed vision exhibits the reward awaiting his adviser, who feigns alarm.

A COALITION AGAINST LOUIS XIV. 708

The etching represents an assembly of animals gathered about a lion (William III.) to complain of the tiger (Louis XIV.). Probably the elephant is Germany, the bear Sweden, the eagle with the sceptre Austria, the unicorn England, the griffin Savoy, the paradise bird Portugal; the cat represents the Dutch people, the eagle the empire. The lion finally proposes to call the tiger for trial before the tribunal of Themis (justice).

A KING AND HIS MAKER 709

A Dutch print by Romeyn de Hooghe, satirising the proclamation by Louis XIV. of the Duke of Anjou as Philip V. of Spain in Paris, before he started for Madrid. The proclamation was followed by the war of the Spanish Succession, in which England and Holland were arrayed against France. The print is entitled "Nebuchadnezzar's Statue exhibited at Versailles in order to its Erection at Madrid." Its points are explained (in the accompanying text) in a conversation among the members of the group in the foreground on the left, a French Academician, a lady of the French Court, and a German painter (a "Bendvogel," or member of the Society of German Artists at Rome). The statue is that of Nebuchadnezzar; it is surrounded by the four Christian and four heroic virtues—Religion, Piety, Wisdom, Holiness; Courage, Justice, Constancy, Liberality; surmounted by the Midday Sun (Louis XIV.), the Creator of Kings; at his feet

PAGE

are the puppet monarchs of Poland, Spain, Britain, and Austria; and at the sound of a trumpet all princes are to fall down and worship. But on looking closer it is seen that the virtues are only French courtiers—La Vallière, Mecklenbourg, Ventadour, Montespan, Maintenon, York; that the sun above is in eclipse; and that the statue's mouth is shut because it must not show its teeth. (*Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires in the British Museum*, II., No. 1371.)

SATIRE ON THE PEACE OF UTRECHT 711

A modification, for the English market, of a print representing Dutch feeling against the Peace of Utrecht, 1712, alleged to be due to French influence, and to be disgraceful for England. France holds to the grindstone the nose of a "Tory," described in the accompanying text as "pacificateur outremarin," and identified either with the Bishop of Bristol or the Earl of Strafford; Queen Anne turns it; Marlborough ("Wigh" *i.e.* Whig) protests; Louis XIV., grandfather of Philip of Spain, sits at the spectator's extreme left, and talks to Mme. de Maintenon; before him are Père la Chaise, in Oriental costume, talking to Marie Louise of Savoy, Queen of Spain. James Edward, the Pretender, holding up a mill in allusion to one of the stories about his paternity, beckons his friends to come on; on the spectator's right, Philip V. of Spain (whose claims were dealt with as a preliminary to the peace) is consoled by a fishwoman (Holland). *See Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires in the British Museum*, II., p. 366.

THE CUSTOM HOUSE, LONDON 713

This and the following illustration are taken from "Mémoires et Observations faites par un voyageur en Angleterre, avec une description particulière de ce qu'il y a de plus curieux dans Londres," by M. Henri Misson de Valbourg (not to be confounded with François Misson), published 1698.

THE TOWER OF LONDON, WITH SHIPS DISCHARGING 715

CITIZENS AT A COFFEE HOUSE 717

From "A Brief Description of the Excellent Virtues of Coffee," 1674.

JOHN, LORD SOMERS (*see* note on illustration, p. 593) 721

THE OLD GROCERS' HALL. 723

In the Old Jewry; rebuilt 1802. The site, originally that of a Jewish synagogue, was bought by the Grocers' Company from Robert Fitzwalter in 1411. The Bank of England carried on its business here from its foundation till 1733, when it moved to its present site.

THE RECOINAGE: HALF-CROWN OF WILLIAM III., 1701. . . . 725

On the obverse, bust of the king, laurelled, with lovelock, and elephant and castle below (the mark of the Tower Mint); on the reverse, shields of arms of the four kingdoms and of Nassau.

MEDAL OF THE HAND-IN-HAND FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY . . . 727

On the obverse, the original name of the company (the Amicable Society) and the date of institution; on the reverse, a temple inscribed Security and the motto "By concord small things increase."

ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT (by P. Lens; Lambeth Palace). 730

BISHOP KEN (by Sir Peter Lely) 731

Lord Weymouth invited Ken to Longleat when he refused the oath of allegiance to William III., and he died there in 1711.

PAGE

GEORGE HICKES, DEAN OF WORCESTER 733

ARCHBISHOP TENISON (by Simon Dubois; Lambeth Palace) . . . 735

MEDAL COMMEMORATING QUEEN ANNE'S BOUNTY 737

On the reverse, the queen presents a charter to her clergy; the motto is "The Piety of the August One" (*i.e.* the queen), and below the design, "The first fruits and tenths returned to the Church." These dues, which originally went to the pope, had passed to the Crown at the Reformation, but were not levied on the smaller livings; the "Bounty" consists of a fund derived from those on the larger for the augmentation of poor livings and the building of parsonage houses.

SACHEVERELL: SATIRE ON THE HIGH CHURCH PARTY 738

A print entitled "Needs must when the Devil drives, or What we must expect if High Church comes Uppermost." The Pretender (Perkin) is inside a coach; the wooden shoes typify the French allies of the Tories. Sacheverell is postilion. The leaders, "Passive Obedience" and "Non-resistance," trample on "Property"; the second pair, whose names probably represent Stubbs and Higgins, two clerical supporters of Sacheverell, on "Liberty"; the wheelers, "Slavery" and "Popery," on "Toleration"; the wheels pass over "Moderation."

SACHEVERELL: SATIRE ON THE LOW CHURCH PARTY 739

A reply to the foregoing, entitled "Like Coachman, like Cause, or What we must expect if Low Church comes Uppermost." The calf's head on top of the coach refers to a Whig club which was alleged to meet on the anniversary of Charles I.'s execution, January 30, and dine on calf's head to show contempt for his intellect and his reputation as a martyr. Hoadley is postilion; the leaders, "Moderation" and "Occasional Conformity," trample on "Common Prayer and Episcopacy," typified by Archbishop Laud; "Presbytery" and "Rebellion" on "Loyalty" (the Earl of Strafford); "Republican Tyranny" and "Slavery" on "Magna Charta" and "Liberty of the Subject." Cromwell is inside, Charles I. under the wheels. (*Cf. Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, II., Nos. 1496, 1497.)

A WEDDING IN CAMP, BY RUGENDAS . . . . . *to face* 742

CHARLES MORDAUNT, EARL OF PETERBOROUGH 744

THE SIEGE OF NAMUR 745

THE BATTLEFIELD OF BLENHEIM 747

The French and Bavarians, 56,000 strong, were posted behind the shallow stream of the Nebel: Marlborough sent Prince Eugene with 20,000 men to engage the Bavarians, while he himself assailed the French on the centre and right. He found a weak point at the junction of the French and Bavarian armies, and by directing a series of furious cavalry charges against the French centre, he at last broke it and routed the enemy. Eleven thousand men surrendered in Blenheim village, 15,000 were wounded, slain, or driven into the Danube. (Oman, *History of England*, from which work this plan is taken.)

THE BATTLE OF CAPE BARFLEUR, MAY 19, 1692 751

The French fleet under Tourville was coming from Brest; Admiral Russell's fleet left Portsmouth to engage it, and fell in with it off Cape Barfleur. Tourville accepted battle, though his fleet was greatly inferior, partly because he failed to recognise the size of the English force. The Dutch contingent led, the French van engaged them,

PAGE

while the French centre and rear attacked the English centre, the red squadron, the rear or blue squadron of the English fleet having fallen astern. Eventually, however, the red squadron broke the French line, while the blue squadron regained its position and enveloped the French fleet. Just at this time the wind failed and a fog stopped the fight; when it lifted, the French fled. They were followed, with some delay, and several of their ships were burned off Cherbourg or in the bay of La Hogue, others escaped through the Race of Alderney to St. Malo. It was felt in England that the pursuit had been slack, and Russell was relieved of his command, but reappointed in November, 1693. He had, in fact, been secretly negotiating previously with James II.

ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE ROOKE (by Michael Dahl) 755

GREENWICH HOSPITAL 757

MODEL OF WINSTANLEY'S LIGHTHOUSE ON THE EDDYSTONE 759

THE EASTERN SEAS, SHOWING NEW HOLLAND AND NEW GUINEA . 761

From a small Dutch atlas, undated, but showing New Zealand and Tasmania, discovered by Tasman in 1642, and a map of Persia from a work by Adam Olearius, published 1656. Its date, therefore, must be between 1656 and Dampier's voyage in 1687–1688.

MODEL OF RUDYERD'S LIGHTHOUSE ON THE EDDYSTONE 763

MONUMENT TO SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL 766

COINS OF WILLIAM AND MARY, WILLIAM III. AND ANNE . 767, 768, 769

Page 767: Half-crown of William and Mary, 1689; on the reverse, shields with the arms of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and of Nassau in the centre. Tin farthing: this has "nummorum famulus" on the edge; *see* text, p. 548. Page 768: Guinea of William III. Five-guinea piece of Anne, 1703, bearing the word VIGO on the obverse, an indication that it is made of bullion captured from the Spanish galleons in Vigo Bay, October 12, 1702. Page 769: Guinea of Anne, 1714, with the elephant and castle, the mark of "guinea" gold. Halfpenny of Anne, with the rose and thistle growing on one stem, illustrating the union with Scotland.

BUST OF JOHN RAY (by Roubillac) 771

MEDAL COMMEMORATING EDMUND HALLEY 772

A memorial by Dassier, struck in 1744.

JOHN LOCKE 775

WILLIAM WYCHERLEY (by Sir Peter Lely) 782

WILLIAM CONGREVE (by Sir G. Kneller) 783

DIDO MEETING ÆNEAS 786

Dryden has recorded that he refused to please the publisher by dedicating the work to William III., and the publisher took his revenge by having Æneas depicted with the king's nose.

FRONTISPIECE TO "SWIFT'S TALE OF A TUB" 789

As sailors throw out a tub to divert the attention of an infuriated whale, so Swift professes to throw out his book to divert the attention of pamphleteers from the State. The book was published in 1696. The illustration is from the edition of 1724.

JOSEPH ADDISON (by Sir G. Kneller) 791

PAGE

SIR RICHARD STEELE (by Sir G. Kneller) 793
At Stationers' Hall, London.

GLASS MAKING 797

POTTERY, LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY . . . . *to face* 798

BROMLEY HALL, BROMLEY-BY-BOW (now a Nurses' Home) . . . 799

SKETCH-PLAN OF TIN MINES IN CORNWALL, 1671 801
The small, rectangular openings are "trial hutches" made to search for ore. The dark bands are, of course, lodes of ore occasionally ramifying into "strings," or interrupted by spar, "daze," clay, and pyrites, and sometimes dipping so as to be practically interrupted. The irregular dark spots are isolated deposits of ore called "squats" or "bonnys." The name of the writer is not given.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL, 1723 804
Founded by Rahere, minstrel or jester of Henry I., as part of his Priory of St. Bartholomew, 1102, for sick persons, maternity cases, and children whose parents died in it, till they had reached the age of seven. It was continued after the Dissolution as a hospital, and rebuilt in 1729. The print is from the Crace Collection.

BRIDEWELL HOSPITAL, 1720 805
The name is derived from a well sacred to St. Bridget, near the west of the Fleet Ditch. Originally a royal palace, it became one of the residences of Wolsey, and was converted by Edward VI. into a house of correction (Vol. III., p. 269). It became chiefly a prison for disorderly women, and also for idle and refractory apprentices. The latter were kept in separate cells and given specific tasks. (Pennant, *London*, ed. 1793.)

CHARITY CHILDREN AT THE GREYCOAT HOSPITAL, WESTMINSTER . 808
The hospital was founded in 1698 for the education of 70 poor boys and 40 poor girls; the figures are in the original costume. It is now modernised as a day school for girls.

CHARITY CHILDREN AT THE NATIONAL THANKSGIVING OF 1713 . . 809
In the Strand; Queen Anne passing on her way to St. Paul's Cathedral to return thanks for the Peace of Utrecht, July 7, 1713. (*See* description on the illustration.)

ANTHONY HORNECK (from his "Memoirs," 1706) 811
Engraving by White, from an original by Mary Beale.

"LONG THREAD LACES, LONG AND STRONG" 812
From Tempest's "Cryes of London," 1711, depicting the itinerant sellers and other characters, who might then be seen in the streets of the capital. The illustrations were probably drawn by Marcellus Lauron or Laroon the elder, son of a Frenchman settled in Holland, and engraved by John Savage (*Dict. Nat. Biography*, art. "Tempest").

THE DUKE'S THEATRE (from the Crace Collection) 813

VAUXHALL 814
The drawing is of a later period, as Canaletto was in England, according to Horace Walpole, between 1746 and 1748.

PAGE

THE MUSIC PARTY (probably by Marco Ricci) 815

The two Riccis, Marco and Sebastiano, nephew and uncle, were natives of Belluno in Venetia, and came to London in Queen Anne's reign, the nephew coming first and inviting the uncle to follow. The latter was the more successful. He painted chiefly figure subjects and groups, the nephew landscapes. Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, II.

MAY DAY: THE FIDDLER AND THE MILKMAID. (*See* note to illus., p. 713) 816

THE NEWSPAPER WOMAN (selling the *London Gazette*, *See* on p. 812) 817

HELMET EWER OF 1713, TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD 819

HACKNEY COACH, 1709 820

From a table of fares issued by the Sheriffs' Court, unfortunately now in a damaged condition.

STREET SELLERS IN LONDON, 1698 821

See note above, on p. 812.

VIEW OF HARWICH ABOUT 1710, SHOWING THE DUTCH PACKET . . 823

From the sea: Landguard Fort is at the entrance. The Orwell, coming from Ipswich, is seen in the distance, the Stour, coming from Manningtree, at the back of the town. The church is that of St. Nicholas. A small erection, like a sentry-box, on the spectator's left below the town, is "The candle lighthouse"; a little behind it, above the gate of the town, whence the London road issues, is "The fire lighthouse." The packet is the schooner lying near a three-masted vessel in a line to the right of the point on which the town is situated. The print is dedicated to Viscount Bolingbroke.

WAGGON, 1709 (*see* note on p. 820) 825

"COFFEE HOUSE BABBLE" ON THE SACHEVERELL CASE . . . 826

From an engraving prefixed to the fourth part of "Vulgus Britannicus, or The British Hudibras" (attributed to E. Ward, the author of the "London Spy"), entitled the "Coffee House Mob." The text contains various allusions to the Sacheverell case from the High Church standpoint, *e.g.*:

"Their mutual rancour fiercer grows,
And then they fall from words to blows;
One with a stout S . . . . l cuff
Soon gives his Low Church foe enough;
Another High Church friend as proudly
Subdues a friend that cryed up H . . . y;
Thus those who by reviling first
Begot the fray, came off the worst.

COSTUMES AT THE CORONATION OF WILLIAM AND MARY . . . 828

HEADDRESSES UNDER QUEEN ANNE 829

THE MALL, BY MARCO RICCI 831

The Mall was laid out and planted with trees under the direction of the French landscape gardener Le Nôtre under Charles II. It was conspicuous as a fashionable lounge under Queen Anne, and is mentioned as such by Swift in his letters to Stella. St. James's Park was at this time very rural in character, and was not laid out as it is now until 1827–1829. Thornbury, *Old and New London*, IV., 50, 175.

THE PASS OF GLENCOE 834

Macdonald of Glencoe, with his principal clansmen, presented himself at Fort William on the latest day for taking the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, December 31, 1691. No magistrate

PAGE

to administer it could be found nearer than Inverary, which caused six days' delay. The explanation, forwarded with the names to Edinburgh, was suppressed by Stair, and a body of soldiers sent into the glen, who, under the pretence that their mission was peaceable, were hospitably entertained by the clan, whose leading members they then treacherously massacred in the early morning of February 13, 1692. Dalrymple and the other principal actors were severely censured by a Royal Commission, and the king was invited to prosecute them, but nothing was done (1695).

ANDREW FLETCHER OF SALTOUN 836

WILLIAM PATERSON (from a drawing) 837

The only known portrait. Prefixed to a transcript of his two treatises on the Union.

SCOTTISH PISTOLE OF 1701. 838

Current for twelve pounds Scots; coined from gold supplied by the Darien Company (whose crest was a sun rising from the sea, *see* obverse), and brought from West Africa.

THE LAST SCOTTISH COIN 838

A sixpence; examples were struck till 1709, when the Edinburgh Mint was apparently closed.

BEGGAR'S BADGE AND COLLAR OF A CRIMINAL, 1701 839

These badges were issued till the nineteenth century was well advanced: one in the Edinburgh Museum, however, dates from 1674. The collar was found in the Forth at Logie, Stirlingshire, and bears the inscription "Alexander Stuart, found guilty of death for theft at Perth the 5th of December 1701, and gifted by the Justiciars as a perpetual servant to Sir Jo. Areskin (Erskine) of Alloa." Probably he was drowned in the Forth; possibly he committed suicide.

THE OLD PARLIAMENT HOUSE, EDINBURGH 840

Erected 1631–1640; a characteristic specimen of the Scottish Renaissance style till a new classical front was built in 1808.

EDINBURGH FROM THE SOUTH (about 1690) 841

ROARING MEG AND OLD BATTLEMENTS, LONDONDERRY 844

The gun was the gift of the Fishmongers' Company of London, and derived its name from its loud report. It did good service during the 105 days' siege.

THE NEW TESTAMENT DISGUISED 845

A note on the first page runs thus: "Joseph Glovers written by himself ffor ffear all bibles may be taken away hoping such a book of Accounpts may pass their Scrutiny. Began about ye 24 of July, 1686." That is, the writer feared that James II. and his agents would persecute Protestants and confiscate their Bibles; therefore he copied out the whole of the New Testament in an account book, bound in parchment, about 9 inches long by 3 inches wide, heading the Gospels respectively "Matthew's Accounpt" (*sic*), "Mark's Accounpt," and so on. The Acts is called "The Jornall"; the Epistles, "Romans Acc"; "1st Acc Cor," "Peter's 2nd Acc," etc. The Revelation is disguised as "Sir John's Discoverys." The transcriber clearly hoped that the emissaries of the Government would merely glance at the book. It has been described by Prof. J. H. Bernard in the *Pilot* for March 30, 1901. It is said to have been written in the neighbourhood of Kilkenny.

PAGE

SITE OF THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE (*see* text) 846

LIMERICK HALFPENNY 850

Struck during the siege and after James's flight; on the reverse, Hibernia with a harp.

SIEGE PIECE OF JAMES II. 850

A crown, 1690; this and similar pieces are of copper and brass.

THE TREATY STONE, LIMERICK 852

The treaty was signed on this stone, 1691; it was set on a pedestal at the end of Thomond Bridge in 1865, with the motto, applied by Virgil to Carthage, "Urbs antiqua fuit, studiisque asperrima belli."

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS VOLUME.

BATESON, Miss MARY, Associate and Lecturer of Newnham College, Cambridge; Editor of *Records of the Borough of Leicester; Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery*, etc.

BEAZLEY, C. RAYMOND, M.A., F.R.G.S., Fellow of Merton College, Oxford; Author of *The Dawn of Modern Geography; Henry the Navigator* (Heroes of the Nations Series); *John and Sebastian Cabot.*

BROWN, Rev. JOHN, D.D.; Author of *John Bunyan: His Life, Times, and Work; The Pilgrim Fathers of New England; Apostolical Succession in the Light of History and Fact;* and of *The Yale Lecture on Puritan Preaching in England.*

CLOWES, Sir WILLIAM LAIRD, Fellow of King's College, London; Hon. Member R.U.S. Inst.; Gold Medallist, U.S. Naval Institute; Associate of the Institute of Naval Architects; Author of *The Royal Navy: A History to the death of Queen Victoria.*

COLVILLE, JAMES, M.A., D.Sc. (Edin.), sometime Examiner in History at Glasgow University; Editor of Spalding's *English Literature* and Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* (for Schools); Author of *Byways of History.*

GRETTON, Major G. LE M., 3rd Battalion Leicestershire Regiment; sometime Examiner at the University of Adelaide.

HASSALL, A., Student and Tutor of Christ Church, Oxford, and sometime Examiner in the Honour School of Modern History; Author of *Bolingbroke; Louis XIV.; A Handbook of European History; A Class Book of English History; The French People; Mazarin;* Editor of *Periods of European History*, and Author of Period VI. (*The Balance of Power*); Joint Editor of and Contributor to *Constitutional Essays;* Editor of the third edition of Dyer's *Modern Europe*, and of *The Student's France;* collector and Editor of Bishop Stubbs's Historical Introductions to the Rolls Series.

HEWINS, W. A. S., M.A., Pembroke College, Oxford; Director of the London School of Economics; Tooke Professor of Economic Science and Statistics at King's College, London; Member of the Senate of the University of London; Author of *English Trade and Finance in the Seventeenth Century;* Contributor to the *Dictionary of National Biography* and the *Dictionary of Political Economy.*

HUGHES, REGINALD, D.C.L.

HUTTON, Rev. W. H., B.D., Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Oxford, and sometime Examiner in the Honour School of Modern History; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Ely; Author of *William Laud; The Marquis Wellesley; Sir Thomas More; The Church of the VI. Century; A Short History of the Church in Great Britain*, etc.

JOYCE, P. W., LL.D., one of the Commissioners for the Publication of the Ancient Laws of Ireland; Author of *A Short History of Ireland; The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places; Old Celtic Romances; Ancient Irish Music; A Child's History of Ireland*, etc.

MONTAGUE, F. C., M.A., late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and Professor of History at University College, London; Author of *The Limits of Individual Liberty; Elements of English Constitutional History.*

OMAN, C. W. C., M.A., Fellow of All Souls' College and Deputy Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford; Author of *The Art of War in the Middle Ages; Warwick the King-maker; The History of Europe*, 476–918; *Seven Roman Statesmen; History of the Peninsular War*, etc.

PROTHERO, R. E., M.A., M.V.O., sometime Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford; formerly Editor of the *Quarterly Review;* Author of *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming* and of *The Life of Dean Stanley*; Editor of *Dean Stanley's Letters and Verses*, the *Letters of Edward Gibbon*, and the *Letters of Lord Byron*, etc.

ROCKSTRO, W. S. (the late), Author of *A General History of Music; Life of Handel; Life of Mendelssohn*, etc.

SAINTSBURY, GEORGE, M.A., Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Edinburgh; Author of *A Short History of French Literature; Histories of Elizabethan* and *Nineteenth Century Literature; Marlborough; A Short History of English Literature*, etc.

SMITH, A. L., M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford.

STEELE, R., F.S.A.; Author of *Mediæval Lore;* Editor of *The Story of Alexander* and of Lydgate's *Secrees of Old Philosoffres*, Three Prose Versions of the *Secreta Secretorum*, *The Earliest English Arithmetics*, etc. (E.E.T.S.).

SYMES, Professor J. E., M.A., Principal of University College, Nottingham; Author of *A Text Book of Political Economy; The French Revolution; The Prelude to Modern History*, etc.

WARNER, G. TOWNSEND, M.A., late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and sometime Examiner in the Historical Tripos at Cambridge; Author of *Landmarks of English Industrial History.*

WHITTAKER, T., B.A., Author of *The Neo-Platonists: a Study in the History of Hellenism;* Joint Editor of Croom Robertson's *Remains;* sometime Assistant Editor of *Mind.*

PREFATORY NOTE.

If the history of England during the Stuart period is more sombre or less encouraging to our national pride than the brilliant awakening under Elizabeth, yet there is abundant compensation in the manifold development and progress exhibited in every department of life. The period opens with a series of attempts to make the monarchy absolute in Church and State; it sees the premature erection of a republic under a written constitution, followed by a dangerous and deplorable reaction; it closes with the establishment of substantial rudiments of the party system, and of popular and constitutional government. At its beginning, Nonconformity partakes of the nature of treason; at its close, toleration is a principle of practical politics, in however imperfect a form. It sees the establishment, under constitutional guarantees of freedom never since relaxed, of a standing army; and England achieves the position of a great naval and commercial power, and lays the foundations of her existing system of banking and of State finance. Scotland is successfully united with her, Ireland provisionally and ineffectively subjugated. There is a vast development of mathematical, physical, and physiological science, and an immense multiplication of the comforts and conveniences of life. Costume becomes more varied, though not more splendid; military uniform begins; ship building makes great advances; architecture passes from the elaboration of Italianate Elizabethan and of Jacobean Gothic into the majestic classicism of Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren. Immigrants like Vandyck, Lely, and Kneller, and lesser artists of native birth, have left us portraits of the statesmen, ecclesiastics, and beauties of the time, as well as of its luminaries in literature and science. Yet another foreign artist, Wenceslaus Hollar, has given us abundant representations

of costume, of landscape, of historical events. Foreigners again, by immigration or otherwise, stimulate English agriculture and multiply manufactures and sources of wealth. The increased facilities of printing furnish us with abundant examples of social life, manners, and beliefs. The bitterness of the political struggles stimulates the art of caricature, of which, however, the most elaborate examples come to us towards the end of the period from Holland. Contemporary illustrations show us, too, how the middle classes are becoming the dominant factor in the national life. It is for them that newspapers arise, that amusements multiply, that travel, long deprived of the excuse of pilgrimage, becomes avowedly recreative or educational. Public vehicles are introduced; packets sail regularly; the rude coal-fire beacons of the Middle Ages begin to give place to the lighthouse; domestic comforts increase; coal, during the second quarter of the seventeenth century, replaces charcoal in London; cookery develops, and food is served, to those who can afford it, in almost repulsive profusion. Everyone of these features of the period can be illustrated from original sources; and we may fairly claim to have done so in the present volume.

We must again express our sincere thanks to the owners or custodians of many portraits and other objects of great historical interest for their generous permission to reproduce them in the present work. As in previous volumes, the source of each illustration is noted under it; but special acknowledgments are due to the Archbishop of Canterbury, for leave to reproduce portraits at Lambeth; to the Marquis of Bath, for leave to reproduce several portraits from the collection at Longleat; to the Earl of Carlisle for a similar privilege as regards the Castle Howard collection, and for several valuable suggestions; to the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Sandwich, the Earl of Southesk, the Earl of Verulam, Lord Fitzhardinge, Lord Arundell of Wardour, and Lord Saye and Sele; to the Under-Secretary of State for War and the authorities of the Tower; to the Lords of the Admiralty; to the authorities of the Rotunda Museum, Woolwich, and of the United Service Institution; to the Librarian of the House of Lords; to the Elder Brethren of Trinity House, and to Mr. H. S. Liesching for valuable assistance:

to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and the Curator of the Scottish National Antiquarian Museum; to the Dean of Westminster; to the Dean and Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford; to the Heads and Fellows of Exeter, Lincoln, Corpus Christi, and Wadham Colleges, Oxford, and Christ's, Sidney Sussex, and Trinity Colleges, Cambridge; to the authorities of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington; to the Keepers of the University Museum and the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford; to Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, Bodley's Librarian, for his unfailing help; to the Royal Society; to the Royal College of Physicians; to the Worshipful Company of Stationers; to the Library Committee of the Corporation of the City of London; to the Curators of the Soane Museum, and of the Lewes, Maidstone, Norwich, Northwich, and York Museums; to the authorities of the Municipal Museum of Antiquities at Middelburg, Holland, and to Mr. W. O. Swaving, Keeper of the Municipal Archives; to G. Clinton Baker, Esq., for permission to reproduce portraits from the famous Kitcat Collection at Bayfordbury; to Mark Firth, Esq., and the Hon. T. F. Fremantle; to Fairfax Rhodes, Esq.; to the Very Rev. the Dean of Gloucester; to the Rev. F. W. Galpin, for leave to photograph musical instruments from his valuable collection, and for information as to their history and use; to the Hon. Mrs. Maxwell Scott; to Mr. C. H. Firth; to the authorities of the Great Ormond Street Hospital for Sick Children, and to Adrian Hope, Esq.; and finally and pre-eminently to the authorities of the British Museum. As in preceding volumes, Miss E. M. Leonard, of Girton College, Cambridge, and Mr. T. D. Atkinson have rendered valuable help in selecting illustrations, while Professor Oman has performed a similar service in the case of his own contribution, which he has revised and amplified. The bibliographies at the end of each chapter, and the text generally, have also been subjected to careful revision.

J. S. Mann.

February, 1903.

Social England.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE STUARTS AND THE NATION. 1603–1642.

ARTHUR HASSALL The Rule of the Stuarts.

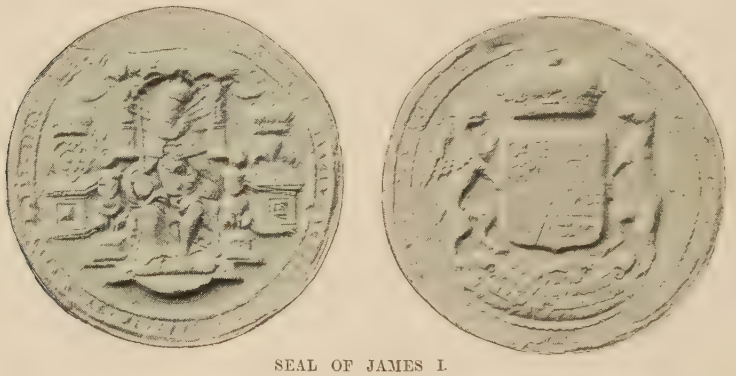
If the sixteenth century may be described as an age of "expansion," the seventeenth may with equal justice be characterised as an age of "concentration." Throughout the reign of Elizabeth the gaze of the nation seems as it were to be turned persistently outwards—its practical energies directed to colonisation and conquest, its intellectual impulses urging it forward with glorious results towards new worlds of poetic and dramatic art. In every chapter of the later Elizabethan annals, and in almost every page of Elizabethan literature, we feel the presence of this spirit. And no less intimately are we conscious, throughout the seventeenth century, that these processes have been reversed, and that a period, so to speak, of anxious and painful introspection has succeeded to one of ardent and enthusiastic outlook. The nation has no longer either the leisure or the heart to busy itself with its imperial aggrandisement: it has to direct all the thoughts of its ablest thinkers, and to summon all the vigour of its men of affairs, to the solution of the formidable problems with which the path of its domestic politics is beset.

Its Political Problems.

Two of these great questions—the question of the prerogative and the question of religion—were already prominent when James Stuart, son of Mary Queen of Scots, succeeded Elizabeth on the English throne. All the changes in the sixteenth century had been in favour of the Crown. Immense, though temporary, powers were given to the Tudors to enable them to complete the overthrow of the medieval nobility, to carry

through the struggle with Rome, to maintain order at home, and to avert the risk of foreign invasion. By means of the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, the depression of the nobility was completely effected and outward conformity in religion was insisted upon. Parliament played but a small part under the Tudors, being content to give the Crown fresh powers so long as its holders were, like Elizabeth, truly representative of the nation.

But after the defeat of the Armada the circumstances which had led to the Tudor dictatorship were fast disappearing. The personal influence of Elizabeth and of her predecessors had in reality rested upon the national approbation, and with her



SEAL OF JAMES I.

death it was evident that the question of the prerogative would require delicate handling.

Rival Theories of Monarchy.

Already political theorists had discussed the question of the sovereignty of the State, and on James's accession two theories of royalty had arisen. On the one hand, the theory of the Divine Right of kings had been adopted in many quarters as the logical outcome of the feudal or proprietary idea of sovereignty. According to this idea the king was the real possessor of the country, and the only superior lord of the king was God. Closely connected with this view was the idea of the government of the Church by divinely ordained priests, and the *dictum* "No bishop no king" represents the position of those who, like James, held firmly to the feudal notion with regard to authority. On the other hand, judicial and executive authority

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

had for some time past been placed in the hands of elective officials, while the Reformation had produced the idea of Church government by the congregation. In the political as well as in the religious sphere the idea of official government was being developed. In place of the Divine Right of royalty arose the notion of constitutional royalty dependent on the will of the people; while the Puritan party wished not only to remain independent of the Pope, but to sweep away all that reminded them of the pre-Reformation period—bishops, ceremonies, and ritual.

England was, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, strong and united. A king was required who could appreciate the true character and position of the Tudor monarchy and would exercise a calming and moderating influence upon the warring religious factions. Unfortunately, neither James nor Charles met the need. The Tudors had used their discretionary power with wisdom. They did not attempt to define, they pleaded expediency, and, speaking generally, they used this power cautiously. James I., on the contrary, attempted to define the prerogative. His Law of Free Monarchies, Cowell's Interpreter, and the Canons of 1606 all afford ample evidence of this tendency. Not satisfied with defining his authority, he claimed a wide prerogative by right. Urged by that need of money which was chronic with him, as with his successors (p. 182), James increased the import duties without consulting Parliament, and in Bate's case (1606) obtained from the judges a decision that the king could increase or vary such taxes by his prerogative alone. Ignoring the growing opposition to the free exercise of his royal power, he threw the weight of his prerogative on the side of the episcopalian party, with the result that Puritanism allied itself with the constitutional

A PROVERB APPLIED.

(*From a Print of* 1652.)

The Stuart Kingship.

opposition which already had the support of the Common Lawyers.

Unable to appreciate the new national spirit, and convinced that he was possessed of a "Divine hereditary right," it is not to be wondered at that James, from the outset of his reign, came into frequent collision with his Parliaments, and rapidly destroyed that mutual understanding between ruler and ruled which had been the firmest support of the Tudor government.

James I.'s Policy.

His policy was a curious mixture of good sense and folly. He desired to use diplomacy instead of war, to conciliate the Catholic Powers in Europe by granting toleration to the English Catholics, to suppress Puritanism, and to bring about the union of Great Britain. Unfortunately, he mistook the general resemblance between Puritanism and Presbyterianism for a specific identity. The English Puritans, unlike the Scottish Presbyterians, did not universally desire any change in Church government. Some of them merely disliked the severe methods of Elizabeth, and merely wished for greater freedom. They expressed their views in the Millenary Petition (pp. 26, 51). An opportunity which seemed to offer an excellent prospect of settlement was afforded by the Hampton Court Conference (pp. 26, 52). But he was unwilling, it may be unable, to take it. Three hundred ministers, according to one estimate, were driven out of the Church, and a large number of his subjects alienated at the outset of his reign. As to the Catholics, he had, even before his accession, declared that he wished to stop all persecution. Both France and Spain sought his alliance, and he was from the first anxious to bring about a general peace, to enter into friendly relations with Spain, and to tolerate the English Catholics. In 1604 he made a treaty with Spain, but this attempt to give play to his natural inclinations was premature. Till 1612 the influence of Cecil, the folly and rashness of his enemies, who formed the "Main" and "Bye" plots for Cecil's overthrow, and perhaps for the dethronement of the king himself, and the Puritan temper of Parliament, forced James to revive the penal laws against the Catholics, and to return to a Protestant foreign policy. The Gunpowder Plot in 1605 justified the attitude of Parliament, ended all opposition to James's accession, and threw him decidedly into the Protestant

THE CONFERENCE OF ENGLISH AND SPANISH PLENIPOTENTIARIES AT OLD SOMERSET HOUSE IN 1604; BY MARC GHEERAEDTS.

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

cause in Europe. England, until Cecil's death, takes no unimportant part in European politics. She assisted in bringing about the truce between Spain and the United Netherlands in 1609, she acted vigorously on the side of Brandenburg in the Cleves-Julich succession question; the marriages of Prince Henry with the second daughter of Henry IV., and of the Princess Elizabeth with Frederick V., the Calvinist Elector Palatine, were arranged, and James entered into alliance with the German Protestant Union.

James and Parliament.

But though Cecil's influence led to the continuance of England's foreign policy on the lines followed by Elizabeth, and to the increase of England's reputation in Europe, he was unable to bring about satisfactory relations between James and his Parliament. The first Parliament sat from 1604 to 1611, and its temper marks the beginning of that opposition to the Stuart rule which culminated in the Civil War. In the disputed elections of Goodwin and Fortescue Parliament made an important assertion of its right to settle contested elections, while in the case of Shirley it claimed successfully the right of its members to freedom from arrest. Parliament further insisted on increased severities against the Catholics, and punished Cowell for publishing in his Law Dictionary the claims of the Crown to absolute powers in virtue of its Divine Right. It rejected the Union with Scotland (1607; p. 243), complained of the Book of Rates and Proclamations (1610), and secured the withdrawal of the Great Contract. Parliament, dissolved in anger by James in 1611, did not meet again till 1614, when, as the "Addled Parliament," it showed such an independence of spirit, together with a desire to criticise the legality of impositions and monopolies (pp. 191–194), that after two months James hurriedly dissolved it.

From the date of Cecil's death (1612) to the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618 James endeavoured to carry out his own views at home and abroad. Prince Henry had also died in 1612, and James henceforward was influenced by unworthy favourites such as Robert Carr and Villiers, better known as the Earl of Buckingham, who from 1615 exercised a disastrous influence on the destinies of England. The age of favourites had succeeded that of statesmen, and was marked by a change in England's foreign policy which aroused Puritanism,

and arrayed it in opposition to the Crown. Many circumstances attracted James to a Spanish alliance, and as early as 1611 he had proposed to marry his son to the Infanta. He admired the monarchical institutions of Spain, his vanity was gratified by being treated as an equal by the Spanish king, he hoped, in view of the stubbornness of Parliament, to get money from Philip III. for his daughter's dowry, and he was convinced that a Spanish alliance would enable him to preserve peace in Europe. The Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, exercised great influence over James, and the Spanish prime

James' Foreign Policy.

ONE OF KING JAMES'S GUARD (MS. Egerton 1269).

minister, Lerma, was thoroughly in earnest in the marriage negotiations, which began in 1617. But the Spaniards were determined not to allow the match unless they were assured that the conversion of England would follow from it, while Gondomar himself, totally unaware of the strength of the Puritan feeling, believed that James could restore Catholicism by a royal mandate. The failure of Raleigh's expedition to Guiana (1617 ; p. 81, note) was caused by James's disclosures to Gondomar, and the execution of the author of "The History of the World" was entirely due to Spanish intrigue (1618). As a Spanish marriage implied increased privileges to Catholics in England, it was not to be wondered at that James's foreign policy, embellished by such acts as the execution of Raleigh, caused bitter anger among the people.

James and the Thirty Years' War.

In 1618 the Bohemian Revolution took place and the Thirty Years' War began. When Frederick Count Palatine, James's son-in-law, who had been elected king of Bohemia in opposition to the Archduke Ferdinand, the legal king, asked him for advice, James was unable to make up his mind until too late. In 1620, when the Palatinate was in danger from Spanish troops, he allowed some English volunteers, under Sir Horace Vere, to establish themselves in some of the principal cities, such as Heidelberg, Mannheim, and Frankenthal. Had James convinced the Spaniards that their invasion of the Palatinate would be followed by English intervention, it is probable that a peaceful settlement of the difficult questions then dividing Germany would have been arrived at. But his hesitation and indecision convinced Gondomar that there was nothing to fear from England, and in August Spinola and his forces invaded the Palatinate, and James was thus in great measure responsible for the expansion of the Bohemian struggle into a European war. On November 29 the battle of the White Hill ruined Frederick's fortunes in Bohemia, and James had only the question of the Palatinate before him. He had already been roused by the news of the Spanish invasion, and had summoned Parliament. When the famous Parliament of 1621 met the members were strongly in favour of the defence of Protestantism abroad, but James, as usual, procrastinated. His weakness and indecision ruined all. Believing that negotiations would still effect his purpose of recovering the Palatinate, he sent Digby to Vienna. Without an army Digby could only procure a short cessation of arms. Had James put himself at the head of the English nation, he could have forced Frederick to renounce the Bohemian crown, the Spaniards to retire from the Palatinate, and the Catholic League to respect his power. But James showed no intention of trusting his people, and the Commons, furious at his inaction, turned upon domestic grievances, attacked monopolies, impeached Bacon, now Lord Chancellor of England, of bribery, and secured his conviction and punishment. When Parliament met again, in November, 1621, its temper was so strongly anti-Spanish and its advice to James so plain-spoken that on January 6, 1622, he dissolved it. In doing so he committed the greatest blunder of his reign. All chance of

influencing Spain and the League was gone. All hope of recovering the Palatinate disappeared, and its reduction was

Photo : W. Spooner & Co., Strand, W.C.
ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF BOHEMIA. (*Hampton Court Palace.*)

completed by March, 1623. But James still believed in words; he had, too, never relinquished his plan of a Spanish match.

The Spanish Match.

In 1623 the famous journey of Charles and Buckingham to Madrid took place, James hoping that when the match was arranged the king of Spain would give him the Palatinate as a wedding present. But the king of Spain was resolved not to agree to the match unless complete liberty of worship was secured to the English Catholics, and unless the Infanta had her own public church, and full control of the education of her children. Moreover, it became evident that Olivarez, the Spanish minister, had no intention of bringing any pressure to bear on the Emperor in order to hand over the Palatinate to England. Convinced at last that all chance of a Spanish match was at an end, and that force was necessary for the recovery of the Palatinate, James broke with Spain, prepared for war, and summoned his last Parliament, which met on February 17, 1624. The Commons voted supplies, impeached the Lord High Treasurer, the Earl of Middlesex, for corruption, declared against a French marriage treaty, and demanded a war with Spain by sea. But James determined by means of a land war in Germany to recover the Palatinate, made an alliance with France, and married Charles to Henrietta Maria in May, 1625. In December, 1624, James had ratified the French marriage treaty; in January, 1625, the ill-starred expedition of Mansfield and his 12,000 English troops set out; in February James decided on an alliance with Christian IV. of Denmark, and on March 27 he died.

Charles I.

CHARLES I., who reigned from 1625 to 1649, had, by his wife Henrietta Maria, three sons and four daughters. Of the daughters, Mary, who married William of Nassau, was the mother of William III.; and of the sons the two elder, Charles and James, were kings of England. Unlike his ungainly father, Charles was dignified and ceremonious. Strongly attached to the English Church, he was, if possible, more convinced than James I. of his Divine Right to rule, and of the close connection between episcopacy and royalty. But he had no knowledge of foreign politics, no experience of the danger of popular opposition, no capacity for the wise conduct of affairs. Though he relied on such men as Buckingham, he was possessed of an extreme obstinacy. He never realised

Photo : W. Spooner & Co., Strand, W.C

KING CHARLES I.

(From the picture by Vandyck at Hampton Court Palace.)

the intense Protestant feeling of the country, now roused by the great war on the Continent to a dangerous height; he never understood the character of the House of Commons, filled mainly with wealthy and independent country gentlemen, and he never appreciated the fact that the English Constitution was to be regarded as a compromise.

England and Europe, 1625-1630.

On his accession the Protestant cause on the Continent seemed to be in a very precarious position. The armies of Wallenstein and Tilly were threatening Christian IV., and Gustavus Adolphus was busy in Poland. Like his father, Charles was resolved to recover the Palatinate for his brother-in-law. On May 26, 1625, he promised Christian IV. £30,000 a month, and in November England and the States General made the Treaty of the Hague with Denmark. But Charles found he was unable to keep his promises, and the unfortunate Christian was overthrown at Lutter in August, 1626, and forced in 1629 to make the Peace of Lübeck and to withdraw from the war. Charles's failure to aid Christian was due partly to his ill-advised policy with regard to France and Spain, partly to the change of feeling at home with regard to the Continental war, partly to his quarrels with the House of Commons. On his accession he had hoped to place himself at the head of a great Protestant alliance, and Cecil's expedition to Cadiz in October, 1625, and Buckingham's journey to the Hague in November were distinct attempts to carry out this policy. But Cecil's expedition failed, the Treaty of the Hague did not become the nucleus of a great European league, and by the end of the year England's relations with France had become dangerously strained. Charles was angry at the employment by the French of English ships (p. 14) against the Huguenot insurgents of La Rochelle, while the French were irritated at the seizure by the English of some French ships, at Charles's interference on behalf of the Huguenots, and at the dismissal of Henrietta's French servants. In May, 1626, France and Spain made peace at Monzon, and before the end of the year England found herself at war with both these Powers. Charles had never understood the real meaning of the struggle at Rochelle, and by becoming involved in a war with the two great western Powers he was unable to send any aid to Christian, who, though Lutter had been lost, was still holding out.

GEORGE VILLIERS, FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, K.G., AND FAMILY; BY GERARD HONTHORST.

(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

Buckingham's expedition to Rhé (June–November, 1627) was a complete failure (p. 316), and, though the nation and Privy Council were opposed to his policy, Charles was determined to carry on the war with France, and to aid the Rochellese. Further attempts in 1628 to succour La Rochelle failed, and on April 24, 1629, the Peace of Susa ended the war with France, while the Treaty of Madrid, on November 5, 1630, closed that with Spain.

James and the Commons.

But Christian's defeat was also partly due to the diminution of the war fever in England. The Commons were beginning to realise that the Spanish power was declining, and that Spain was not likely to form a universal monarchy. Further, they had never comprehended the meaning of the struggle in Germany, and did not appreciate the results likely to flow from the establishment of a strong military and Catholic Empire by means of Wallenstein's army. There were, moreover, domestic difficulties which occupied their attention and tended to become more serious each succeeding year. Between 1625 and 1629 Charles attempted to rule with Parliament, and during these years three Parliaments were summoned. The first Parliament met in June, 1625, shortly after Charles's accession. Being suspicious about the terms of the king's marriage treaty with France, very discontented at the writings of Mountague (p. 41), one of the most extreme members of the Laudian party, and at the disaster which had befallen Mansfield's expedition, and, moreover, disliking Buckingham's influence, they only voted Charles two subsidies—that is to say, £140,000, a manifestly inadequate sum, considering that England was then at war—and tonnage and poundage for one year. Charles, furious at the attack on the Arminian writings of Mountague and at the niggardliness of the Commons, refused to accept the grant. After an adjournment, the Parliament met at Oxford, and the new session proved a very stormy one. Richelieu had used eight English ships, lent him by the English Government, to attack the Protestants of La Rochelle, and the Commons were naturally unable to understand how such conduct could be explained. More suspicious than ever of Buckingham, they renewed their petition of the previous session against the Catholics, refused to grant money unless their grievances were redressed,

SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

and were dissolved in August. The second Parliament met in February, 1626, shortly after the complete failure of Cecil's expedition to Cadiz. Led by Sir John Eliot, Digges, and Pym, the Commons proceeded to attack and punish Mountague, to draw up a list of grievances, and finally to impeach Buckingham. It was evident that deep discontent existed at the ecclesiastical and foreign policy of the king, who, to save his favourite, dissolved Parliament on June 19.

The Fears of Reaction.

Before the opening of his third Parliament Charles had broken with France, and the disastrous expedition to Rhé had taken place. By various illegal means Charles managed to obtain a certain amount of money, but his attempts, even when successful, caused serious and widespread discontent. In religious matters he showed himself equally arbitrary. The absolute prerogative of the king was openly advocated by such men as Drs. Sibthorp and Mainwaring. The Catholic reaction was at its height on the Continent, the Emperor's power extended to the shores of the Baltic, and it was regarded as not at all improbable that the reaction would reach England. Great uneasiness prevailed throughout England, which was increased when Charles claimed absolute power by right, and in the case of Darnel (or the Five Knights) obtained a decision of the judges in his favour, which practically annihilated the twenty-ninth clause of Magna Carta—"No free man shall be taken and imprisoned unless by lawful judgment of his peers or the law of the land." By the end of 1627 the money which the king had collected by these unconstitutional means had been spent. He was anxious to help the Huguenots and to retrieve the disaster at Rhé, and accordingly he summoned Parliament to meet in March, 1628.

In spite of the many violations of public liberty, the Parliament adopted a moderate tone. Many of the members feared that by continued opposition the king might be driven to overthrow Parliament by his extraordinary prerogative. But the king's speech was insulting and impolitic, and the Commons, in promising five subsidies, demanded redress of grievances before the Bill was passed. After much angry discussion, Sir Thomas Wentworth moved that "grievances and supplies should go hand in hand," and the Commons presented the Petition of Right to the king. This petition

The Petition of Right, 1628.

contained a declaration that certain rights which had been violated must be recognised in the future. The petition declared—1, That loans and exactions of money without consent of Parliament are illegal; 2, That no one should be imprisoned without cause shown; 3, That the billeting of soldiers and sailors on people against their will is illegal; 4, That no commissions should be issued to military officers to try subjects by martial law in time of peace.

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

THOMAS WENTWORTH, EARL OF STRAFFORD, K.G.

(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

The king's answer, after consulting the judges, to this petition was considered evasive, but after a period of excitement Charles accepted the petition, and the Commons voted the five subsidies. They next proceeded to attack Buckingham and to draw up remonstrances against illegal taxation. But before their discussions had advanced far Charles suddenly, in June, prorogued the House. Between the first and second session two important events occurred. Buckingham was assassinated on August 23, and Wentworth accepted the

Earldom of Strafford and joined the Court party. His views had always been in favour of authority, and he had never believed in the wisdom of the Commons. Distrust of Buckingham had thrown him into the ranks of the opponents of the Government, but when once Buckingham was removed by death Wentworth naturally became a supporter of the royal prerogative. With this formidable addition to his strength Charles summoned his Parliament for its second session. The

Went-worth's Defection.

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

BUST OF JOHN HAMPDEN.

(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

Commons, angry at the king's disregard of the Petition of Right and at his ecclesiastical policy, drew up a remonstrance, in which it was declared that anyone who paid tonnage or poundage, or who favoured Popery or Arminianism, was a traitor to the realm. After the memorable scene when the Speaker was held in his chair, Parliament was dissolved, Eliot was imprisoned, and Charles determined to rule without Parliaments.

For ten years—from 1629 to 1639—the Government was

Government without Parliament.

carried on by the king and Council. During this period the country was prosperous, but the discontent was universal. Strafford and Laud represented to the popular mind the two chief influences, lay and ecclesiastical, and the causes of the Civil War which gradually accumulate during these ten years are as much religious as political. The great difficulty was the collection of revenue. It was therefore necessary to give up foreign wars, peace was made with both France and Spain, and Charles made no attempt to interfere actively in Germany, where the Thirty Years' War was raging.

To fill his empty treasury he appealed to the Star Chamber, which proceeded to exact fines on the most trivial grounds, and by this means raised very large sums for the king (p. 183). The old law of knighthood was revived, and at least £100,000 was raised by fines from those who had not taken up their knighthood. Many other obsolete laws were revived, and an examination of the boundaries of the forests discovered the fact that extensive encroachments had been made. By exacting enormous fines or annual rents from the occupiers of land within the forest boundaries, by the establishment and sale of monopolies (p. 191), by benevolences and customs, and by many similar methods Charles managed to raise, between 1629 and 1634, very large sums of money.

Ship-money.

In 1634 it was determined to obtain a fixed revenue by the collection of ship-money from all the counties. "Let the king," said Strafford, "only abstain from war for three years, that he may habituate his subjects to the payment of this tax, and in the end he will find himself more powerful and respected than any of his predecessors." In 1637 John Hampden refused to pay 20s. for his property in Stoke Mandeville, and the case was tried by all the judges in the Exchequer Chamber. The judgment of the majority of the judges was in the king's favour, and the position of the royal prerogative seemed unassailable. But the appeal of Charles to the judges was in reality very impolitic. Popular indignation, roused by what was considered an unjust decision, was turned against the judges.

While the discontent was increasing at the many illegal acts of oppression, the ecclesiastical policy of the Government was causing profound dissatisfaction. Like Strafford, Laud,

SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

the king's adviser in religious matters (p. 36), was devoted to a line of action in favour of the assertion of authority known as "thorough." Unfortunately he used the High Commission Court very frequently, and its unpopularity was increased by the support which it received from the Star Chamber. He aimed, too, at introducing ecclesiastics into the Government offices, at restoring the old political importance of the Church, and at reviving the influence of the ecclesiastical courts. The punishments of Leighton, Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton revealed the unpopularity of the ecclesiastical policy of the Government. But Charles, instead of insisting on toleration, allied himself with the small High Church party and insisted on outward conformity. Though England, with much murmuring, accepted the Laudian system, an attempt to introduce it into Scotland provoked an outbreak which brought to an end the period of tyranny without Parliament.

Laud.

HEAD AND LIMBS OF AN APPRENTICE HANGED AT SALISBURY FOR TREASONABLE LANGUAGE.

(*From a Contemporary Print.*)

The course of this struggle down to the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant in March, 1638, must be left to be dealt with in a subsequent section (p 242). That event placed Charles in a difficult position. He had no army, and he knew that many of his subjects were opposed to his policy in Scotland. He decided to send Hamilton as a High Commissioner to negotiate with the Covenanters while he prepared an armed force. He felt that the question of sovereignty was at stake, and when the General Assembly met at Glasgow in November, 1638, war was inevitable. This Assembly, though dissolved by Hamilton, continued its sitting and annulled all Acts of former Assemblies from 1606, abolished Episcopacy,

The Struggle with Scotland: The Bishops' Wars.

and re-established the Presbyterian system. Charles was inclined for strong measures, Strafford for a war of defence. Scotland contained many veterans who had fought under Gustavus Adolphus and were animated by an enthusiasm for Protestantism. Charles, with only £50,000, was unable to collect an army equal in discipline, equipment, and in commissariat arrangements to the Scottish army, which, under Leslie, was stationed in a strong position at Dunse Law. Appreciating the weakness of his own forces, Charles determined to agree to a pacification, and in June the first Bishops' War was closed by the Treaty of Berwick. The Assembly and the Parliament were to meet in Edinburgh, the forces of the Covenanters were to be disbanded, and the royal castles restored. At Edinburgh the Assembly and the Parliament again abolished Episcopacy, and Charles determined upon another war. In order to procure supplies, he summoned the Short Parliament, which met on April 13, 1640, and was dissolved on May 5. In this Parliament the members differed from the king in their views with regard to the Scottish war. The House, headed by Pym, refused to grant supplies till grievances had been redressed, and adopted a strong religious tone. To avoid receiving a proposal for the abandonment of his war with Scotland, Charles suddenly dissolved the Parliament, and entered upon the second Bishops' War, 1640. Encouraged by the attitude of the English nation, the Scots crossed the border, declared they were come to fight against evil counsellors, and demanded redress of grievances, punishment of evil advisers, and the summoning of an English Parliament. After the king's troops had been defeated in a skirmish, negotiations were opened at Ripon, and Charles summoned a Great Council, consisting of peers alone, at York. This Council of Peers urged the summoning of Parliament, and on November 3, 1640, the Long Parliament met.

The Long Parliament.

During the first session (November, 1640–September, 1641) the constitutional party had the upper hand. The Court of Star Chamber, the High Commission Court, the Council of the North, and the Stannary Courts were all swept away; ship-money, tonnage and poundage, and all impositions levied without consent of Parliament were declared illegal; commissioners were appointed to dispose of those subsidies which the

Commons had voted; a Triennial Bill was passed directing the summoning of Parliament every three years, even if the king did not call it. Still showing extraordinary energy, the Commons, led by Pym, impeached Strafford on March 22, 1641. It was extremely doubtful if the charges against Strafford amounted to high treason, and the Commons acted wisely in abandoning the impeachment, and proceeding against him by Bill of attainder. The discovery of the Army Plot on May 3 alarmed the Peers, who passed the Bill, and Strafford was executed on May 12. On the same day Charles assented to a Bill declaring that Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent. Charles's system of personal government had now come to an end; the extraordinary powers of the Crown, acquired in Tudor times, were abolished; it was impossible for the king to carry on the Government without the co-operation of Parliament.

The Fall of Strafford.

In August, after the Parliament had disbanded the English army and secured the retirement of the Scottish troops, Charles set out for Edinburgh, hoping by conciliatory measures to gain Scottish assistance against the House of Commons. A slight reaction in his favour had set in before his departure. Strafford's death led many to hope that the king would now be guided by wiser counsels. Moreover, it was felt that Charles had agreed to all necessary Bills, and that there was danger lest Parliament itself should become in its turn despotic. People began to talk of "King" Pym. The Commons, too, by supporting the root-and-branch Bill for the abolition of Episcopacy, had roused a very strong opposition throughout the country, which increased in volume when orders were issued by Parliament shortly before its adjournment interfering in a Calvinistic direction with the Church ritual. Charles, unfortunately, instead of adopting a moderate tone and conciliatory measures, determined to tamper with all parties and to secure support outside as well as within Parliament. On arriving in Edinburgh he agreed to the Scottish demands; but his influence was weakened by the discovery of a plot, headed by Montrose, for killing Argyle and Hamilton.

On October 20 the English Parliament met, full of suspicion with regard to Charles's conduct in Scotland, and three days later the Irish insurrection broke out in Ulster.

EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF STRAFFORD.

(From an engraving by W. Hollar.)

MARIN COUNTY

The cruelties perpetrated roused the utmost horror in England, and strengthened the Commons in their distrust of the executive. From the beginning of November the party of political revolution, headed by Pym and Hampden, came definitely forward. On November 8 the Grand Remonstrance was introduced, and on the 23rd it was carried amid a scene of unprecedented uproar. It was an appeal to the people against the royalist reaction; it contained a searching examination of grievances, a defence of the acts of the present Parliament, and a programme for the future. Charles returned to London on November 25, and had an excellent reception; but, instead of conciliating his opponents, he by a series of ill-judged acts roused universal suspicion, and played into the hands of the extreme party in the Parliament. The appointment of the notorious Lunsford in December to the post of Lieutenant of the Tower, though rescinded two days later, was a mistake; while the impeachment of the Five Members, followed by the failure of an attempt to arrest them, was a very serious error in judgment. It was felt to be impossible, in view of the spread of the Irish Rebellion, to entrust the king with an army which, after Ireland had been pacified, might be employed against the English Parliament. The final struggle between Charles and the Commons arose naturally, considering the circumstances of the time, over the command of the militia. Charles refused to place the militia—as the trained bands of the country were called—under officers chosen by the Commons (p. 58), and technically he had right on his side.

The Grand Remonstrance.

But at the beginning of 1642 war was inevitable. The queen had gone abroad to buy arms, and Charles had agreed to the exclusion of the bishops from the House of Lords merely to gain time. According to Clarendon, he never intended to keep his promise.

The Commons were no doubt perfectly justified—seeing that a state of war might almost be said to exist—in declining to allow the king to appoint officers of the militia. In March Parliament declared that all who exercised any power over the militia without their consent were enemies to peace. In the early summer both sides began to collect troops. On August 22, 1642, Charles set up his standard at Nottingham, and the Civil War began.

The Outbreak of War.

W. H. HUTTON. The Anglican Reaction.

UNDER Elizabeth the settlement of Church government and the relations between Church and State had been a compromise, and this characteristic affected the whole ecclesiastical history of her reign. Yet what was fixed and settled was maintained with firm hand. How far would this curious condition of affairs, half compromise, half autocracy, continue under a successor who differed from the great queen in every possible way? Never in English history was expectancy more awake.

Hopes of the Dissidents.

From James the foes of the Church expected much. The Calvinistic Puritans hoped that he would enable them to reform the Church after their own model, and that he would favour the introduction of the complete Presbyterian system, advocated as a spiritual necessity by Cartwright. He was a member of the Scots Church, which was reformed on the Presbyterian scheme; the expectation of English Presbyterians was a natural one (p. 50).

The Roman Catholics looked, at least, for toleration, and there was a prospect, many thought, of reconciliation with the Papacy. James was the son of Mary Stuart; and he had himself declared that he was unwilling that the blood of any man should be shed for diversity in religion. While the sectaries were hopeful, the Church was in dismay. Whitgift sent timid messages of congratulation to the new king, expecting the worst.

James I. as a Theologian.

But James defeated all expectations. He was not without learning in theology or without sagacity in statesmanship; and both as theologian and as statesman he was disposed to accept the Church of England as he found it. As a theologian he was thus disposed because from his study of "holy Scripture and ancient authors" he had become convinced of the truth of the doctrine of the continuity of the Church: his theology, in fact, was not divorced from history. As a statesman he was still more readily influenced by the Anglican establishment, because he had felt the yoke of the Presbyterian system, which claimed to rule all secular as well as all religious life, and had raised up in Scotland a class of arrogant dogmatists who had become the real rulers of the people, and who had ventured to speak of their sovereign as "God's silly vassal."

In fact, James saw the intimate connection—at least at that period of the world's history—between Episcopacy and Monarchy. He had already restored a moderate Episcopalianism in Scotland (1599). "Presbytery," he said, "agreeth as well with Monarchy as God and the devil." "No bishop no king" was, indeed, one of the wisest of his *obiter dicta*. It was a true prophecy that if the traditional government by bishops, which was, especially in its dependence on direct succession, a guarantee for order and a check on revolution, were abolished, the Monarchy must follow. The claims of the Monarchy of the Stuarts in England upon popular support were really much slighter than those of the historic episcopate. If men began to inquire into the origin of Monarchy—as they were already beginning—they were sure, sooner or later, to reach a conclusion which based its authority on the consent of the governed. Though James himself always tried to enforce the theory of its Divine institution, it was clear that it would eventually be admitted to be founded on the people's will; and the inference would follow that its maintenance must ultimately depend upon its utility. Now the episcopate also depended upon this, but it claimed moreover a traditional, scriptural, and historical basis in Divine providence. Bishops might exist without kings, but at that time certainly kings could not exist without bishops. The enemies of each were the same, and kingship could not defend itself alone. Something after this fashion did history shape itself in James's mind when it led him to cling to the episcopal order.

Monarchy and Church Polity.

Besides this, the king was politically drawn to the Church of England as being by its form of government contrasted with the Protestant churches of the Continent. Protestantism abroad might well seem to the men of his time to mean disloyalty, disunion, and anarchy. Such was its meaning in France, where it sheltered the feudal independence of nobles, and the narrow, local, separatist tendencies which must be overcome before France should display her greatness. Such it might appear in the Palatinate, where James's hot-headed son-in-law threw off all obligations of moral and legal right, and rushed into an utterly selfish struggle for the disunion of Germany. At first sight the case of Holland might seem to point the other way; but even the United Provinces suffered

Protestantism on the Continent.

from revolution and lawlessness, and the conduct of the Dutch in the East Indies was marked by almost fiendish cruelty and an utter disregard of the rights of individuals and of nations, whether civilised or uncivilised (p. 189).

James, then, was doomed to disappoint expectations. It was not long before this was made manifest. On his way to London he received a petition, to which 750 letters of assent had been received, but which claimed to be the demands of at least a thousand of the Puritan ministers within the Church. The Millenary Petition (pp. 4, 51) touched questions of the sacraments, and of certain more or less significant ceremonies. The sum of its desires involved a separation of the English Church from historic Christianity, and a definite alliance with foreign Protestantism. It did not stand alone as the expression of public opinion on Church matters. The great political theorist of the day, Bacon, put forth "Certain Considerations touching the better Pacification and Edification of the Church of England." His proposals, so far as they were definite, were illusory. It was not the time for reason to suggest articles of peace. No bond of union can be found in free inquiry—a basis suggested by a historian as suitable at this conjunction. Amid the difficulties that surround belief there must be a basis of agreement in order to obtain the union which Bacon desired. Such a basis the Anglicans sought in the Bible as interpreted by the Fathers and Councils of the Church and by universal custom. To such a basis the Millenary Petitioners would not agree.

The Millenary Petition.

Such were the circumstances when the king, in the autumn of 1603, issued a proclamation promising to correct all abuses in the Church, and summoned a conference to discuss them. The conference met at Hampton Court, January 14, 1604. Four preachers represented the Puritans, while nineteen appeared on the part of the Church. Thus, from the first, an air of unfairness deprived the conclusions of any attraction for doubtful consciences (p. 52). The Puritan objections were such as had often been urged—against the use of the sign of the cross and of the surplice. The demands practically resolved themselves into a desire for the enforcement of the Lambeth Articles, the famous body of Calvinistic divinity which had never received the assent of Convocation. The conference

The Hampton Court Conference.

SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

was, as far as the discovery of any means of reunion was concerned, a complete failure. Divided, indeed, as they were by their respective principles of appeal to history and adherence

THE CHAPEL, HAMPTON COURT PALACE.

to private interpretation, the two parties were irreconcilable. The result served to show clearly how deep was the gulf which divided the Puritans from the Anglicans, though both were

still within the Church. Yet the conference was not wholly barren: by agreement of both sides, the work was undertaken which gave to the English-speaking world that "well of English undefiled"—the Authorised Version of the Bible issued in 1611 (p. 130; III., p. 287).

Bancroft Primate.

The conference was hardly over before the stout archbishop died. The appointment of his successor showed clearly the lines upon which the king's policy was to run. The chair of St. Augustine was filled by Bancroft, Bishop of London, whose sermon on the Divine right of Episcopacy had been the turning-point of the literary warfare nearly twenty years before.

He came into office when Convocation had passed a new body of canons, the most important code of Church law issued since the Reformation (p. 52). Nor was this all: it was plain that his policy was to be dictated by the State. A few days after his appointment he was ordered by the Council to proceed against the nonconforming ministers. Before the end of the year 1604 the archbishop directed that all curates and lecturers should be required, under pain of dismissal, to declare their assent to the Royal Supremacy and their belief that the Book of Common Prayer contained nothing contrary to the Word of God, and that the Thirty-Nine Articles were agreeable to the Word of God. In the case of beneficed clergy, those who refused to make these declarations were, nevertheless, to be allowed to retain their livings if they would conform (p. 52). It must be admitted that these measures were by no means severe. It is obvious that such a declaration of belief was a very moderate demand to make of men who received their income from Church property. They were only required to say that there was nothing contrary to the truth in the doctrines of the Church whose pay they took. It is difficult, therefore, to feel much sympathy for those—were they three hundred, as was stated, or but forty-nine, as the archbishop admitted—who refused to subscribe, and lost their livings. But the deprivation, though reasonable in itself, was carried out in a manner eminently characteristic of the worst side of the spirit of the times—by the power of the State through the High Commission, and thus by means entirely contrary to the constitutional rights of the clergy.

Attack on Nonconformity.

Such were the beginnings of the new policy towards Non-

conformity. Towards Roman Catholics the king's attitude was different. He was tolerant by disposition and conviction. As in many matters, so in the intellectual appreciation of the duty of religious toleration, he was in advance of most of his contemporaries. In personal character he was merciful and peaceable. He had promised, soon after his accession, that he would not proceed against "any that will be quiet but

Conciliation of Romanists.

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

RICHARD BANCROFT, BISHOP OF LONDON.

(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

give an outward obedience." From his opening speech to his first Parliament it would appear that his scheme was not to suppress the Romanists, but gradually to extinguish them by preventing Roman interference with the temporal power, and by the removal of Roman clergy to stop conversions. The scheme was a sagacious one. It accorded with the *via media* which the English Church desired to take, equally apart from Rome and Geneva. That there was some chance of its succeeding seemed evident from the history of two striking figures

of the time—Isaac Casaubon and Marco Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro. The former, a distinguished French layman, the most learned man of the age, had come over to England and conformed to the English Church, in which he saw the most perfect expression of the Apostolic tradition, and from which he hoped for the reunion of Christendom. He died in England, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, 1614. The archbishop was a man of another stamp—ambitious and avaricious to an extreme degree, but not without keen insight. He had quarrelled with the Pope, and thereupon came to England, where he conformed to the Church and wrote a book in its defence. The preferments that he received—the Deanery of Windsor and the Mastership of the Savoy—did not satisfy his opinion of his own merits, and he eventually returned to Rome, where he was imprisoned by the Inquisition till his death. Too much stress must not be laid upon the views of such a man; but it is clear that his endeavour to reunite the Roman and Anglican bodies by proving, to the satisfaction of the Pope and the learned, the Apostolic and Catholic character of the English system was a genuine attempt based upon a belief in the essential unity of the whole Church, in spite of divisions. Thus it was but natural that James should believe it possible to win over the Papists and to unite them to the English Church. The innumerable negotiations in which he was engaged with the Papacy point to this conclusion. But it was a conclusion which neither Rome nor Protestantism would accept. Both the Pope and the English Parliament thought he was tending towards Roman Catholicism; and, like most schemes of compromise in troublous times, his endeavours were worse than useless.

Its Prospects of Success.

It was not long before James saw that one part of his project at least was impossible, and in 1605 he yielded to the pressure of his Parliament and enforced the penal laws against the Papists. It was soon clear that, whatever might be the result of conciliation, coercion did not produce peace. A party of irreconcilables banded together to destroy king and Parliament, and the Gunpowder Plot made any toleration of Romanism impossible for near a hundred years. The history of the plot does not concern us here, but its results are important to our subject. Not only did it lead to an increase

Its Eventual Failure.

THE "GUY FAWKES" CONSPIRATORS, 1605.

(From a Picture in the National Portrait Gallery.)

The Effects of the Gunpowder Plot.

of persecution in spite of the king's persistent reluctance, but, strangely enough, it involved James in the unpopularity of those whom he was reluctant to persecute though they sought his life. A pamphlet of the day even accused him of consent to the plot. But more than this: the plot strengthened tenfold the forces that were fighting against Anglicanism. Anything that savoured of Catholicism seemed to the populace to smell of gunpowder. Popular hatred of Romanists rose to fever-point; the memory of the Smithfield fires was revived. Nothing in the war that followed thirty years later so harmed the royal cause as the king's acceptance of the loyal service of the Roman gentry. With the Gunpowder Plot set in an era of persecution and of relentless animosity among the English people to the Roman Church. From this time the Roman Catholics as a party became insignificant; the hatred they excited was out of all proportion to their influence or their power.

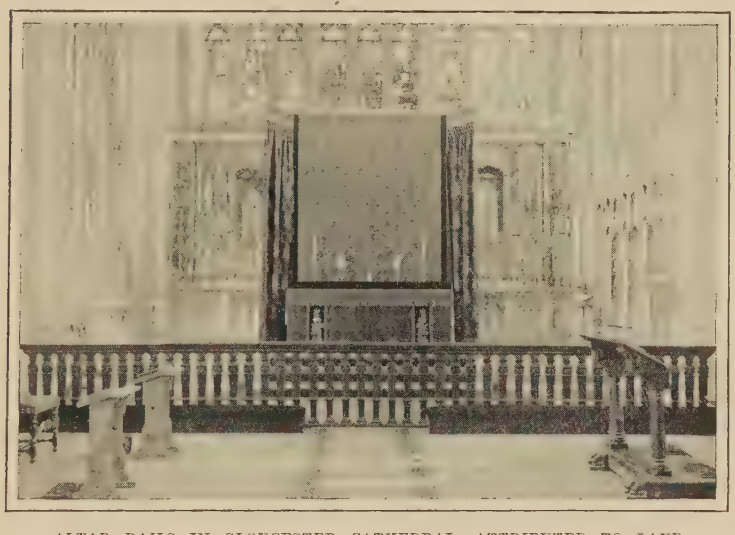
Parliament and Intolerance.

James's policy towards Puritans and Papists alike was directly opposed to that of the majority of each of his Parliaments. The House of Commons was engaged in a battle for political liberty; but, at the same time, it fought to establish intellectual serfdom. It was hot for persecution, and pledged to Calvinism. Pym was uncompromising. "If the Papists once obtain a connivance, they will press for a toleration, from thence to an equality, and from an equality to a superiority, from a superiority to an extirpation of all contrary religions." In 1621 a famous petition was drawn up which strongly urged persecution; and the king's refusal to receive it led to the great protest of privileges, which marks the beginning of the political struggle that culminated in the Civil War.

Sunday Observance.

Toleration and conformity were not the only ecclesiastical questions on which Crown and Parliament were at issue. The question of the observance of Sunday roused a bitter feeling between Puritan and Anglican. The king, at the beginning of his reign, had ordered that "no bear-baiting, bull-baiting, interludes, common plays, or other like disordered or unlawful exercises or pastimes be frequented, kept, or used at any time hereafter on any Sabbath-day." But this was far from satisfying the extremists. It had always been the custom in England to employ Sunday, after the public services of

religion, in recreation (p. 229). But a party now arose which condemned all gaiety. "The Lord's day," says Fuller, "began to be precisely kept, people becoming a law to themselves, forbearing such sports as were yet by statute permitted; yea, many rejoicing at their own restraint herein. On this day the stoutest fencer laid aside his buckler; the most skilful archer unbent his bow, counting all shooting beside the mark; nay, games and morris-dances grew out of request; and good reason that bells should be silenced from jingling about men's



ALTAR RAILS IN GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL, ATTRIBUTED TO LAUD.

legs if their very ringing in steeples were adjudged unlawful." The matter was brought before the king by a controversy in Lancashire in 1617, and after counsel with Morton, Bishop of Chester, he issued a declaration which was afterwards embodied in the "Book of Sports." The pith of book and declaration is to be found in the following passage:

"For our good people's lawful recreation, our pleasure likewise is that, after the end of Divine service, our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation, nor for having of May-games, Whitsun-ales, and morris-dances, so as the same be had in due and convenient time without impediment or neglect of Divine service."

No question more sharply divided English religionists than this Sabbatarian contest. It was alleged against Archbishop Laud later as a heinous offence that "he used to play at bowls on this very day." His answer showed how recent was the growth of objection to innocent recreation—for Calvin himself allowed such games on Sunday.

Sabbatarianism in the Commons.

The House of Commons represented the most severe form of Sabbatarianism. In 1621 it expelled "Mr. Shepherd, M.P. for Shaftesbury, for explaining that *dies Sabbati* meant—not the Sabaoth, as they called it, but Saturday, and suggesting that, as David danced before the ark, the legality of dancing was a question which the bishops might decide before it was absolutely forbidden." Thus again were king and Commons at odds. It seemed, for the time, that at this point the king was victorious, for the "Book of Sports" was very generally acted upon; but its republication in the reign of Charles I. caused renewed irritation, and told seriously against the king. The practical results of the controversy were the committal of a great party of English clergy for centuries to a policy of rigid suppression of Sunday amusement, and, on the other hand, a learned examination of history and precedent which issued in the publication of works by Prideaux, Heylin, Ironside, and Sanderson, in which the whole question was debated with minuteness. The characteristic feeling of the Church remained in favour of liberty. To Vaughan the Sunday gave—

> "The next world's gladness prepossest in this";

and the keynote of George Herbert's writing on the "day most calm, most bright," was the thought, "This is the day which the Lord hath made: let us rejoice and be glad in it."

At the close of the reign of James his measures seemed to have succeeded. It seemed possible that peace might continue. But Calvinism in theology was still strong among the clergy, and the legal ritual and order of the Prayer Book were by no means everywhere observed. An attack on Calvinistic doctrine would be sure to bring about a disturbance. Calvinism was supreme at the Universities, it was strong among the clergy; and it was by Calvinists that England was represented abroad when the king sent delegates to the Synod of Dort. Yet

SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

it was impossible that this system should continue to animate the English Church. It was opposed to her tradition and history; it had never won expression in her authorised formularies; strictly interpreted, it was irreconcilable with her Prayer Book and Articles. Bancroft's successor as Archbishop—Abbot—was, it is true, a Calvinist; but the works of Hooker and of Bilson were still the true expression of Anglican feeling. It

LANCELOT ANDREWES.
(*Bodleian Picture Gallery.*)

was the work of a new school of thought to put Church teaching forward more clearly. Of that school the real leaders were Lancelot Andrewes and William Laud.

Lancelot Andrewes.

Andrewes may be said with truth to have been one of the most learned and holy men by whom the Church has ever been ruled. His sermons—quaint, erudite, humorous, and spiritual—were the delight of his own age. His prayers have been constantly brought out in new editions, and have been the companions of the piety of two centuries. His controversial

writings laid the foundation of the Anglican position as it was expressed and defended by the divines of the rest of the century. The special characteristic of his work was its appeal to primitive antiquity and the resort for interpretation to the historical formularies of the undivided Church. The strength of the appeal which he made to the intelligence of his own and the next age lay in the fact that he spoke to the heart no less than to the head.

The English "Arminians."

As Andrewes followed Hooker, so Laud consciously modelled himself upon Andrewes. And they were the leaders of a party whose aim it was to reconcile Anglicanism to Catholicity, and piety to learning. Bilson, Buckeridge, Neile, Bramhall, Mountague, Mainwaring, Cosin, Jeremy Taylor, were each in their way typical of a particular side of a movement which designed to influence all classes of English society. The party soon won the nickname of Arminians, from their fancied resemblance to those who in Holland had protested against the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, and who were crushed by Maurice of Nassau and proscribed by the Synod of Dort. Their polemical position is expressed with clearness and force in books such as Laud's "Controversy with the Jesuit Fisher," which Charles I., in his last hours, recommended to his children as the best preservative against Popery and Puritanism. "Scripture is the ground of our belief," said Hooker; it was the work of the English Arminians to show that the belief thus grounded was witnessed to by tradition, historic continuity, and reason. The principle to which they appealed was utterly opposed to the Calvinistic individualism; for they relied ultimately, not on the individual, but on a power altogether outside self, on the eternal force that makes for righteousness.

William Laud.

William Laud was born at Reading in 1573. He took his degree from St. John's College, Oxford, in 1598, and two years later was ordained deacon by Young, Bishop of Rochester, of whom it is said that—

> "Finding his study raised above the systems and opinions of the age, upon the noble foundations of the fathers, councils, and the ecclesiastical historians [he] early presaged that he would be an instrument of restoring the Church from the narrow and private principles of modern times to the more enlarged, liberal, and public sentiments of the Apostolic and primitive ages."

Laud found himself in the midst of a Calvinistic university, and in his earliest writings and sermons he took up the cudgels against the dominant party. In 1606 he was of sufficient note to be preached against almost by name as a "mongrel—half Papist, half Protestant." He had already made friendships in the great world, and he had been led into an ecclesiastical irregularity—that of marrying a divorced woman[1] to her lover, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, afterwards Earl of Dorset.

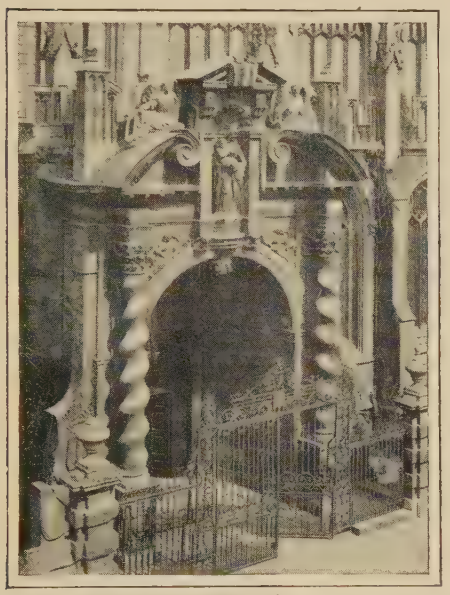


Photo: Gillman & Co., Ltd., Oxford.
PORCH OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH, OXFORD.

In 1611 he was elected, in a hot contest which needed the king's confirmation to become valid, President of his College. He was never much in favour with James I., who was too much of a Calvinist to sympathise with his opinions; but he became a warm friend, and indeed the only wise adviser, of Buckingham, and towards the close of James's reign he was on the road to the highest preferment. He became Dean of Gloucester in 1616, where he restored the cathedral to decency and compelled conformity to the formularies of the Church. In 1621 he was made Bishop of St. David's. Thence he was raised in 1626 to Bath and Wells, in 1628 to London, and in 1633 to Canterbury. From that time to his imprisonment, on March 1, 1642, the history of religion in England is the history of his measures and of his influence.

Laud's aims may be summed up briefly as of three kinds.

[1 The divorced wife of Lord Rich. Laud was doubtless influenced by the fact that he was Lord Mountjoy's chaplain; but he bitterly repented the deed in his later years. *See* Dr. S. R. Gardiner in *Dict. Nat. Biography.*]

Laud's Aims.

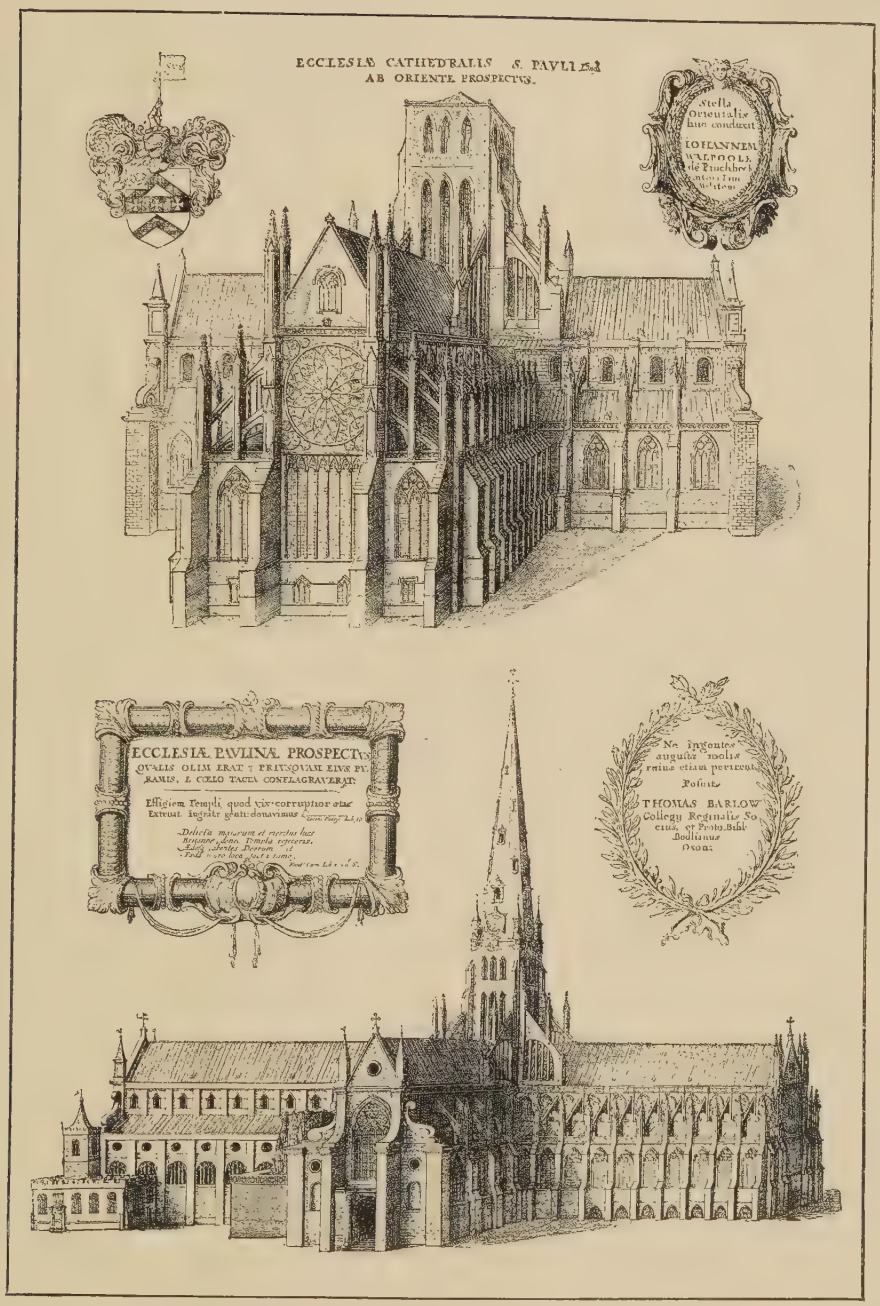
His chiefest purpose was to purge from the English Church the dregs of Calvinism. Secondly, he desired to establish for ever the *via media* of the Church, as apart from both Rome and Geneva. And, thirdly, his position was eminently conservative. Modern writers have represented him as a reformer, as one engaged like Strafford in the pursuit of a visionary ideal. This is surely an error. Though his measures for the enforcement of decency and order, for the punishment of moral offences, and the enforcement of the rubrics and canons of the Church on those who had vowed to obey them effected a reformation of manners, yet his aim was never to improve upon the Reformation settlement or to make an ideal Anglican Church; but simply to obey himself, and to oblige others to obey, the orders which the Church in her fixed formularies had given. This explains his constant appeal to Articles, Canons, Laws—to the recognised rules of the English Church. This makes his answer, at his trial, so convincing on its own ground. He had done nothing new: he had chapter and verse for everything he did. It may have been wise for Puritan opponents to cut off his head because he was their bitter foe; but it was a position utterly untenable to assert that he was the introducer of innovations, that he desired to subvert the Protestant religion.

His Influence on Charles I.

Through his friendship with Buckingham Laud first won influence over the Prince of Wales, an influence strengthened and confirmed when Charles became king. His was just the character to balance that of the young monarch. Charles was thoroughly well-meaning and in intention honourable, but he was weak and shifty, and at the same time headstrong and obstinate. It seemed as though he had no fixed moral principles. He could never be relied upon to stand firm on what he believed to be true. Laud, on the other hand, was utterly without craft. His beliefs were very definite: to him the difference between right and wrong was always exactly and rigidly marked out, and duty was never to be forgotten or laid by. His conscientiousness was minute, his straightforwardness almost brutal. One point at least he instilled into Charles, that last shred of consistency—his devotion to the essential system of the Church.

Laud's forcible policy had the defects inseparable from

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA



ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, WITH AND WITHOUT THE SPIRE.
(From engravings by W. Hollar.)

his character. He saw the present and the far future: there was for him no middle distance. He could not foresee the immediate results of his work either in England or in Scotland. It was this which caused the utter failure, for the time, of his policy, the destruction of Episcopacy, the suppression of Church worship, and less clearly, but still truly, the Civil War itself. But it was this, nevertheless, which caused the restoration of Anglicanism and its firm position during later centuries. If Laud had been more careful and less thorough, the work that he did would never have been done. No one has expressed the side of his action which was most apparent to his own time more clearly than Clarendon, whose words are too weighty and too characteristic for paraphrase.

"He was a man" [says the Chancellor, who had himself as a young man attempted, with some temerity, to advise and to warn the Archbishop] "of great courage and resolution, and being most assured within himself, that he proposed no end in all his actions or designs than what was pious and just (as sure no man had ever a heart more entire to the king, the Church, or his country), he never studied the best ways to those ends; he thought, it may be, that any art or industry that way would discredit, or at least make the integrity of the end suspected, let the cause be what it will. He did court persons too little; nor cared to make his designs and purposes appear as candid as they were, by showing them in any other dress than their own natural beauty or roughness; and did not consider enough what men said, or were like to say, of him. If the faults and vices were fit to be looked into, and discovered, let the persons be who they would that were guilty of them, they were sure to find no connivance or favour from him. He intended the discipline of the Church should be felt, as well as spoken of, and that it should be applied to the greatest and most splendid transgressors, as well as to the punishment of smaller offences and meaner offenders; and thereupon called for, or cherished the discovery of those who were not careful to cover their own iniquities, thinking they were above the reach of other men's, or their power or will to chastise. Persons of honour and great quality, of the court and of the country, were every day cited into the High Commission Court, upon the fame of their incontinence, or other scandal in their lives, and were there prosecuted to their shame and punishment; and as the shame (which they called an insolent triumph upon their degree and quality, and levelling them with the common people) was never forgotten, but watched for revenge; so the fines imposed there were the more questioned, and repined against, because they were assigned to the rebuilding and repairing St. Paul's Church; and thought therefore to be the more severely imposed and the less compassionately reduced and excused, which likewise made the jurisdiction and rigour of the star-

chamber more felt and murmured against, which sharpened many men's humours against the bishops, before they had any ill-intention towards the church."

Setting out with this idea of enforcing moral order in an age of licence, and of compelling obedience to the rules of the Church, Laud was ready, as were the other bishops of the school of which he was the leader, to take advantage of any signs of a reaction in favour of personal holiness or against the narrowness of Calvinist theology. The latter movement was illustrated, in 1624, in the controversy which centred round the scholar and pamphleteer Richard Mountague, Rector of Stanford Rivers, Essex.

Laud and Calvinism; Mountague.

Mountague was a Cambridge divine, who had assisted Sir Henry Savile in the literary work which he carried on at Eton, and who had been asked by James I. to answer Baronius. He had worked, on the lines of Casaubon, at the early Fathers and Councils, and had set himself to show to the people as well as to the learned that the Church of England stood "in the gap against Puritanism and Popery, the Scylla and Charybdis of ancient piety." He came into controversy with certain "Romish rangers," who endeavoured to convert his flock, no less than with Puritan ministers and a Puritan House of Commons. His popular pamphlet, "A New Gag for an Old Goose," was a reply to a Romanist attack entitled "A Gag for the New Gospel." The Commons attacked him, and a lengthy controversy ensued. The bishops of Laud's party defended him, but the Commons refused to be pacified. Charles finally endeavoured to stop all controversy by a declaration commanding silence on the deep questions of predestination and election. In 1628 the same policy was followed up by the declaration prefixed to the Thirty-Nine Articles, which at least bore the appearance of a plea for peace and quietness.

But the Commons continued to attack the Arminians; they were far from mollified by Mountague's appointment to a bishopric. Dr. Mainwaring, for a sermon which Laud himself considered injudicious, Dr. Cosin, for a book of private devotion which the Puritans considered Popish, were denounced in the strongest manner. A committee on religion presented its report strongly adverse to the Laudian school,

and Eliot denounced the policy of silence. The House of Commons became "a school of theology," and the natural results followed from the discussion of a science by those who had not studied its rudiments. The debates belong to the

THE UPPER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION.

(*From a print of* 1624.)

history of the country: religion became one of the chief factors in the parliamentary opposition. A temporary silence was caused by some bold measures of the king, by the imprisonment of Eliot, the dissolution of Parliament, and a royal declaration of adherence to the old paths and to the Petition of Right (p. 15).

It was during this pause before the great struggle that Laud's chief work was done; and it is here that we may fitly notice some of its chief characteristics.

Characteristics of Laud's Work.

1. His tolerance. When the House of Commons would interpret the Articles in a Calvinistic sense, and force others so to interpret them, he wrote, "All consent in all ages, as far as I have observed, to an article or canon, is to itself as it is laid down in the body of it; and if it bear more senses

DOMINICAN COLLEGE
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

than one, it is lawful for any man to choose what sense his judgment directs him to, so that it be a sense according to the analogy of the faith, and that he hold it peaceably, without distracting the Church, and this till the Church which made the article determine its sense; and the wisdom of the Church hath been in all ages, or the most, to require consent to articles in general as much as may be, because that is the way of unity, and the Church in high points requiring assent to particulars hath been rent." It was his wisdom "in high points" never to require "assent unto particulars," and it was here that he was opposed to the steadfast policy of the Puritans and the Commons. Yet certainly no man was ever less disposed to prefer peace to truth. He acted fearlessly on his own convictions, yet he was always ready to make peace between those whose convictions led them into conflict. He was ready to meet half-way the more thoughtful minds in the Church,

THE LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION.

(*From a print of* 1624)

even though their thoughts might not run in most orthodox channels. We find him in the closest relations with Chillingworth and Hales. The former had been won back from Roman Catholicism to a great extent by his influence. In 1637 the "Religion of Protestants" issued from the press (p. 135).

It contains Laud's principles as they appear after passing through the acute and logical brain of Chillingworth; its main thesis may be said to be based on a passage from Laud's own writings: "The Church of England never declared that every one of her articles are fundamental in the faith; for it is one thing to say no one of them is superstitious or erroneous, and quite another to say every one of them is fundamental and that in every part of it to all men's belief." Hales had not the keen wit of Chillingworth, but by his learning, by his gentle manners and his simple life, left a name which was honoured and beloved for many generations. Few libraries of the next two centuries were without a copy of the "Golden Remains of the Ever Memorable John Hales." For him Laud had temperate reasonings but a real sympathy. Those whom the Puritans banned for heresy Laud loved for their thoughtful conscientiousness.

2. Side by side with Laud's tolerant spirit stands his love of learning. And, in the words of an eminent scholar and statesman, "he was the first Primate of All England for many generations who proved himself by his acts to be a tolerant theologian."[1] To him the University of Oxford, of which he became Chancellor in 1630, owes its unique collection of Oriental MSS. He founded an Arabic professorship, and encouraged the learned labours of the divines who made famous the Caroline age of English divinity. Though he was far too active a man to be a close scholar, probably no interest lay nearer his heart than his love of learning.

3. He fought for morality. This was the strength, in spite of its arbitrary and unconstitutional procedure, of the Court of High Commission. The plain obligations of simple morality were in sad need of public enforcement, and the Court enforced them without respect of persons.

4. But the most prominent characteristic, to all appearance, of Laud's policy was its relation to the policy of the State. Through his action the theory of Divine Right—that theory which, in opposition to Jesuit and to Republican teaching, sought to found government not on the shifting sands of popular opinion or the arbitrary direction of a religious power, but on right, inherent fitness, and Divine direction—seemed to be embodied

[1] Gladstone's Romanes Lecture, p. 38. *Cf.* Gardiner, "Civil War," II., 108.

in practical working. Church and State worked hand in hand. The Church condemned the enemies of the State. When the Short Parliament refused supplies, Convocation supplied the king's necessities. The State carried out the decrees of the Church. It was a theory and a practice by no means peculiar to Laud. Every party of the time saw in the State the natural protector and enforcer of its religious opinions; Puritanism still more than Anglicanism would invoke the aid of the secular power. Laud sat in the Star Chamber and in the High Commission. It was difficult to distinguish his functions, and he rightly bore his share, perhaps more than his share, of the unpopularity of those extra-legal tribunals. But it would be a mistake to consider the archbishop as a convinced supporter of arbitrary power. The notion of a Divine Right of kings did not assume real prominence till Charles's title to rule came into question; and it may be doubted if it ever assumed prominence in the mind of Laud. For him the question was first ecclesiastical, and it was enough for him to accept the royal supremacy in the Church as it was established by existing law and custom, and to use it for the great ends which he hoped to accomplish by its means. But such a weapon is two-edged, and it was by it that Laud himself lost power and life.

Church and State.

Had Laud's work and the king's difficulties been confined to England, it is possible that they might have ended without disaster. But the Irish rebellion, coming after Strafford's strong government and his Laudian measures for the support of the Irish Church, and the outburst of anti-Erastian and nationalist enthusiasm among the Scots, joined with the rising current of political opposition in England to sweep away for the time every vestige of his power.

Laud's Failure.

At the time when the castle of cards in Scotland was falling about Charles's ears Laud seemed to have triumphed at home over every opposition. He had vindicated his right to visit the universities, he had carried out a metropolitical visitation throughout his province with extraordinary success. He had swept from his path the time-serving Latitudinarian Williams, Bishop of Lincoln. Even when the Short Parliament had shown how determined was the aim of the political leaders to upset the ecclesiastical system which he had so laboriously reared up, he did not desist from his purpose.

Convocation passed new canons at the very time when political opposition was at its height.

Laud and the Clergy

It is easy to see from official records how far Laud succeeded in enforcing conformity to Prayer Book, Articles, and Canons. It is at once more difficult and more interesting to estimate how far the majority of the English clergy were in genuine sympathy with his ideal. We have, however, two prominent figures of the time, representing different types of character and modes of life, in whom we can readily trace his influence. Nicholas Ferrar and George Herbert were both in thorough sympathy with the Catholic Anglicanism of their archbishop.

Two Typical Figures; (1) Nicholas Ferrar.

Ferrar—at one time member of Parliament for Lymington and prominent in opposition to the Crown, greatly interested in the colonisation of Virginia, a man of affairs as well as a scholar—retired at the age of thirty-two into the country, and settled his mother and his family at Little Gidding, in Huntingdonshire. Having been ordained deacon by Laud, he set himself to revive the "religious" life in the English Church. His household lived entirely by rule—fixed devotion, fixed arrangement of the day, regular work, regular charities. "The world forgetting, by the world forgot," the happy family, watching at midnight to give praise to God, and busying themselves in active works of piety and education, lived on undisturbed till their house was sacked by the Parliamentary troops in 1646.

The simplicity, holiness, and peace of their life is a strange contrast to the turbulence and self-seeking of the world without. The example was not lost. Favoured as was the household by the king and the archbishop, it was no less attractive to many wearied spirits. "'Tis fit to tell the reader," says Isaac Walton—

> "that many of the clergy that were more inclined to practical piety than to doubtful and needless disputations did often come to Gidding Hall and make themselves a part of that happy society, and stay a week or more, and join with Mr. Ferrar and the family in these devotions, and assist and ease him or them in their watch by night; and these various devotions had never less than two of the domestic family in the night; and the watch was always kept in the church or oratory, unless in extreme cold winter nights, and then it was maintained in a parlor that had a fire in it, and the parlor was fitted for that purpose, and this course of piety and great liberality to his poor neighbours Mr. Ferrar maintained till his death."

(2) George Herbert.

George Herbert was not a recluse—he was a simple country parson. A kinsman of the Earl of Pembroke, a brilliant scholar and a courtly gentleman, public orator at Cambridge, admired and honoured by the king, a brilliant career was opened to him. It was long before he could decide whether to attach himself to the "painted pleasures of a

LITTLE GIDDING CHURCH.

Court life, or betake himself to a study of divinity, and enter into sacred orders, to which his dear mother had often persuaded him." At length he was ordained deacon, but he hesitated to assume greater responsibility till Laud persuaded him, and he accepted the living of Bemerton, near Salisbury.

At Bemerton he lived, as he wrote, the ideal life of "A Priest to the Temple." While his simple sermons and his life

of goodness won his people to a good life, he was writing poems which should catch the hearts of the next generation and enlist men's sentiment and sympathy in the restoration of the Church. Herbert's life was itself the noblest of his poems, and while it had the beauty of his verses it had their quaintnesses as well. Those exquisite lines of his, so characteristic of his age and his style, give a picture suggestive of his own character:—

THE RECTORY, BEMERTON, WILTS.

"Sweet day, so cool, so calm, so bright,
The bridal of the earth and sky."

Ferrar and Herbert could not fail to be friends. Their "devout lives," says Isaac Walton—

"were both so noted that the general report of their sanctity gave them occasion to renew that slight acquaintance which was begun at their being contemporaries in Cambridge, and this new holy friendship was maintained without any interview, but only by loving and endearing letters."

And it was to Ferrar that Herbert bequeathed the manuscript of his poems, which within a few weeks of his death were given to the world. The recluse and the country parson

SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

were the fairest examples of the religious life of the age; but there were others, such as those of whom Isaac Walton wrote so touchingly, who showed the influence which the school of Andrewes and Laud could exercise on the most divergent characters. It has been happily said[1] that—

"What seems to have been the peculiar mission of Herbert and of his fellows is that they showed the English people what a fine gentleman, who

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, LEEDS.

was also a Christian and a Churchman, might be. They set the tone of the Church of England, and they revealed, with no inefficient or temporary effect, to the uncultured and unlearned the true refinement of worship. They united delicacy of taste in their choice of ornament and of music with culture of expression and of reserve, and they showed that this was not incompatible with devoted work and life."

Laud Impeached.

In such ways Laud's work was felt throughout England. But when the Long Parliament met the end of it was come. On December 18, 1640, he was impeached on a general charge of high treason. "I stayed," he writes in his diary, at Lambeth till the evening, to avoid the gazing of the

[1] By Mr. J. H. Shorthouse, preface to Herbert's "Temple," p. xxiv.

people. I went to evening prayer in my chapel. The Psalms of the day, xciii. and xciv., and cap. 50 of Isaiah, gave me great comfort. God make me worthy of it and fit to receive it. As I went to my barge hundreds of my poor neighbours stood there and prayed for my safety and return to my house, for which I bless God and them."

The work of the next year was entirely to reverse what Laud had done. Yet already there were signs that it was the strongest part of that system of government in Church and State against which Parliament was to fight. The common people were being taught to love the Church as his poor neighbours loved Laud. The more thoughtful laymen were learning to see in it "a shelter against the oppressive monotony of a democratic" religionism.

The Anglican Reaction, 1640-41.

When the dominant party in the Commons determined to destroy Episcopacy, Falkland and Selden stood aside from Hampden and Pym. Hyde, to whom the Church appeared as a safeguard of order and decent devotion, and Falkland, whose foresight showed him that the Church, not Puritanism, was the defender of intellectual liberty, drew sword for "Church and king." A horror of the inquisitorial system of Presbyterianism was already showing itself. On February 27, 1641, a great petition from Cheshire was presented to the House of Lords, which expressed a considerable body of lay feeling, and protested against the substitution of a tyranny of "near forty thousand Church governors" for the rule of ordinaries, "easily responsible for Parliament for any deviation from the rule of law." When the king set up his standard, it was the Church more than any other institution which gave him his following, and the Church because she seemed to represent a reasonable liberty, which was threatened even by those whose noble aim was political freedom.

JOHN BROWN. Puritanism and Nonconformity.

THE accession of James I. once more revived the hopes of the Puritan party. For he had been brought up among Presbyterians, had been the pupil of George Buchanan, and a frequent hearer of the disciples of John Knox; he had invited Cartwright, the leader of the English Presbyterians, to a professorship in Scotland; had written to Elizabeth on his behalf when he was out of the royal favour, and had even pleaded for

Udal, the Puritan, when the Court of High Commission was in the full tide of its tyranny. Moreover, he had in a General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, in 1590, expressed his opinion that their Presbyterian Church was "the purest in the world," declaring at the same time that the service of the English Church was "but an evil-said Mass in English," "wanting nothing of the Mass itself" except the adoration of the Host. It was reasonable to suppose, therefore, that even if he did not consent to remodel the Church after Puritan ideas, he would not be likely to look upon those ideas as criminal. Acting upon this supposition, they met him on his way to London in 1603, and presented the Millenary Petition, so called as representing the views of a thousand of the clergy. It was moderate in tone; there was no expression of any desire to remodel the Church after the Presbyterian form, no assailing the dignitaries of the Church, no assertion of the unscripturalness of Episcopacy. The petitioners asked for certain alterations in the Prayer Book, such as the removal of the words "absolution" and "priest"; they pleaded against the use of the sign of the cross in baptism, and of the ring in marriage; against the use of the cap and surplice, and for the discontinuance of the rite of confirmation. They petitioned also against "longsomeness of service and the abuse of Church songes and music," against baptism by women, and against excommunication by such lay persons as the archdeacon's commissary, or for trifles, and without the consent of pastors. They asked further for the restriction of ordination to those who could preach, and for the removal of abuses connected with the oppressive civil courts, tithe impropriations, and pluralities.

The Millenary Petition.

It seemed for a time as if their petition might be fruitful of good result. The following July the king of his own accord announced that he wished to encourage the growth of a preaching ministry by setting aside some of the impropriate tithes belonging to the Crown for the purpose. In the autumn also he issued a proclamation to the effect that he was prepared to correct all abuses in the Church, and for the purpose of collecting the necessary information summoned a conference to meet in his presence in the course of the following winter. It was in answer to this summons that

The Hampton Court Conference.

the Hampton Court Conference met on the 14th of January, 1604. When it did meet it was clear from the outset that the hopes of the Puritans were doomed to disappointment (p. 26). The king showed himself the partial advocate of the Church rather than the impartial arbiter of the conference; he spoke contemptuously of Presbyterianism as agreeing with Monarchy no better than God with the devil, and at the end of the proceedings he shuffled out of the room declaring that he would either make these Church reformers conform themselves or he would harry them out of the land. The bishops were delighted, the Puritans dejected. It has been described, not without reason, as a time of crisis in the Church of England when an opportunity of conciliation had unexpectedly returned and was foolishly lost. For most of the demands of the discontented were moderate, and might with good grace have been conceded; indeed, many of them had to be conceded to irresistible necessity in after days, while others were conceded freely by men who afterwards felt their reasonableness. But James was wedded to "historic tradition."

The Canons of 1604.

The Hampton Court Conference was followed by the canons of Convocation of 1604, the book of which had been agreed upon in the session of 1603. These canons, not having been submitted to Parliament, were not legally binding upon the laity, but under the inspiration of Bancroft, who acted as president, they were so constructed as to make it impossible for any man who disagreed with the constitution and Articles of the Church as set forth in them to remain honestly among its clergy. The men who refused to accept the tests thus imposed were deprived, and some three hundred ministers submitted to ejection from their cures.

The Separatist Exiles.

The Separatists outside the Church shared the hopes cherished by the rest of the Puritans on the accession of James. In 1603 they too presented their petition to the king, pleading for enlarged liberty of worship, and recalling the hardships many of them had endured in exile, and others from grievous persecutions at home. They also referred his Majesty to their Confession of Faith already presented to him, and briefly stated the points of difference between them and the Church of England.

Many of the exiles referred to in this petition had fled to

SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

Amsterdam after the execution of Barrowe, Greenwood, and Penry in 1593 (III., p. 592), and on the passing of the severe Conventicle Act which followed. Their numbers were reinforced by the arrival of others of their brethren from time to time. There came many of those who, as already stated, refused the subscription required by the canons recently enacted by Convocation; and subsequently there came also, under the leadership of William Brewster and John Robinson, the members of the little church at Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire,

SCROOBY MANOR HOUSE, NOTTS.

who fled to Amsterdam in 1608. These afterwards removed to Leyden, and thence in 1620 to New England, and are historically interesting as the Pilgrim Fathers of America (p. 82).

The English Baptists.

It was from the midst of this exiled community thus miscellaneously gathered in Amsterdam that the English Baptists took their rise. Previous to this there had come to England several of the German Anabaptists, who had been roughly handled and sent back, but no native community of that persuasion had as yet arisen. The origin of the Baptist denomination of a later time was on this wise. In 1536 Menno Simons, a priest of the Romish Church, became

a Protestant and joined himself to one of the Continental Baptist communities. In January, 1537, he placed himself at the head of those who rose up and resisted the proceedings of the violent and fanatical Anabaptists of the time. He seems to have been a man of learning and ability, who gave up all for his religious convictions. Living a life of incessant labour and suffering, as the result of his earnest and successful ministry compact and vigorous churches were formed in Emden, Cologne, Wismar, and Holstein, as well as in Friesland. These Mennonite communities are not to be confounded with the Anabaptists of the Continent, for from the first they refused all connection with the party of Stork, Stubner, Cellerarius, and Munzer, who indulged in enthusiastic revelations which were accepted as superseding the Scriptures. The Mennonites seem to have received their special views from the Swiss Baptists, and were strongly opposed to infant baptism, practising only the baptism of adults. Up to this point, however, it must be observed that they were not immersionists, but administered the rite only by affusion, pouring water on the head of the person received into the visible Church.

John Smyth and Thomas Helwys, two of the Amsterdam Puritan exiles, being thrown into connection with them, came to embrace their views, and, together with some thirty others of the English exiles, formed a Baptist church in that city.

The First English Baptist Church.

In 1611 Helwys and his friend John Murton returned to England, bringing with them several of the members of this newly organised community, and in London founded the first English Baptist church in 1612. A second church seems to have arisen somewhere near Newgate in 1615, of which Murton was the pastor, and which by the year 1626 had increased to a hundred and fifty members. In that year also we find that there were in brotherly relations with these London churches General or Arminian Baptist churches in Lincoln, Coventry, Salisbury, and Tiverton. Thus the earliest Baptist churches in this country were Mennonite in their origin, continued to correspond with the Mennonite Church in Amsterdam, and baptised after their mode by affusion. Baptism by immersion seems not to have been practised in England till the year 1641.

The Independents, sometimes known as Brownists (Vol.

III., p. 592) and sometimes as Barrowists, though more generally as Separatists, who had a church in London probably even in Mary's reign, and certainly in the early years of Elizabeth, continued to meet in secret and under great difficulties till the rigorous Conventicle Act of 1593 disorganised and scattered them. Henry Jacob, who had lived in Leyden in close fellowship with the Pilgrim Fathers' church in that city, returned to London in 1616, and in that year collected again such of the scattered members of the early Separatist church as still remained. With these and other adherents he formed a church in Southwark, which has remained in existence to the present day. In 1624 he emigrated to America, and was succeeded by John Lothrop, who, with forty-two members of the church, was discovered by Laud, then Bishop of London, arrested, and sent to prison for two years. On his release he and several members of the church also emigrated to New England, forming a community at Scituate, in Plymouth county. Lothrop was succeeded in the pastorate in London by the celebrated John Canne, and afterwards by Samuel How, under whose care this ancient Separatist church pursued its course till Commonwealth times.

The Independents.

By the time James had been some ten years upon the throne the two opposing principles—Catholic and Puritan—had established themselves in the Church and were in perpetual conflict. In the early stages of the Reformation, and even till far on in the reign of Elizabeth, there had been no assertion of the Divine right of the Episcopal system. This was first made by Bancroft, afterwards archbishop, in the sermon he preached at St. Paul's Cross in 1588, and was only made as a counter-claim to that set up for the Divine right of Presbyterianism. As Hallam says, it was not till then that the defenders of the established order found out that one claim of Divine right was best met by another. Even Archbishop Whitgift said he could not bring himself to believe in this Divine right of Episcopacy—he wished he could. It remained, indeed, very much in abeyance after Bancroft's and Bilson's advocacy until Laud began to enforce its claims upon Churchmen by the rigour of his discipline. Even before the policy of Laud rose into the ascendant Puritanism began to fare more and more hardly within the Church itself. Then

Puritan Claims and Catholic Tradition.

The Decay of Religious Feeling.

came a serious decay of religious life in the nation. Every form of moral earnestness was treated with contempt. If a country gentleman only discountenanced vice among his neighbours, or protected the oppressed among the Puritans, he was denounced as a Puritan himself, and scoffed at accordingly. Lucy, the wife of Colonel Hutchinson, has described

MRS. LUCY HUTCHINSON.
(*Prefixed to her "Memoirs," 1815 : from a family portrait.*)

for us the storm of insult that fell upon her father's household, and upon other loyalists in the same rank of life, simply because they dared to be singular in an age of prevailing vice. The same fate was shared by many in lowlier rank. Richard Baxter, who was a youth in Shropshire in the reign of James, tells us how his father, who was one of the humbler yeomen, was greeted with no better name than Puritan, precisian, and hypocrite because he preferred reading his Bible on Sunday

afternoons to dancing to the sound of fife and tabret round the May-pole on the green before his door. Mrs. Hutchinson further records how every stage, every table, every puppet play scoffed at the Puritans; and how fiddlers and mimics learned to abuse them "as finding it the most gainful way of fooling." The result was that many who did not claim to be Puritans, but who retained some moral earnestness and decency of life and some remaining sense of self-respect, began to drift the Puritan way (*cf.* p. 219).

Political and Religious Forces.

While the two opposing forces of Catholic tradition and Puritan earnestness were thus contending within the arena of Church life, the two opposing forces of absolutism and desire for popular government were at the same time at war within the political sphere. The upholders of the idea of the Divine right of bishops were, as a rule, the upholders also of absolute monarchy and the Divine right of kings. Men like Bancroft and Laud, who determined the policy of the Church, made the serious mistake of allying its interests with the side hostile to the constitutional liberties of the nation. To do this with a high hand in the midst of a high-spirited nation could only end in one way—in disaster and overthrow. History tells that it did end in the catastrophe of civil war and in the temporary destruction of the very institutions the advocates of absolute government sought to maintain.

ARTHUR HASSALL. The Army in Transition.

Henry VII. had revived the militia system, and had compelled the counties to supply a certain number of men according to their means (II., p. 667). His immediate successors continued and developed his policy, and in 1558 a statute was passed enforcing the liability of each man to possess arms in accordance with his wealth, and placing the whole management of the militia in the hands of lords-lieutenant of the counties. In 1572 an elaborate series of instructions was issued by Elizabeth and the Privy Council, directed to all the justices of the peace in the various counties, "for general musters and traynings of all manner of persons liable for the warre, to serve as well on horseback as on foote." The object of these musters was not only to ascertain the number of men and horses, but also to examine the armour and weapons, while

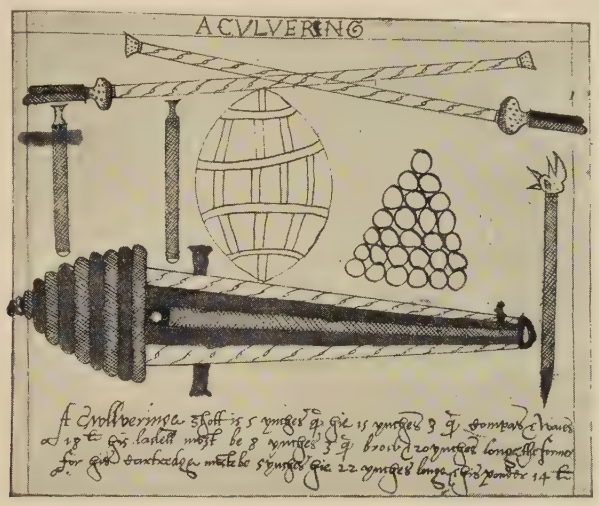
the examination was usually followed by the fixing of a certain price upon each horse, which the Sovereign was to pay in case the horse was slain or incurably lamed in service. During the Tudor reigns, too, the system of pressing men for military and naval service grew up, and under the early Stuarts was generally developed. Both James I. and Charles I., by their action with regard to the armed forces of the country, made apparent the necessity for complete transformation of the military system. By repealing the Statute of Winchester (1 Jas. I., c. 25) James I. did away with the special obligations to possess arms, and it was enacted that magazines of arms and provisions should be collected in one place in each county. Commissions of array were, however, revived, and the compulsory impressment of soldiers was used by Charles I., in spite of the attempts made in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to check this practice. These proceedings caused great discontent, and were condemned by the Long Parliament, which in 1642 endeavoured to secure the nomination of lords-lieutenant (p. 23).

Charles I. and National Defence.

Charles I., in the early years of his reign, infringed the principle that, except in cases of invasion, troops raised by commissions of array should not leave their counties, and then only by the sanction of Parliament and at the expense of the Crown. He endeavoured to compel the local authorities to take upon themselves the duties of the central government, and defend the coasts of England against attack at their own expense. In August, 1625, Essex being in danger of attack from Dunkirk, Charles, unable to raise adequate funds, attempted, with the support of the Privy Council, to constrain the Essex trained bands to defend Harwich at their own charges. The Essex men, however, while recognising their obligation to defend the country if in danger of invasion, refused to pay the expenses entailed during their period of service, and Charles was compelled to desist from his attempt. In 1627 the Government incurred additional unpopularity by billeting the soldiers who had returned from the island of Rhé (pp. 15, 316) about the country, and in 1628 the Commons found it necessary in the Petition of Right to protest definitely against compulsory billeting. In 1639, as soon as war with Scotland became inevitable, a certain proportion from the trained bands of the north were called out,

and the nobility, in virtue of an antiquated obligation to personal service, were summoned, each with a suitable following, to defend the borders. Those of the nobles who were unable to attend sent a sum of money in lieu of service. But, undisciplined and without good commanders, Charles' army had no chance of immediate success, and the king was wise in agreeing to the Treaty of Berwick, which closed the first Bishops' War.

The absolute inadequacy of the existing military forces to repel invasion, and their general unreliableness, was again



A CULVERIN (MS. Sloane 2497).

strikingly exemplified in the second Bishops' War, which broke out in 1640. On this occasion the army was mainly composed of pressed men from the shires south of the Humber, who, through want of pay and the absence of discipline, became at once disorderly and at times exceedingly mutinous. The legality of coat-and-conduct money—a revival of the method of compelling localities to pay for the troops so raised—having been questioned, Charles fell back in his financial extremity upon commissions of array, which, in accordance with an Act passed in Henry IV.'s reign, the king could issue when an invasion was impending. Every county was bound to support the force raised within its borders for the defence of the realm. As soon as

Military Weakness.

it left the county it was taken into the king's service. The rout of Newburn (August 28th, 1640) was sufficient to show Charles and his supporters the worthlessness of troops who, undisciplined, distrustful of their leaders, and mutinous through want of pay, had been led against the Scots.

PIKEMAN OF THE XVIITH CENTURY.

(*Tower of London.*)

With some plausibility it had been urged on behalf of the king that, though objection had been taken to the existing custom of pressing men for military service, it was well-nigh impossible to see how an army was to be maintained without such compulsory service. But in this, as in other matters, Charles showed an incapacity to appreciate the national feeling. Had he exercised in moderation his power to press; had he refrained from forced employment in foreign service; had he at once willingly removed the undoubted abuse of billeting, and issued careful regulations with regard to the quartering of troops in the future; and had he consented to give civilians a legal remedy against soldiers—the burning question of the relations between the civil and military power might have been peaceably and satisfactorily settled.

During the reigns of James I. and Charles I., changes with regard to the weapons used were being gradually effected. Halberts, bills, and all weapons termed staves, except the common pike, were gradually discarded, and, while muskets, callivers, and swords became the chief and almost the only arms carried by the infantry, the cavalry used swords, carbines, and pistols (p. 320).

In 1629 a survey was ordered to be made of all the armour, arms, and ammunition in the Tower of London, and in the forts and castles throughout the kingdom; and in 1632 Commissioners, consisting of experienced armourers and gun and pike makers, travelled through England and Wales, "to survey, prove, repair, and put the armour and weapons of the militia into a state of service." An attempt was also made about the same time

SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

to bring about an uniformity in the armour and arms used. Ever since Elizabeth's reign defensive armour had begun to be laid aside, and Sir John Smith complains that captains embarking men for foreign service ordered them to throw away their poldrons, vambraces, and tasses as being incumbrances without use. In the time of James I., the buff coat or jerkin, originally worn under the cuirass, became frequently the substitute for it.

CUIRASSIER OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

(Tower of London.)

Thus the years covered by the reigns of the first two Stuart kings, previous to the meeting of the Long Parliament, form a transitional period in the history of military service in England. Charles's summons, in his extremity, of the feudal levy in 1640 was the last occasion on which that force was used; while his compulsory billeting of soldiers, his compulsory impressment of troops to serve outside the country, his commissions of array, and his levying of coat-and-conduct money, merely mark the last attempts of a desperate man to extricate himself, by methods obsolete if not actually illegal, from difficulties which he had himself created.

After the Restoration, while many of the customs resuscitated by Charles I. were laid by for ever, the general relations between the civil and military powers were harmoniously adjusted. The militia, recognised as a national force, became, on account of its local connection, extremely popular; while the Crown continued, with the sanction of Parliament, to exercise a veto on the appointment of its officers and a general controlling power over its movements. But this satisfactory settlement of what had

proved to be thorny questions under Charles I. was not effected till the royal assertion of legal rights, and the royal claim to revive obsolete customs, had been for a time successfully contested by the Parliament in the Civil War.

THE royal navy under King James I. was, during a great part of the reign, in a very indifferent state. The disposition of the sovereign was pacific, if not pusillanimous, averse from an expenditure which he deemed to be not absolutely necessary, and forgetful of the responsibilities which were thrown upon the Government by the growing commerce of the country. Yet popular pressure to some extent forced the king's hand; and at least twice while he was on the throne England experienced, as she has often experienced since, a "naval scare," which resulted in certain measures of improvement and reform. On each occasion the "scare" led to the appointment of a commission to examine into the condition of the fleet, and to formulate plans for its amelioration. The report of the first commission, issued early in the reign, revealed great deficiencies in cordage, rigging, masts, anchors, appliances for mooring, canvas, seasoned timber, and boats; suggested certain plans for the permanent guarding of the Narrow Seas; pointed out how, if a moderate special expenditure were incurred to supply defects, the regular annual expenditure might be somewhat reduced; and provided for the correction of sundry abuses, notably in the matter of auditing accounts and accepting contractors' work. The commission of 1618 was more far-reaching and more important. Its proceedings furnish us with a full account of the civil economy of the service at the time, and for many years previously, and reveal the existence of considerable abuses. For example, the report declares that "great workes are taken in hand, and a multitude kept in pay, when neither materialls nor money are provided;" that "when provisions are made, the best are not

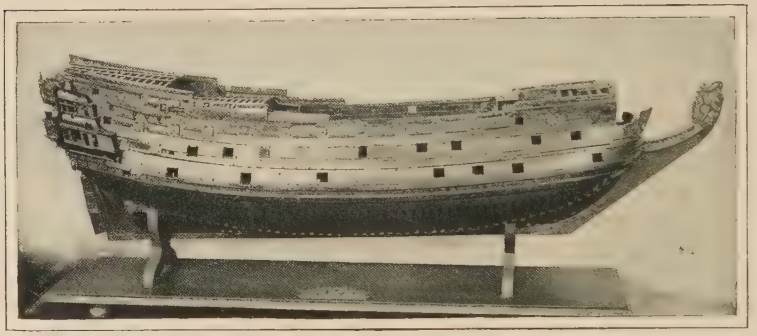
PIKES.
(*Tower of London*)

W. LAIRD CLOWES. The Navy; Its Abuses.

chosen, nor the worst refused;" that "the weights in his Majes. storehouse at Deptford have continued many yeares too light above a pound in a cwt.;" that, "as the weights have lesse, so the bookes sometimes have more, weight than they ought;" that "many necessary workes have been neglected which might have kept the shipps from decay, and workemen suffered to clamour and dishonour the state, whilst his Mats. treasure hath been expended upon superfluous emptions"; that, "besides the quantity, the price, of things are no lesse exorbitant, some being bought by art, and not by the markett"; that "his Matys. provisions of all kindes are wasted without measure," and so on. It appears that it had become the regular rule in the royal yards to charge in the books higher prices than were paid by merchant shipowners; and it may be assumed that the difference did not always go to the sellers. Among the more startling discrepancies are mentioned, ensigns at £4 18s., which ought to have cost only £2 13s. 4d.; anchors at £3, which ought to have cost only £1 13s. per cwt.; oil at £20 a ton, which ought to have cost only £16; tar at £18, which ought to have cost only £7 10s.; and 35-foot boats at £39, which ought to have cost only £25. Waste and peculation seem to have been general; and ships, while provided with quantities of useless gear, were in danger of becoming themselves useless owing to lack of gear which was absolutely necessary. Particular complaint also is made of "the selling of most places at such rates that the buyers professe openly they will not pay and work, and that they cannot live except they must steale." And there are some really remarkable examples of unblushing dishonesty. The *Bonadventure*, it is said, "was broken up above seven yeares past, and yet the king hath paid £63 yearely, for keeping her, to her officers." Again, the "*Advantage* was burnt about five yeares since, yet keepeth at the charge of £104 9s. 5d." The report rendered all this kind of thing impossible, but, while instituting reasonable economies, avoided the mistake of cutting down expenses too freely. Indeed, it proposed to treat the naval service with a liberality and generosity which up to that time had been unheard of; and among its wisest recommendations may be found one—perhaps the earliest of its kind—for the conferring of pensions upon certain officers who had grown old, or had been maimed in the performance of their duty. Concerning the building of new

Proposals for Reform.

vessels, the commission put forward numerous suggestions, among which were that "their mould . . . should have the length treble to the breadth, and breadth in like proportion answerable to the depth, but not to draw above 16-foote water, because deaper shipps are seldom goode saylers. . . Besides, they must be somewhat snugg built, without double gallarys and too lofty upper workes, which overcharge many shipps and make them coome faire, but not worke well at sea." The report was very long, very careful, and very sweeping. The most astonishing thing about it is that it was silent upon the subject of the punishment of the scoundrels who for a generation had been



MODEL OF A SHIP *TEMP.* JAMES I.

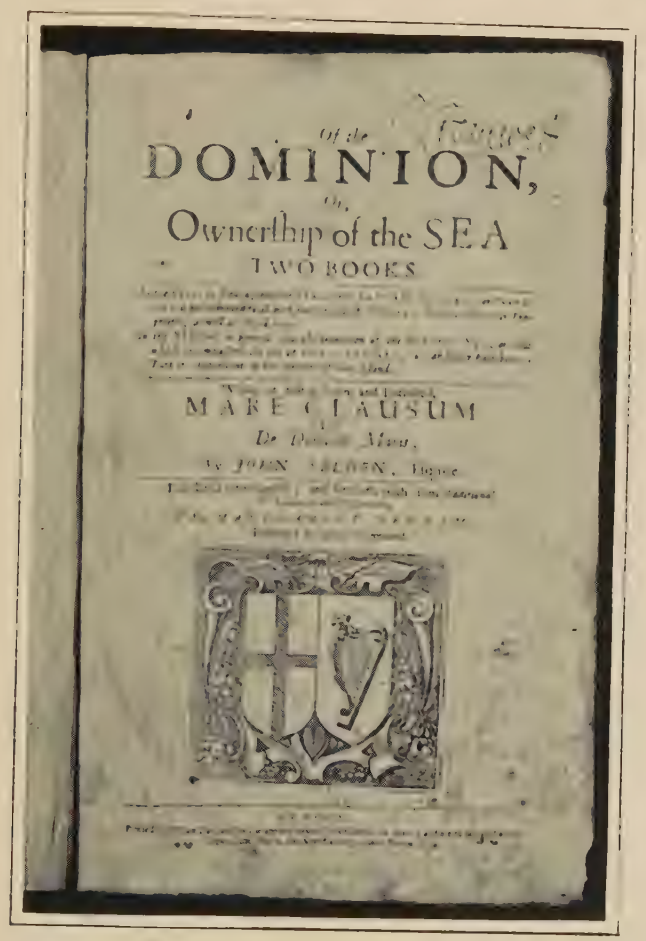
(*United Service Institution Museum, Whitehall.*)

using the navy and the dockyards for their own purposes, and had robbed the State at the risk of ruining it. From 1618 forward the strength and condition of the navy improved until the end of the reign.

Charles I. and the Navy.

Charles I. determined to carry the improvements further. He was impelled to it, not only by his natural disposition, but also by the ambitious character of Richelieu and by the truculent Dutch spirit, which was aroused by the publication of the "Mare Liberum" of Grotius. One of his most beneficent measures was the forbidding of English shipwrights and naval artificers from passing beyond the seas and entering the service of foreign Powers. But the king, though undoubtedly animated by large and patriotic conceptions of what his navy should be, was ill-advised as to the manner in which he set to work to

render the fleet efficient. Ship-money enabled him to send to sea, in 1635, under Lindsey, Monson, and Pennington, and in 1636 under Northumberland, the finest and best-equipped



TITLE-PAGE TO SELDEN'S "DOMINION OF THE SEA," SHOWING CROMWELL'S SIGNATURE.

(*By permission of the Elder Brethren, Trinity House.*)

squadrons that had ever quitted English ports. But although the supplies raised for the purpose were used honestly and advantageously, and although the work done by the squadrons

contributed to the increased glory of the kingdom, the arbitrary measures adopted for the strengthening of the fleet stirred up throughout the country the revolt which ultimately lost Charles his life, as well as his crown. Yet Charles, in spite of his tyranny, and in spite of his infamous action in the Pennington affair, deserves recollection among the greatest furtherers of British sea-power. Under him naval architecture reached a level above which it scarcely moved for nearly a century. In the *Sovereign of the Seas*, built in 1637, the country acquired a ship which was second to none in the world, and which for more than a generation was the envy of foreign seamen. And Charles knew how to employ his fleet. Without bloodshed, he used it to awe the French and Dutch, and to compel them to pay tribute; and, again without bloodshed, he used it to oblige Spain to recognise the British sovereignty of the narrow seas, and to concede "the honour of the flag." Under the Commonwealth the navy did deeds which had not previously been paralleled. Some part of the credit belongs, as a matter of justice, to Charles I. and his advisers, Buckingham, Lindsey, Russell, Slingsby, and Ailesbury, though it must be admitted that the development of the navy progressed more rapidly under Cromwell than under the king, who, towards the end of his reign, had much else to think of.

Naval Pay.

A new rate of wages for officers and seamen was established under Charles I. in 1626, and remained in force until after the Revolution. The pay per month (thirteen lunar months being counted to the year) varied for the leading ranks and ratings as follows:—Captains, £4 6s. 8d. to £14; masters, £3 to £4 13s. 9d.; lieutenants, £2 16s. to £3 10s.; boatswains, £1 3s. 4d. to £2 5s; master-carpenters, £1 1s. to £1 17s. 6d.; pursers, £1 3s. 4d. to £2; surgeons, £1 10s.; master-gunners, £1 3s. 4d. to £2; ordinary seamen, 15s.; and boys, 7s. 6d. In the two or three years immediately before the Rebellion, when ships first began to be classified into "rates," the navy, owing to the circumstances of the times, fell off a little, and in 1641 it consisted only of forty-two vessels of, in the aggregate, 22,411 tons, divided into five first-rates, twelve second-rates, eight third-rates, six fourth-rates, two fifth-rates, and nine sixth-rates; but in quality, if not in numbers, the ships were better than at any previous date; and it was not without some justification that in that year, in answer

to the Remonstrance which was laid by the Commons before the people, it was urged by the Royalists that "a sure proof that the king has formed no system for enslaving his people is that the chief object of his government has been to raise a naval, not a military, force; a project useful, honourable, nay, indispensably requisite, and, in spite of his necessities, brought almost to a happy conclusion."

Ship-building.

The advances made in shipbuilding can best be indicated by means of a summarised description of the *Sovereign of the Seas*, which marked as great an improvement upon the ships of Elizabeth as the finest ship of that queen had marked upon the *Henri Grace à Dieu*.

The ship was designed in 1634 by Phineas Pett, who had earlier been the builder of the *Royal Prince*, and who informs us: "On 14th May, 1635, I was commanded by His Majesty to hasten into the North, to provide and prepare the frame-timber, plank, and tree-nails for the great new ship at Woolwich. I left my sons to see to the moulds and other necessaries shipped in a Newcastleman, hired on purpose to transport our provisions and workmen to Newcastle. . . . The frame, as it was got ready, was shipped and sent in colliers from Newcastle and Sunderland. The 21st December, 1635, we laid the keel in the dock. She was launched 13th October, 1637, and named the *Sovereign of the Seas*." "It was," explains Derrick, "the practice in the North of England (particularly in Staffordshire) at the before-mentioned period, and for many years after, to bark timber standing, and let it remain in that state for a time to season; and the *Sovereign of the Seas*, built with such timber, by way of experiment, was a very durable ship."

The *Sovereign of the Seas*, as originally built, was a three-decker, the first of her kind, and, according to an official list now in the Department of the Controller of the Navy, was (probably measured on the gun-deck) 169 feet 9 inches long and 48 feet 4 inches broad, with a depth of hold of 19 feet 4 inches, and a burthen of 1,683 tons. The keel, as appears from other documents, was 128 feet long, and the entire length, from fore-end of beak-head to after-end of stern, was 232 feet, while the height from the bottom of the keel to the top of the central lantern was 76 feet. The master-builder was Peter Pett, one of the sons of Phineas. Thomas Heywood, who designed her external decora-

tions, says of her: "She hath three flush deckes, and a forecastle, an halfe-decke, a quarter-deck, and a round-house. Her lower tyre hath thirty ports which are to be furnished with demi-cannon" (32 prs.) "and whole cannon" (60 prs.) "throughout, being able to beare them. Her middle tyre hath also thirty ports for demi-culverin" (9 prs.) "and whole culverin" (18 prs.). "Her third tyre hath twentie-sixe ports for other ordnance. Her forecastle hath twelve ports, and her halfe-decke hath fourteene ports. She hath thirteene or fourteene ports more within-board for murdering pieces, besides a greate many loope-holes

THE *ROYAL SOVEREIGN*, DESIGNED BY PHINEAS PETT. (*Trinity House.*)

(*By permission of the Elder Brethren.*)

out of the cabins for musket-shot. She carrieth, moreover, ten pieces of chase ordnance in her right forward, and ten right aft." Mr. Heywood may have been an admirable decorator; but the above passages, and an extraordinary representation, which he has handed down, of the vessel herself, conspire to indicate that he knew little about ships. He enumerates, it will be observed, no fewer than 132 guns, without counting the "murdering pieces"; and the ship certainly never carried anything like that number. The highest establishment was, probably, 100 guns,

SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY

which, by the aid of Vandervelde's later picture of the vessel, and extraneous information concerning her, may, with great chance of accuracy, be assigned as follows:—

Lower deck	26	48 or 60 prs.
Main deck	28	18 prs.
Upper deck	28	5 prs.
Forecastle	4	5 prs.
Half-deck and quarter-deck	12	5 prs.
On deck	2	3 prs.
	100	

THE *ROYAL PRINCE*, DESIGNED BY PHINEAS PETT. (*Trinity House.*)
(*By permission of the Elder Brethren.*)

In 1684 this fine vessel was practically rebuilt, and altered to an 80-gun ship, and thenceforth known as the *Royal Sovereign*. In 1696 she was negligently burnt at Chatham on January 27th. Few ships of the British Navy have seen more hard blows struck than she saw while in service under Blake, Monk (or Monck),[1]

[1] That the latter is the correct spelling is proved by a signature in the author's possession.

Penn, James Duke of York, Prince Rupert, Spragge, Torrington, and Russell.

CHARLES RAYMOND BEAZLEY. Exploration and Colonisation.

THE heroic age of English exploration and discovery is followed by one of settlement and trading progress, when the nation of Raleigh and the Pilgrim Fathers becomes a great colonising state, and begins the foundation of what was eventually to be the United States of North America; but this is an activity almost entirely confined to "Western planting." In the Old World, English enterprise and commerce, just as it had, before 1553, been utterly overshadowed by the successes of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, is now, in the earlier seventeenth century, almost as much overshadowed by those of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, whose seamen between the death of Elizabeth and the defeat of Van Tromp were unquestionably the first in Europe, and whose Empire in the East, founded on the ruins of Albuquerque's, was the immediate predecessor of our own. In the time of the early Stuarts, the Dutch, far more than the English, were in possession of the carrying-trade of the world; the greatest achievements of maritime discovery in these years fell to their credit; but it was to a large extent their energy and success in the East Indies that roused the competitive zeal of England and directed its attention, with fresh hope of success, against the older Catholic monopolists, to the same quarters of the globe.

English Trade with India.

1. After the visits of Drake and Cavendish on their return home "by the course of the Portugals" (Vol. III., p. 685 *seq.*), and the voyage of Raymond and Lancaster, there was no great development[1] of English enterprise in the Far East, during the rest of Elizabeth's reign, except by the overland travels of the merchants who followed in the steps of Newberie and Ralph Fitch (III., p. 657). But as early as 1599 the Association for Trading with India was formed in London; in 1600, as the East India Company, it obtained its first charter; and its first official fleet under the veteran Lancaster was sent out in 1601. This and the next two voyages of the new company's servants were to the Spice Islands rather than to the mainland of India.

[1] One squadron equipped by private individuals and sent to the East Indies in 1596 was a disastrous failure.

Bantam, in Java, was throughout this time the chief English factory in the East; and the great aim of English enterprise on this side was to obtain a share in the trade of the Moluccas. But in 1609 Captain Hawkins landed at Surat on a mission to the Mogul Emperor Jehangir, went up to Agra and begged leave to establish a factory on the coast; however, he was thwarted and obliged to leave without success. In the same way Sir Henry Middleton, who visited Mocha, Surat, and other points on the coast of the Indian Ocean in 1601, making a most determined effort to establish an opening for English intercourse in the face of the prior and exclusive claims of other Europeans, only offended the Mogul authorities, was shipwrecked near Bantam, and gained no advantage from his victories over the Portuguese.

Captain Best in 1612 was more fortunate. With his voyage began the East India Company's regular operations at Surat. He was allowed to leave his factory stationed there, under an arrangement, ratified by the emperor himself, which provided for the security of English trade; he repulsed an attack from Goa, and did not a little to change the spasmodic intercourse of his countrymen with Hindostan and the Deccan into a regular commerce. The Persian trade also now first began to be "enterprised" by English merchants from the side of India.

In 1615 Captain Downton followed Best, and in the same year sailed the first ambassador from the English court to that of the Great Mogul. Sir Thomas Roe was one of the real discoverers of Hindostan for his countrymen. No earlier traveller from our shores had spent so long a time, explored so thoroughly, or learnt so much in the heart of greater India; and, in spite of envy and opposition, he gained a fresh privilege from Jehangir, giving leave in general terms for the establishment of English factories throughout his empire, particularly in Surat, Sind, and Bengal, protecting English merchants from exactions, and affording some conveniences for the transport of their goods.

Before this time the organisation of the company had been put upon a new footing. Its first nine voyages had been carried out by such of its members as chose to combine, separately, for each adventure; and each in turn was managed by a committee named by the subscribers.

"But in 1612–13 it was determined to raise a general stock

from all the members, adequate to provide for four voyages, on the principles of a joint-stock company, the profits to be shared according to the amount of each man's stock, and the whole to be exclusively conducted by the directors."

In 1622 the new trade that had been opened with Persia, since Best's voyage, by way of India, was secured by the alliance of the English company with Shah Abbas and by the capture of

VIEW OF ORMUZ ABOUT 1570.

(*Braun and Hohenberg, "Civitates Orbis Terrarum,"* 1573.)

Ormuz, which even before Albuquerque's first arrival off its harbour in 1507 had been one of the main emporiums of Eastern trade, and, through its control by the Portuguese, had become one of the main centres of European influence on the coasts of the Indian Ocean. Now, after more than a century of almost fabulous prosperity, it fell at a single blow, never to rise again. The English fleet, said to have been made up of five ships, carrying two hundred guns in all, which assisted at the capture of the island, was rewarded by a share of the booty, the grant of

MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

a factory in the new market of Gambroon, which became in a great measure the successor to Ormuz, and an enlarged trading privilege.

It is, perhaps, of more interest to us now, that William Baffin, the discoverer of Baffin's Bay, was killed in the attack. He had already gone to the East Indies in 1618, and had been mate of a ship sailing from Surat to Mocha; now, in reconnoitring the Portuguese stronghold, he had undertaken the capture of a small fort, named Kismis, in the neighbourhood, and there met his death—a happier one at least than Hudson's, whose chief life-work had been done in the same Arctic regions where Baffin had reached the furthest known (1616).

Competition with the Dutch.

The jealousy of the Dutch at the intrusion of their old allies upon the trade of the Spice Islands had already led to many quarrels; and in 1619 an effort was made to end them by a union between the Dutch and English companies, but whatever else it did, this alliance failed to produce any union of hearts, and the massacre of Amboyna in 1623 (p. 189) not only broke up a nominal friendship, but revealed an enmity so bitter that we may date from this time the mortal struggle between Holland and England for the mastery of the seas and the world's trade routes. The joint attack of Dutch and English upon the Portuguese of Bombay in 1628 was one of the last actions undertaken in common by the sailors and merchants of the new commercial rivals.

In 1635 peace was made with the Viceroy of Goa; and the London Company began to turn its attention to the protection of its Indian trade against its enemies of the Low Countries. Thus, in 1628, the English factory at Armegon, on the Coromandel coast was carefully fortified against a probable attack from Java, and in 1639-40 the territory of Madras, just acquired, was guarded for the same reason by Fort St. George. These two earliest of our possessions in India were only defended by imposing garrisons of twenty-three and twenty-six men respectively, but they were the beginnings of the Indian possessions of the English people.[1]

[1] The company failed about this time to establish a trade with Lahore by way of the Indus, as desired; but they now sent cargoes to Bassora and the Red Sea, and commenced (*c.* 1640) a regular trade with Bengal centring round their factory at Balasore.

The North-East Passage.

2. On the north-east the chief English enterprises of these years that can be associated with discovery in any sense are the three voyages of Henry Hudson in 1607, 1608, and 1609 in the prosecution of the North-East passage. In none of these did he get to the east of Nova Zembla; in 1609 he transferred his attention to the North-West; and the English trade and intercourse with Russia yielded very inadequate Stuart parallels to the great Tudor adventurers, merchants, and discoverers—Chancellor, Willoughby, Pet, Jackman, or Anthony Jenkinson.

America.

3. As under Elizabeth, so under the Stuarts, the Western or American side of English expansion dwarfed every other. But as exploration in the Western World passes into settled and organised colonisation on an ever-increasing scale, so the United Colonies of England over sea become part of the regular Western civilisation, and develop the fixed interests of political, religious, and, in one word, of social history. The special kind of discovering advance, with which alone this section is concerned, becomes a detail, an offshoot of the early life of a great people—the greatest colony in the history of the world.

Thus, whereas in the sixteenth century all English enterprise over sea was in a measure part of the story of our exploration, of our discovering and expanding energy in the strict sense, we must in the seventeenth century try to separate the advance into new regions from that steady progress in fields now fully won and occupied which is parallel to the regular life of European States.

Cape Cod Discovered.

In the last year of the old queen's reign, Bartholomew Gosnold, sailing direct from Falmouth to Maine, had sighted land in 42°, had discovered a cape which he named Cape Cod [1] (May 15), and a bay which he called Gosnold's Hope (Buzzard's Bay), and had built a fort and storehouse on Elizabeth's Island (Cuttyhunk), which was the first of our attempts at a New England settlement. The plan of a permanent colony was defeated by the jealousies and fears of the men who were to hold it; but Gosnold, who had taken but seven weeks on his outward voyage, returned in five with glowing reports of the country, a

[1] Cape Cod, as Bancroft says ("America," I., 88), was the "first spot in New England ever trod by Englishmen, while as yet there was not one European family on the Continent from Florida to Hudson's Bay."

crew in perfect health, and some most valuable discoveries achieved in four short months.

His success soon brought followers in his track. The merchants of Bristol, with the encouragement of Raleigh and Hakluyt, which Gosnold had also enjoyed, despatched Martin Pring with two ships—the *Speedwell* and *Discoverer*—of 50 and 26 tons apiece, on the same direct route across the North Atlantic. Pring sailed on April 10, 1603, a few days after Elizabeth's death,[1] sighted the American coast in Penobscot Bay, explored several of the harbours and estuaries of Maine, and, doubling Cape Ann, landed in Massachusetts. There he reached as far south as Martha's Vineyard, and thence came back to England, after a six months' voyage, to second the enthusiastic appeals of Gosnold for a regular and lasting settlement over sea.

THE COAST OF MASSACHUSETTS.

(*John Smith, "General History of Virginia,"* 1624.)

A third New England voyage[2] was the result. In 1605 George Waymouth, who had sailed to Labrador in 1593 in quest of the North-West passage, started under the patronage of the Earl of Southampton and Lord Arundel of Wardour on Easter Sunday of that year. By May 14 he was off Cape Cod; then steering north, he explored the estuary of the Penobscot. On his return his report excited the special attention of the Governor of

[1] His was a private venture, and so independent of the Crown.

[2] The famous John Smith of Virginia claimed to be the first to give the name of New England in 1614.

Plymouth, Ferdinando Gorges, who was deeply interested in Western enterprise, but had despaired of success in the comparative absence of good roads and harbours, as reported by earlier travellers; now Waymouth, Pring, and Gosnold seemed to have solved this difficulty by their discoveries.

Virginia. It was not in New England, however, but in the old ground of Virginia, that the first English colony was permanently planted — as it was there that the first serious attempts at such a colony had been made. The time had come, and by the autumn of 1606 every preparation had been made, for another Western planting, which was destined to be lasting.

More than a hundred years had now passed since the discovery of America, and as yet there had been no extensive settlements of the European overflow, save in Central America, between Florida on the north and the Tropic of Capricorn on the south. The seventeenth century saw a revolution in American colonisation. The tiny French settlement in the far north grew into a great Canadian dominion, and England, which, in spite of all the Elizabethan voyages, had not acquired at Elizabeth's death a foot of land in the New World, entered upon that career which first gave her the control of the North American coast, and then brought into being the one great independent State which arose from the expansion of Europe and of Christendom at the end of the Middle Ages. The Spanish and Portuguese settlements in tropical America failed to work out a vigorous life of their own. The United States of North America, planted by English enterprise, progressed so steadily and so far in the social evolution of the new time, that they came to represent the whole drama, as it were, of European colonisation, the highest results of European progress.

And the beginnings of this new State were fairly made when, on April 10, 1606, James I., cancelling the patent of Walter Raleigh, as forfeited by his attainder, issued the charter dividing Virginia between the First Colony of the London Company and the Second Colony of the Plymouth Company,[1] and when, on December 19, three ships started to

[1] One hundred and nine years after Cabot had discovered the North American continent, forty-one years after the settlement of Florida, one year after the colonising of Barbadoes.

colonise the "dear strand of Virginia, earth's only paradise," according to the charter.[1]

The fleet, carrying 105 emigrants, with only twelve labourers and four carpenters, against 48 gentlemen, was driven by storms beyond the old settlement of Raleigh, which it was apparently intended to recolonise, into the splendid bay of the Chesapeake, where the hamlet of Jamestown was founded May 13, 1607, on a peninsula about 50 miles above the mouth of the James river

THE COAST OF MAINE.

(*John Smith*, "*General History of Virginia*," 1624.)

In the middle of June the Admiral, Christopher Newport, after exploring the James river to the falls, and visiting the native

[1] The First Colony was granted land from 34° N. to 38° N., with the right to settle as far as 41° N. if they were first in the field: this Southern Colony was to be controlled by gentlemen chiefly living in London, and hence known as the London Company. The Second Colony held land between 41° N. and 45° N., with the right of settling as far as 38° N. if first in the field: this Northern Colony was controlled by merchants of Bristol, Plymouth, and the West of England, hence known as the Plymouth Company. Each company was to own the coast-land 50 miles N. and S. of the first settlement and 100 miles inland. The nearest settlements of the two were to be 100 miles apart. A Council of Virginia was soon established in England to superintend both colonies, whose real projectors, after Raleigh, had been Gosnold, John Smith, Richard Hakluyt, Chief Justice Popham, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

Emperor Powhatan, in his capital of twelve wigwams, returned to England for fresh supplies, while the government of the colony, for all practical purposes, fell upon John Smith,[1] the hero of the enterprise, who alone succeeded in making it permanent. "More wakeful to gather provisions than the covetous to find gold," striving "more to keep the country than the faint-hearted to abandon it," he not only put down with a strong hand all con-

King Powhatan commands C. Smith to be slaine, his
daughter Pokahontas begges his life his thankfullnes
and how he subiected 39 of their kings. reade the history.

SMITH'S RESCUE BY POCAHONTAS.

(*John Smith*, "*General History of Virginia*," 1624.)

spiracies to upset and desert the settlement, kept the colony alive through a period of disease, misfortune, and disorder, explored a great tract of the upland, and made friends with the natives, but

[1] He had left a life, by his own account, that reminds one of Harold Hardrada in the eleventh century—first as a soldier in the Netherland wars; then as a traveller through France, Italy, and Egypt; then as a crusader in Hungary against the Turks; as a slave in Constantinople and the Crimea; as a fugitive through the forests of Transylvania; as a warrior in Morocco; finally as chief promoter of the Western planting, and the real founder of the Virginia Colony (*cf.* p. 82, note).

clearly laid down the true principles of Western planting, which Raleigh and Frobisher and Humphrey Gilbert had never grasped. It was not by finding gold, he insisted, that the new venture

POWHATAN'S HABIT.

(*Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*)

could succeed; but by the industry of husbandmen, labourers, and mechanics. "Nothing is to be expected, but by labour." The companies' directors, the Council of Virginia at home, had the crudest of notions how to found a colony, the wildest of ideas about the geography of the new-found parts. They ordered the

emigrants to look for a passage into the Pacific by some stream flowing from the north-west; they sent over such crowds of greedy adventurers, who had "no talk, no hope, no work, but to dig gold, refine gold, load gold," that Smith wrote back to beg for "but thirty carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers-up of trees' roots, rather than a thousand of such as we have."

John Smith as Explorer.

Yet even these men were reduced to some kind of order and put to some kind of work by Smith, who, in the intervals of government, found time to explore the bay of Chesapeake, and the estuaries of the Susquehannah, the Potomac, and the Chickahominy—a navigation of nearly 3,000 miles—and outlined his discoveries in a map of remarkable merit which he sent back to the company in London. Among the savages he saved his life by showing a pocket-compass, and explaining its use to the chief[1]: he was the first Englishman to find out and describe the great tribe of the Mohawks, the only man who could keep order in Jamestown when flooded by the London Company with the offscourings of London society; and the settlement which he took in hand when reduced to fifty souls, with hardly ten men "able to stand," he left 490 strong, well organised, prosperous, and even fairly content, by the strict application to every emigrant of an unfashionable and obsolete, but useful rule, "that he who would not work, might not eat."

The second charter of the London Company in 1609 (May 23rd), increasing the privileges and members of the settlement, and putting it under the direction of a number of influential men[2] representing the nobles and gentry, the army and the bar, the industry and trade of England, had appointed Lord Delaware Governor of the Colony for life. But when he arrived off Jamestown (June 9, 1610) some six months after Smith had been forced to leave for England by a gunpowder injury which no surgeon of the colony could cure, it was to find the emigrants on the point of abandoning the enterprise altogether. The distress of the "starving time" in the spring of this year had reduced

[1] On another occasion he declared his life was saved by the daughter of Powhatan, Pocahontas, "the only nonpareil of the country," who was afterwards converted, married to a colonist, John Rolfe, and brought to England (1617), where she died.

[2] *E.g.* Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, Sir Francis Bacon, Sir Oliver Cromwell, etc., besides Hakluyt and John Smith.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

the settlers to sixty; the survivors wanted, before leaving, to burn the town where their life had been so miserable, and, as they fell down the stream with the tide on June 8th, "none dropped a tear, for none had enjoyed one day of happiness" since Smith had left. Meeting the long-boat of Lord Delaware at the mouth of the James river on June 9th, the face of things was entirely and instantly changed: the restoration of the colony was begun the next day; Lord Delaware revived Smith's government; and the plantation soon recovered its earlier prosperity, while a trading agent, one Samuel Argall, resumed Smith's other work—his explorations to the north. "Doubt not," men now wrote home, "that God will raise our state and build His church in this excellent clime."[1]

From this time, in spite of occasional depressions and renewed danger of the collapse of the entire scheme, as in 1611, after Delaware's return, the Virginia Colony had really entered upon its life as a settled though tiny state, or Established Civilisation. It had joined, on however small a scale, the federation of Christian Commonwealths.[2]

Meantime, while the London Company was establishing the southern colony on the Chesapeake, the Plymouth Company had

[1] Yet they complained, "this plantation has undergone the reproofs of the base world [it had been scoffed at on the English stage]: papists and players, the scum and dregs of the earth, mock such as help to build up the walls of Jerusalem."

[2] The subsequent steps in the story of the Virginian Colony were: Delaware returning to England in 1611, Sir Thomas Gates was sent out as deputy-governor; in 1612, the third charter of the London Company was issued, and the Bermudas were formally included within their possessions. In 1613 Samuel Argall, under commission from the governor of Virginia, dislodged the French from their settlement of S. Saviour at Mount Desert in Maine, and razed Port Royal; he also claimed to have received the submission of the Dutch on the Hudson. In 1614 Sir Thomas Dale became deputy-governor; in 1615 private property was formally and fully introduced; in 1617–18 the much-abused Argall governed the settlement and tided it over a very difficult time; in 1619, while the population was still only 600, with 300 cattle, negro slaves began to be imported, and Sir George Yeardley becoming governor-general, the real life of the Virginian State begins. The first general assembly of the colony was held the same year; in 1620 the emigrants were increased to more than 2,000; wives were sold to the settlers for from 100 to 150 pounds of tobacco apiece, and free trade with the home country was established. Meantime, in 1617, had taken place Raleigh's last deplorable attempts in the discovery of Guiana, which led to his execution—the only English attempt of note in South America in this period. On previous failures, *cf.* Vol. III., p. 691, *seq.*

A Failure in Maine.

not been altogether idle. Directly they had received their charter in 1606 they had despatched two explorers to the more northerly region granted to them, and in 1607 George Popham and Raleigh Gilbert carried 123 emigrants from Plymouth to the coast of Maine. They built Fort St. George on the island of Monhegan, at the mouth of the Kennebec; but the cold of the winter, the suspicious attitude of the natives, the burning of the storehouse, the deaths of George Popham in the settlement and of Chief Justice Popham in England, who together had been the main supporters of the enterprise, "froze all their former hopes to death," and, "coining many excuses," they returned to England in 1608, as the French expedition which built Quebec was crossing to the St. Lawrence.

Nothing more was done worth mention till John Smith, in working out his belief of England's true mission—in Western planting—visited, in 1614, the coast of what he named New England, explored every inlet from the Penobscot to Cape Cod, and sketched a map of this shore-line. Next year the saviour of Virginia tried to start a second English colony, in the land of the Plymouth Company, with sixteen men. Storms baulked the venture; but Smith, with a map and a written description of New England, visited the merchants and gentry of the Western Counties till his unconquerable enthusiasm roused his countrymen to fresh action.[1] He was made admiral of the projected Northern Colony for life; a new charter was obtained in 1618, and in 1620 the king, incorporating the reorganised company as the Council of Plymouth for New England, granted them a territory from the present Philadelphia to the latitude of Newfoundland, extending over much more than a million of square miles.

The Pilgrim Fathers.

But the first permanent settlement in the country of the Northern Colony was made by English Separatists from Holland, who had left England in 1607–8 rather than conform; and, thus harried out of the land, had settled at Leyden in 1609, under their minister, John Robinson (p. 53). They had several times

[1] Smith no doubt had his faults, and was somewhat overbearing and egotistical, but I cannot think that Mr. Brown ("Genesis of the United States") has proved his charges of imposture, slander and tyranny repeated from Smith's old rivals and enemies. But Smith's story of adventure in Eastern Europe (p. 78) is very questionable.

attempted to secure a patent from the London Company of South Virginia, and in 1619 had gained it; but they could not win a supplementary promise of toleration from the king: Lord Bacon's opposition had been fatal;[1] and, ceasing to "depend too much" on the Virginia Company, they formed a partnership with men of business in London, who hoped that the new venture might develop the fisheries of the New World, and provided two ships to carry them to the country on the Hudson, and plant there a new commonwealth.

Twice turned back by stress of weather, the Pilgrims finally

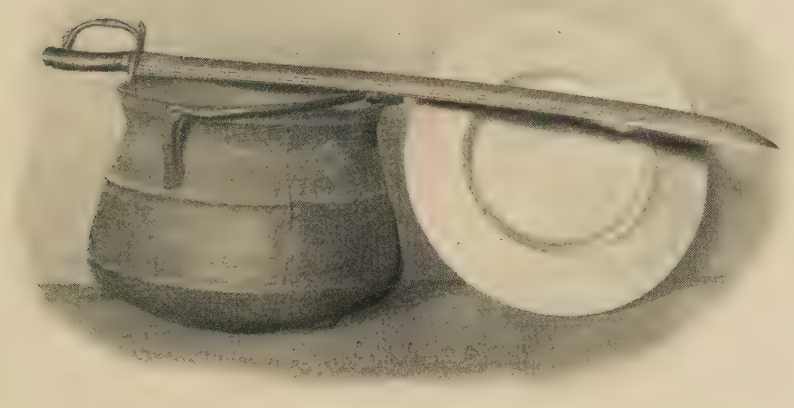


Photo: L. B. Howard, Brockton, Mass.
RELICS OF MILES STANDISH.

left Plymouth in the *Mayflower*, September 6, 1620, sighted Cape Cod on November 9th, and at first anchored off the point. They at once proceeded to sign a contract of government, as being beyond the limits of the London or Virginia Colony, and elected John Carver their governor; thence beating up the coast and exploring it in various places, they finally, on the 11th December, 1620, decided to settle at Plymouth, as they called the harbour at the extreme western end of the great bay within Cape Cod. Here the nineteen families of the emigrants (comprising 102 persons) portioned out their land: here they struggled

[1] For the discipline of the Church in the Colonies, he had said, it will be necessary that it agree with that which is settled in England.

against the Indians, and the winter, and the English monopolists, who resented their settlement as an unlicensed intrusion, till in 1627 the colony was firmly settled.

The names of their leaders are famous—Standish the general, Carver and Bradford the first governors, Winslow, and Robinson, who never lived to cross the ocean and see the State he had done so much to found—"yea, the memory of this plantation shall never die"; but the New England enterprise was, after all, second to the Virginian.

In so great and difficult a task as England's Western planting, the first permanent success must claim a greater attention than any other; the Puritan settlement of the north hardly justified, as time went on, its exclusive pretensions to be the chosen home of liberty and nobility of mind[1]; the real importance of the Plymouth Colony lay in its being the nucleus of the organisation of the United States.

Northern Settlements.

While the emigrants of the *Mayflower* were founding their new home, named after the colony whose land they were appropriating, other more worldly adventurers were intruding, with equal assurance, upon other parts of the vast territory locked up by the charter of 1620, which the monopolists were from the first unable to secure.

In 1621 Sir William Alexander obtained from the Crown a patent for the land of Acadia, under the title of Nova Scotia; in the same year John Mason was granted the country between Salem river and the Merrimac, and named it Mariana; in 1622 the same proprietary, with the help and partnership of Ferdinando Gorges, acquired the tract first called Laconia, afterwards Maine, between the Merrimac and the Kennebec. Meanwhile, settlements were actually made on the sites of the present Dover and Portsmouth: in 1624 another Puritan planting was made at Cape Ann; in 1625 Captain Wollaston settled at Mount Wollaston, near the later Boston.

The feeble attempt of the monopolists of the Plymouth Company in 1623 to assert their exclusive right was a *fiasco*. They sent out Francis West as Admiral of New England, Robert Gorges as Governor-General, and William Morrell as Superintendent of Churches: but the unlicensed fishermen laughed

[1] So much the reverse did it appear to many, as to cause Sydney Smith's gibe at the cargo of "verjuice and vinegar" carried over by the *Mayflower*.

at their attempts to shut up the ocean, and in 1627 the Puritans of Plymouth managed to buy over completely the rights of the London merchants in whose name their charter had been issued.

Massachusetts. In 1629 came the formal establishment of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay: the Plymouth settlement had just been extended to Salem, and the charter appointing the governor and company of Massachusetts Bay in New England was issued by the Crown direct to the company, now much enlarged, which had settled at Salem; on the completion of the arrangements of government, John Winthrop sailed as governor in 1630.

Growth of New England. The progress of New England towards a settled and political state was now rapid. In 1629, Mason and Gorges deciding to dissolve their connection, new grants were made—to Mason of the country afterwards called New Hampshire, to Gorges of the region between the Piscataqua and Kennebec rivers, then named New Somersetshire. In 1630 the third and last patent of the Plymouth Colony was issued, authorising the emigrants to "take order" for government, and for distributing the lands assigned by the patent. More interesting by far, Boston was founded in the same year.

Connecticut The colony of Connecticut followed. As early as 1614 this coast had been carefully explored by the Dutch, who had laid the foundations of a small settlement; but though the Council of Plymouth had granted part of the same[1] to the Earl of Warwick in 1630, it was not till 1633, after a conference between Plymouth and Boston on the matter, that any settlement was attempted in the Connecticut Valley. As the Massachusetts Company fought shy of the enterprise, a party was sent from Plymouth which defied the Dutch interdict, and settled in the disputed region.

In 1635–36 emigrants from Massachusetts founded Saybrook and Hartford in the new colony; and this movement led the way to the last of the additions to the New England settlements in this time—by the foundation of Rhode Island Colony in 1638. At the end of this period (1643) the federation of the United Colonies of New England was created by the alliance of Connecticut, New Haven, Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay,

Rhode Island.

[1] One hundred and twenty miles S.E. from the Narragansett. This grant Warwick in 1631 transferred to Lord Saye and Sele, Lord Brook, John Hampden and others.

Maryland. for mutual defence. On the southern, or Virginian side of this great colonising movement, the settlement of Maryland by Lord Baltimore in 1632–34 was almost the only addition of a fresh unit to the group of little states now beginning to fringe the eastern coast of North America. There is only one other similar fact to be noticed; and that is the grant of New Albion, including New Jersey, to Sir Edward Plowden in 1636.

The North-West Passage

But the greatest achievements in English discovery pure and simple in this period were through the voyages of Henry Hudson and William Baffin, who in pursuing the dream of the North-West Passage, revealed the far north-east of the American Continent at points where unfortunate accident or curious blindness had closed the way of Frobisher and of Davis.

Our miserably insufficient knowledge of Hudson's life only discovers him clearly in 1607, when, in search of the nearer passage to China, he is found trying the polar route, as Robert Thorne had suggested eighty years before—but with a crew of "ten men and a boy." Pushing along from Greenland to Spitzbergen, he reached lat. 80°, and discovered the island of Jan Mayen, which he named "Hudson's Touches." Turned back by the ice, he essayed the North-East passage in 1608, keeping to a lower latitude, but he failed to get east of Nova Zembla.

The Hudson River.

In 1609 he again tried the "way round Asia," but being once more brought to a standstill he resolved to try the North-West passage instead. Bearing away for Newfoundland in the Dutch service, he first coasted down as far as the Chesapeake, and on his way entered "his own river"—the Hudson—perhaps with something of the wild idea, then popular both in England and in Germany, that the short northern routes to Cathay would be found most practicable by following up the courses of Siberian and American rivers. Finally, in 1610, he returned to the charge on the far north-west, passing the coast of Labrador, and entered Hudson's Bay through Hudson's Strait—the opening to the West, which Frobisher had sighted but not entered, through fear of losing touch with the gold ore of Meta Incognita. In his little ship, manned by only three-and-twenty men, he pushed forward with the hope that the passage was found at last; and

when he saw that the open water lay south instead of west, he explored this greatest of American bays and resolved to winter in the southern part of it. But the scarcity of provisions produced greater and greater murmuring among his men; Hudson himself became the scapegoat for every hardship and every cause of offence; and while returning into the Atlantic through "his own strait," he was seized, with eight who stood faithfully by him, and turned adrift in an open boat to perish, as is always supposed, in the bay that bears his name (June 23, 1611).

Hudson's Death.

The history of exploration has no tragedy more frightful, and

SCENE ON THE NORTH-EAST PASSAGE TO THE INDIES IN 1594.

(*J. H. van Linschoten*, "*Twee Journalen van Twee Verscheedene Voyagien*," 1595.)

few more mysterious, than the fate of Henry Hudson. He was never heard of again in life, but his name must always remain among the worthiest of English heroes, among those truly memorable men who have increased, in a marked degree, the sum of our knowledge, the extent of our horizon. A great tract of the natural world, of the earth's surface, was opened up by him; it has not been given to many men to have so great a portion of the globe named after them; scarcely any, except Amerigo Vespucci, have stamped their name on so many thousands of square miles; no man better expressed in action the spirit of the Elizabethan makers of Greater England.

Baffin and Arctic Exploration.

William Baffin first appears in 1612. In that year Hall, Thomas Button, and himself sailed on the old quest of North-West discovery; and the finding and naming of New South Wales, New North Wales, and Button's Bay, was the result of this voyage. Next year (1613) he was off the coast of Spitzbergen, where he noticed and recorded the extraordinary refraction of the atmosphere. Again, in 1615, he became pilot and partner with Robert Bylot on another voyage of Arctic discovery; and in 1616, in company with the same, discovered Wolstenholme's Sound, Lancaster Sound, and Baffin's Bay (in lat. 78° N.), which he mapped and described with a care and accuracy that has won the admiration of explorers of our own time.

His later appearance (as in 1618) in the Indian Ocean,[1] and his death near Ormuz in the Persian Gulf in 1622, have been already spoken of (p. 73); the only attempt worth notice, in this period, to follow up his line of Arctic exploration, was made by Fox and James in 1631. Fox vainly explored the whole west coast of Hudson's Bay from 65° to 55° in search of "the passage," but, as with so many others, some incidental success consoled him for his failure in his main purpose. He discovered Fox's Channel between Baffin Land, on the west of Baffin's Bay, and the North-East or "Melville" peninsula of what we call the North-West territory; finally he reached Cape Peregrine. James meantime explored and wintered in the extreme southern bend of Hudson's Bay, which now bears his name (James Bay).

The English settlements in Newfoundland in 1610 and 1621, and the temporary English conquest of Quebec in 1629, might have been expected to keep alive our interest in North-West and Arctic enterprise; but in spite of discoveries such as Hudson's, the field seemed so forbidding and so profitless, that as the seventeenth century went on, there was less and less of systematic effort in this direction. Except in the furthest northern belt of Arctic discovery, to north-east and north-west alike, there are few places even now included on our maps that were not visited and named before the great Civil War began in England, or the Peace of Westphalia was signed on the Continent.

[1] Probably with the ultimate hope of discovering one of the Arctic passages from the side of Further Asia (China and Japan).

REGINALD HUGHES. Architecture and Art: The Change in Style.

At the end of the reign of Elizabeth, a period of architectural anarchy preceded the sporadic architectural revival of the reign of James I. Time has shed a softening influence on the worst of the buildings of this anarchical period, and they wear their years so kindly that few are inclined to quarrel with the inconsistencies of their style. Hatfield, Holland House, and Bolsover are among the most famous examples of what might properly be called decadent Elizabethan, and these, as a matter of fact, were all built, or mainly built, in the first fifteen years of the seventeenth century. But here, again, the sequence in point of date is not matched by any like order in point of development. Westwood and Burleigh, of the middle Elizabethan period, are quite corrupt, while Temple Newsam, built in 1612, and Audley End, commenced in 1616, are both singularly free from Italian feeling, and may be thought to show signs of a return to Gothic sentiment. But the larger class, Hatfield and the rest, while they are not Gothic, are by no means Renaissance.

"It is only here and there" (says Mr. Fergusson) "that we are reminded by a misshapen pilaster or ill-designed arcade, of a foreign influence being at work; and these are so intermingled with mullioned windows and pointed gables that the buildings might with equal propriety be called Gothic, the fact being that there is no term really applicable to them but the very horrid, though very characteristic, name of Jacobean. As designs, there is really nothing to admire in them. They miss equally the thoughtful propriety of the Gothic and the simple purity of the Classic styles, with no pretensions to the elegance of either. All they can claim is a certain amount of picturesque appropriateness; but the former quality is far more due to the centuries that have passed away since they were erected, than to any skill or taste on the part of the original designer." ("History of the Modern Styles of Architecture," ii. 16.)

The fact is undeniable, and no less unfortunate because under the later Tudors and the first Stuart the greatest architectural activity prevailed. Although no great church or great palace was then built, a goodly number of grammar schools and colleges, and a vast array of mansions, were erected out of the confiscated properties of the religious orders. Besides the change of style, this period witnessed another great—perhaps a far greater and more important—change: the transition from the medieval to the modern conception of the architect's function.

HATFIELD HOUSE

TEMPLE NEWSAM

The Personal Element.

As it has been admirably put, "Architecture ceased to be a natural form of expression or the occupation of cultivated intellects, and passed into being merely the stock in-trade of professional experts." Up to this time one is struck with the complete self-effacement of the architect. In the Middle Ages one has to deal with the era of this or that style. Under the Stuarts one has to deal with the era of this or that architect. From the middle of the reign of James to the outbreak of the Civil Wars it is the era of Inigo Jones; later, it is that of Christopher Wren.

A Gothic Revival.

Before, however, the influence of Jones became universally predominant, and even while it was in the act of becoming so, a last effort to revive a Gothic style seems to have been made. At and near Oxford, especially, a certain success attended these efforts, with the result that, just as at Cambridge we have perhaps the best specimens of the earliest Renaissance building, at Oxford we have the best specimens of the latest Gothic. At the younger university we have the gates of Caius; then, after half a century or so, Nevill's Court in Trinity College, and the west front of the chapel of Peterhouse; and then, dating from the outbreak of the Civil War, the court of Clare. At Oxford we have portions of the schools—and especially the vaulted room or passage called the Pigmarket—and the chapels of Lincoln and Wadham College, of about the same date as Nevill's Court; and later, of about the same date as Clare at Cambridge, the incomparable garden front of St. John's, and the staircase leading to the hall of Christ Church. The work at St. John's and at Christ Church have both been attributed to Inigo Jones—on what we cannot but think insufficient evidence; but if they were his, they afford conclusive proof, not only of his genius, but of his versatility.

Palladian Influence.

But, no doubt, the most characteristic works of the period exhibit the direct influence of Palladio. Of these the famous portal of the Bodleian quadrangle at Oxford deserves the first place. Palladio, who set out to be the prophet of Vitruvius, died at Vicenza in 1580. He had a very definite set of rules, particularly as regards the use of the various orders. The Tuscan, which the patriotism of Vitruvius had discovered to be an order (it was probably nothing but rude Doric), was always to be placed undermost as being "the most proper to sustain the

1642]

weight and to give the whole edifice the appearance of solidity." Above this the Doric was to come, and then, atop of the Doric, the Ionic, and then the Corinthian, and the Composite above all. And this portal appears to have been built by the architect, Thomas Holte, for the express purpose of exhibiting these rules

Photo: Gillman & Co., Ltd., Oxford.

THE HALL STAIRCASE, CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

at work. There, sure enough, the orders are piled one over another, and the result is a memorable instance of the effects of zeal working not according to knowledge.

Inigo Jones

One seems to touch firmer ground in the actual work of the famous architect Inigo Jones. His career commences comparatively early in the reign of James; but at first his work was rather that of a stage manager than that of an architect (p. 222).

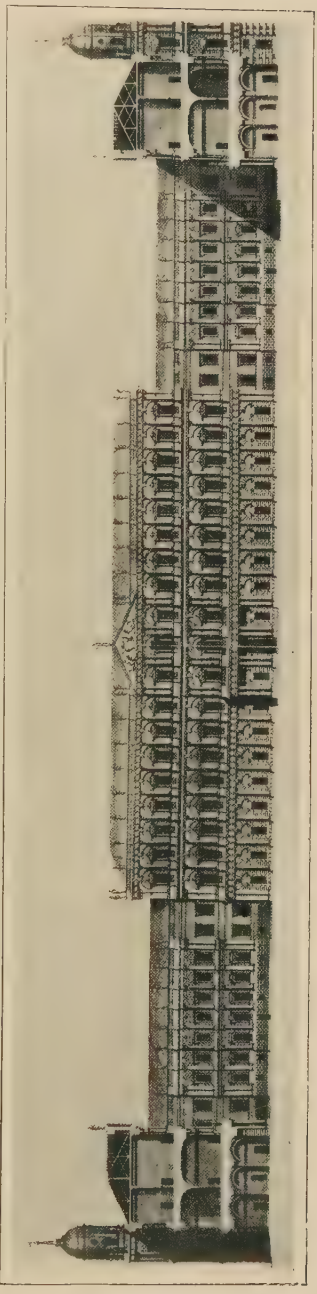
Born in 1573, he worked continuously from his mature manhood to his death in 1652. But his last years fell on troublous times, when his employment must have been slight and precarious.

Photo: Gillman & Co., Ltd., Oxford.

PORTAL OF THE BODLEIAN, BY THOMAS HOLTE.

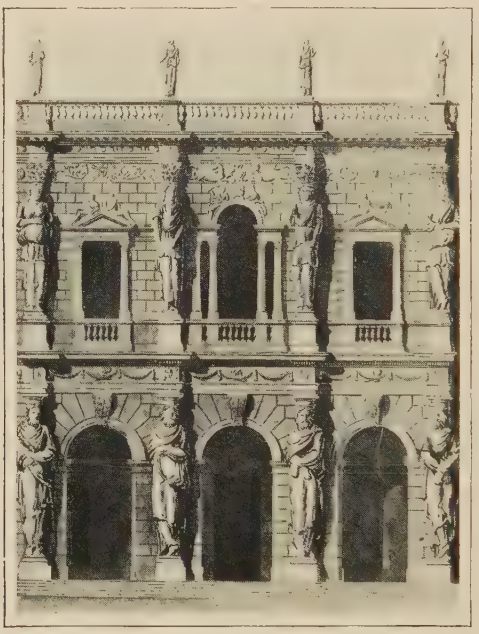
His parents seem to have been of Welsh origin, for Inigo, like Iago, is a name common in Wales. He was apprenticed to a joiner, but somehow managed to attract the attention of the third Earl of Pembroke, who sent him to Italy to study. There he fell under the influence of the work of Palladio, with the fame of whose palaces at Vicenza and Venice all Italy was

ringing. Returning to England, he received an appointment as surveyor to the ill-fated Henry Prince of Wales. After a second journey on the Continent, he took up the appointment of Surveyor-General to the King, and thenceforth to the time of his death poured forth an inexhaustible supply of architectural designs. The most famous of these—that for a palace at Whitehall—was produced about 1621, and would, if it had been carried out, have produced the grandest Palladian edifice that Europe could show. The river front was to be 874 feet long. The façades facing Charing Cross and Westminster were to be 1,152 feet from angle to angle. The height was to be 100 feet, and it was to contain five quadrangles and one circular court, to be adorned with two ranges of caryatid figures, and generally it was to possess the most sumptuous detail. Ten years later he built the church of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, and a portico to the metropolitan cathedral, which has perished. The church has been much rebuilt, and its side porches have been removed, so that we can form but a poor idea of its original appearance; but the story that the Duke of Bedford asked for a barn, and that the architect promised him the handsomest barn in Europe, does not seem on the face of it improbable. It was



DESIGN FOR THE FRONT OF THE INNER COURT OF WHITEHALL PALACE.
(*From Kent's engraving of Inigo Jones's plan at Sir John Soane's Museum.*)

at any rate the first important Protestant church that was built in Europe; and heavy and plain as it is and must always have been, it does not lack dignity, and the broad eaves and the deep recessed portico are imposing, even after the rebuildings and alterations of two centuries and a half. The water-gate of York House, which now stands in a sort of hole or pit between the Thames Embankment and



DESIGN FOR THE INNER COURT OF WHITEHALL PALACE.

(*Sir John Soane's Museum.*)

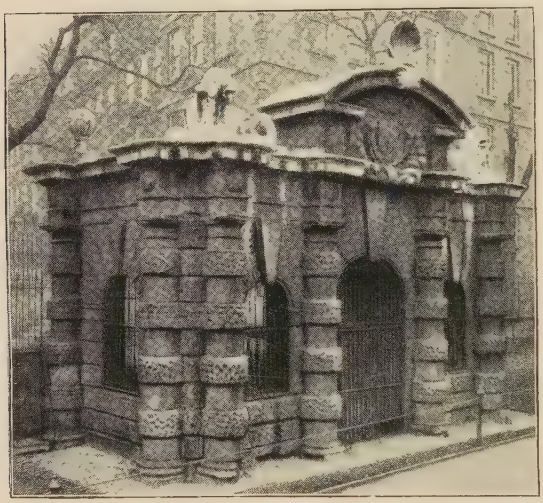
Buckingham Street, was also his design, though probably, like Ashburnham House (which has a famous and often-painted staircase), it was carried out by another. Various gateways, like that of the Botanical Gardens at Oxford and that at Holland House, are attributed to him, as well as the porch of St. Mary's, Oxford (p. 37). At Wilton he built an admirable little bridge adorned with Ionic pilasters, and he certainly executed or designed works at Cobham and Greenwich, and probably at Coleshill and Brympton. His design for Chiswick is avowedly

ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING OF ST. PAUL'S, COVENT GARDEN, BEFORE ALTERATIONS. (*Sir John Soane's Museum.*)

a copy, though not a servile one, of the Villa Rotonda at Vicenza. But Palladio's structure, with its surrounding porticoes, has a shadiness and airiness delightful in the Italian climate, which is wholly missing at Chiswick, where the mass is relieved by only one entering colonnade. The English dome, however, is unmistakably more graceful than the Italian, and the interior has a certain spacious beauty which is all its own. It is perhaps

BRIDGE AT WILTON DESIGNED BY INIGO JONES.

a little difficult to apportion the merit between the original and the copy, but so far as it set the fashion for classical porticoes, henceforth applied to great mansions without any regard to fitness, its influence has been unfortunate. It is uncertain whether Inigo Jones was the builder of the garden front of St. John's, but the style is of a remarkable purity, and one must step inside the arch to find the full brand of the Renaissance. So, too, of the stairway at Christ Church, which, though poor as possible in detail, in plan and outline recalls the masterpieces of the last great Gothic builders, the creators of the Royal Chapels at Westminster, Cambridge, and Windsor. But at heart he was not in sympathy with the Gothic style, and desired to go down to posterity as a Palladian and a classicist. By his will he directed that reliefs of his portico to St. Paul's Cathedral and of his church at Covent Garden should be placed on his monument. A great and original talent was beyond question his. But, perhaps, after all, his truest title to immortality is that he opened the doors through which Wren came in.



THE WATER GATE OF YORK HOUSE.

Painting. Apart from the school of miniature, the rise of which we have already noticed, and which continued in spite of royal indifference, English art made but little progress in the reign of James. The king's marriage with a foreign princess may possibly have had some influence in favour of foreign, as opposed to native talent, and certainly most of the works painted in England in this reign were by other than English hands. Perhaps Paul

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

Van Somer of Antwerp was the most famous foreigner regularly established in England under James. He seems to have enjoyed the royal favour, as well as that of the nobility, for he painted the king at Windsor and at Hampton Court, and Anne of Denmark, Lord Arundel, Lord Chancellor Bacon, and the Earl of Devonshire. He died in 1621, and was buried at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. A more prolific and longer-lived artist was Cornelis Janssens, or Cornelius Johnson, as he frequently appears in English contemporary documents. He was a native of Amsterdam, and painted in a purely Dutch manner. He settled permanently in England, living in Blackfriars. His sister married here, and her son, Theodore Russell, was the pupil and godson of Cornelius, of whose works he made copies. The elder Daniel Mytens, of the Hague, was another fashionable painter. He was some connection of Van Somer, and probably came over in the hope of succeeding to his kinsman's position at the Court. He was not, however, appointed painter to the king until the reign of Charles. He remained very popular until the arrival of Vandyck.

Sculpture.

Sculpture, the Cinderella of the arts in England, was, however, represented in James's reign by the appropriately named family of Stone. The founder of the family, Nicholas, was a Devonshire man, originally a mason working at the king's chapel in Edinburgh and at the building of the banqueting house, and he, or one of his sons, built the two porches at Oxford said to have been designed by Jones. He, however, did much independent work, and erected a good many sepulchral monuments. The taste for these was a fashion of the times, as we may judge from such examples as the tombs of Mary Queen of Scots and Queen Elizabeth in Westminster Abbey, though their importance is chiefly due to a certain grandiose architectural character. They were much more costly than statues either of kings or gods—at least if we may trust Nicholas Stone's diary. Thus he executed for £25 apiece statues of Edward V., Richard III., and Henry VII. for the old Exchange in London. He also made for "Mr. Paston, of Oxnett, in Norfolke, one statue of Venus and Cupid, and had £30 for it, and one statue of Jupiter, £25; of the three-headed dog Cerberus with a pedestal, £14; and Seres and Hercules and Mercury, £50"; while for "the tomb for my Lady Catherine Paston" he had £200, and for that of the Countess of Buckingham

£500. His best bargain was with "Luce, Countess of Bedford, for one fair and stately tomb of touchstone and white marble,"

Photo: York & Son, Notting Hill, W.
TOMB OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

for which he was to have £1,020 with this proviso, "and my lady to stand all charges for carridge and iron and setting up."

DANIEL MYTENS AND HIS WIFE.

(From the picture by Vandyck, by permission of his Grace the Duke of Bedford.)

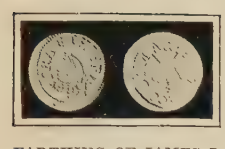
Early Art Collections.

King James himself seems to have had no feeling for the arts; nevertheless, such a feeling certainly spread among the higher nobility at this date. Thomas, Earl of Arundel, the first great English virtuoso, formed his famous gallery in this reign. He employed a clergyman, William Petty, the founder of the fortunes of the house of Lansdowne, to procure statues, inscriptions, gems, drawings, and pictures. The earl began to collect about 1615, and went on collecting until the beginning of the Civil War. Prince Henry, who was himself something of an artist, and had for a master a Frenchman named De Caux, was also a collector, particularly of bronzes, and his collection formed the basis of that of his brother. The prince's most famous purchase was the entire series of medals belonging to one Abraham Gorlée, the author of the "Dactylotheca," which is said to have numbered twelve hundred pieces. In the Vanderdoort catalogue of Charles I.'s treasures, mention is made of numerous statues, pictures, and bronzes which came from Prince Henry; and we know that he employed Sir Edward Conway to purchase for him, as well as to negotiate with Mirevelt for a visit to England. The invitation was subsequently repeated by his brother, but without success. The manufacture of tapestry, too, which had been brought into this country by a Warwickshire gentleman named Sheldon, in the reign of Henry VIII., also now received a considerable impetus, a factory having been built at Mortlake by Sir Francis Crane, to which James himself is said to have contributed. It must have been in full working order in his reign and producing work of merit, for in the first year of his reign, Charles, who was a good judge of such things, gave an acknowledgment for £6,000 for three suits of gold tapestry, and granted an annuity for keeping up the works.

James I.'s Coins.

The union of the two crowns of England and Scotland on the head of James, which took place in 1603, is commemorated in various ways upon his money. The first coinage (of the year of his accession) has the Scotch title inserted in the legend; and in lieu of the French arms in the first and fourth quarters, and those of England in the second and third, the shield bears, first and fourth, those of England and France quarterly, second Scotland, and third Ireland. In the second year of his reign there was a change in his title, and thereafter he appears on his coins as King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. The first

1642]



FARTHING OF JAMES I.

coinage resembled that of the later years of Elizabeth — consisting, in gold, of sovereigns, half-sovereigns, crowns, and half-crowns; and in silver, of crowns, half-crowns, shillings, sixpences, half-groats, pennies, and half-pennies. The second coinage of gold, with the MAG. BRI. or BRIT. substituted for ANG. SCO., comprised the unite of twenty shillings, the double-crown of ten, the Britain crown of five, the Thistle crown of four shillings, and the half-crown of two shillings and sixpence. To these were added rose ryals at thirty shillings, spur ryals at fifteen, and angels at ten, these last being of "angel" fineness as distinguished from "crown" fineness. In 1611 the value of the gold coins was raised ten per cent.; but the amounts proving awkward for merchants, a proclamation for a fourth coinage was issued in 1619. The new pieces were to be of the proclamation value of the earlier issues of the reign, and to prevent confusion with the intermediate coinages they were made different in type, a laurel wreath being substituted for the crown on James's head. Another innovation was the Scottish six-pound gold piece, made current for ten shillings. The French crown "of the Sun," though not legitimatised, was a favourite coin in England, and passed in this reign for about seven shillings. The laurelled coins, besides their proper titles of unites, double crowns, and Britain crowns, were popularly known as laurels, half-laurels, and so on, and also as broad pieces. The silver coins did not vary much, and the fixing of their dates is difficult, the form and decoration of the harp being almost the only guide. Late in the reign, from 1621 onwards, the dearth of silver was relieved by the working of the Welsh mines, the use

ANGEL OF JAMES I.

SPUR RYAL OF JAMES I.

of the native metal being indicated on the coins by the prince's ostrich plumes over the shield.

Token Coins.

We have seen, in much earlier reigns, how the need for small change had led to the quartering of pennies, and similar practices. The reduced size of the new silver, owing to the enhanced cost of that metal, made against any renewal of the practice; but the cessation of the coining of silver farthings aggravated the need of some medium for small transactions, and gave an immense impetus to the use of tokens. Farthing tokens in lead, tin, copper, and even leather, had been allowed to pass in Elizabeth's reign. The famine in small currency continued, perhaps increased, in the reign of her successor. To remedy this growing

UNITE OF JAMES I.

evil, James granted a patent in 1613 to Lord Harrington to "make such a competent quantity of farthing tokens of copper as might be conveniently issued to his Majesty's subjects within the realms of England and Ireland and the dominion of Wales." The king, however, specially declared that he did not make them moneys, nor "force his subjects to receive them in payments, otherwise than with their own good liking." They were viewed with some distrust; and on the death of Lord Harrington and of his son they became almost unmarketable, so that in 1614 the king was forced to issue a second proclamation confirming the patent to Lady Harrington and her assigns. How long she continued to enjoy it is uncertain; but later it passed to the Duke of Lennox and the Marquis of Hamilton; and subsequently two London goldsmiths, Woodward and Garrett, were appointed, by a fresh patent, makers of the king's tokens.

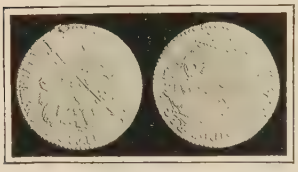
Charles I.'s Coins.

The coinage of the less troubled portion of the reign of Charles I. is distinguished by a considerable improvement in workmanship, and by the abolition, in the ninth year of his reign,

COINS OF JAMES I. AND CHARLES I.

(Reduced to about three-fifths the size of the originals.)

of the double standard of crown and angel gold. Up to the year 1534 gold coin, of the same denominations as in the reign of his father, with the exception of the thistle crown, were issued. Much the same is to be said of the silver coinage, the old denominations being at first adhered to, the groats, threepences, and halfpence being later additions. The improvement in the coinage was probably mainly due to Nicholas Briot, a native of Lorraine, formerly graver-general to the King of France, who emigrated to England about 1628, and was appointed resident manager of the mint by Charles I. in the following year. But some of the earlier coins are very spirited, if somewhat less neat, particularly the crowns, on which the king is represented on a slightly foreshortened horse with a long mane extending in front of his chest. The types of Charles I.'s coinage are exceedingly numerous, as besides the Tower and Aberystwith mints, coins were struck at Bristol, Chester, Exeter, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Weymouth, Worcester, York, and probably in many other places—in districts where, for the moment, the royal armies were predominant. The greater part of these belong, however, to the period of the troubles, as the name of siege pieces, by which they are frequently designated, though without strict accuracy, sufficiently indicates.

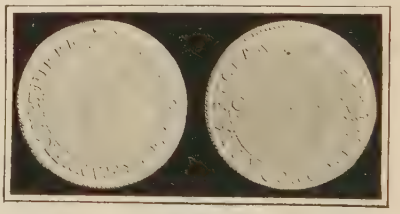


ANGEL OF CHARLES I.

Local Mintages.

Tokens under Charles I.

Both the regular and irregular copper tokens continued to be current, although a proclamation was directed against their use, "except such as had been made by authority of letters patent of the late king, or should be made under a new patent." A new patent was, in fact, granted to the Duchess of Richmond and Sir Francis Crane, for a term of seventeen years, and at a rent to the Crown of a hundred marks. The coins issued under it resembled the patent farthings of James, and were largely counterfeited; and, in consequence, there was an order for a fresh issue,



UNITE OF CHARLES I.

under a patent made out in 1636. These were ordered to be made "with such a distinction of brass as would prevent the people from being any longer deceived." This was effected by letting into the centre of the coin a small piece of the composite metal.

Charles I. as a Patron of Art.

Charles I. was the first English king whose patronage of art was at once ardent, intelligent, and sympathetic. The pictures in the royal cabinets of Henry VII., Henry VIII., Mary, and Elizabeth had been valued simply as likenesses or as curios. But there is a concurrence of testimony that the king possessed all the gifts of a fine connoisseur. He commenced to add to the Crown gallery almost from the day of his accession. He got together the old treasures of his ancestors, and the collections of his brother. He sent commissioners to France and Italy, of whom Endymion Porter was the most successful, and his ambassadors were kept constantly on the look-out, as the presentation of a masterpiece was a sure road to the royal favour. The courtiers, too, were well aware of the king's amiable weakness; indeed, it was known throughout Europe, and so notorious that, on the birth of the Princess Elizabeth, the States of Holland sent, with their congratulations, various articles of bric-à-brac and four rare pieces of Tintoret and Titian. He bought the entire cabinet of Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua; he invited foreign masters to his Court, and he dispatched at least one artist to make copies in Madrid. This artist, whose name is variously given as "Stone" or "Cross," seems, moreover, to have been an Englishman. The king's interest in his collection was always wonderfully keen, and Vanderdoort, who had passed, on Prince Henry's death, into the service of his brother, apparently found him an exceedingly exigeant master, for the unfortunate man, having lost or mislaid a miniature (by Gibson the dwarf) of the parable of the lost sheep, was induced, by fear of the royal displeasure, to commit suicide. The splendid George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, emulated the artistic taste of his royal master, and purchased the magnificent collection made by Rubens, for his own gallery. These pictures, among which nineteen Titians were included, were sent over to York House about the year 1626.

The presence of so many works of art in this country, and the high favour with which artists were received, undoubtedly

Foreign Artists in England.

stirred the emulation of a section, at least, of the English people. Rubens, who designed the ceiling at Whitehall, was knighted in 1630, and though his stay in England was short, he was succeeded by his pupil, Vandyck, who, of all the foreigners resident here, most nearly can be called an English artist. He settled in Blackfriars, which, from its contiguity to the palace of Bridewell, was a favourite quarter for those who enjoyed the king's favour. In 1632 he was knighted, and in 1633 received by patent his office of painter to his Majesty. His subsequent marriage with a lady of the noble family of Ruthven further strengthened his ties with the country of his adoption. He made one or more short visits to the Continent, but in the last ten years of his life he lived in England, where he died in 1641. A crowd of artists from the Low Countries, France, and even Italy, settled here, though their stay was brief. Of these, Jan Lievens, Terburg, and Honthorst are among the greater; Poelenburg, Steenwyck, Geldorp, Gentileschi, and the sculptors Fanelli,[1] Auguier, du Val, and Hubert le Sueur are among the smaller names.

Native Artists: Jamesone.

But the great feature of the reign is the appearance among us of two native artists of high, if not of the very highest, talent. These were George Jamesone and William Dobson, the latter of whom was almost worthy to be the artistic ancestor of Sir Joshua and his great contemporaries. Jamesone was the son of an Aberdeen architect or builder, but he had learned under Rubens at Antwerp, and had there been a fellow-student with Vandyck. His pictures are rarely to be seen south of the Tweed, but his manner shows that he was an original as well as a competent artist. He came under Charles's notice in 1633, when he rewarded the painter for a series of imaginary portraits of the Scottish kings with a ring from his own finger.

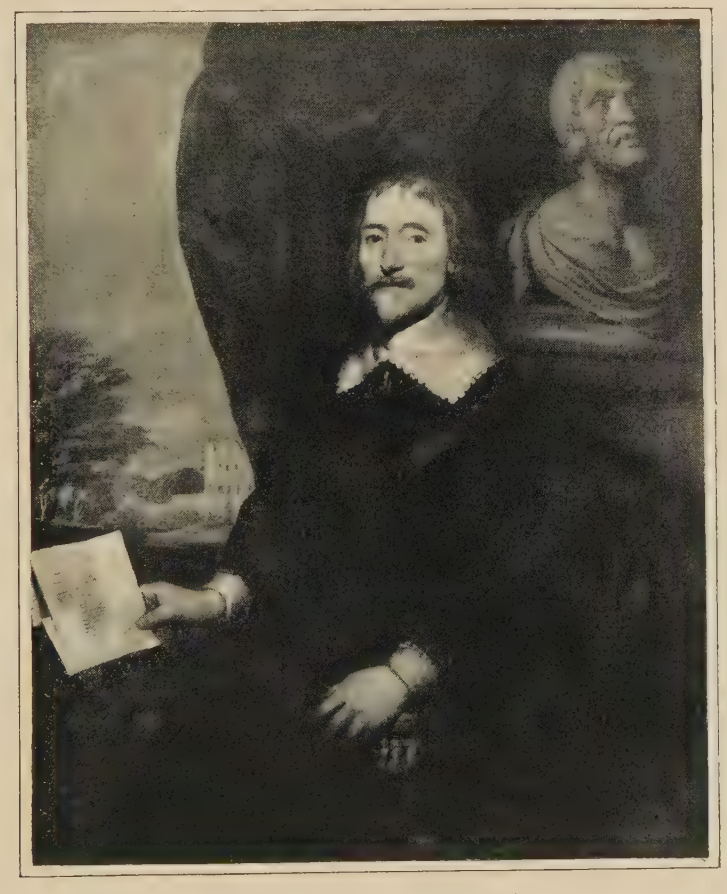
Dobson.

William Dobson, whom the king called his English Tintoret, came of a gentle though decayed family at St. Albans, and was apprenticed to Sir Robert Peake, dealer and miniaturist. He is said to have had some instruction from Van Cleyn, a decorative artist employed at the royal tapestry works at Mortlake. In the main, however, he founded himself on Vandyck, whose pictures he was set to copy for his master. The story is that Sir Antony, struck by some work of Dobson's exposed

[1] To Fanelli are attributed the figures of Charles I. and his queen which adorn the Inigo Jones Quad of St. John's, Oxford.

1642]

for sale, went to see its author, and found him at work in a garret, whence he carried him off to the Court, and presented him to Charles. So high did he stand in the king's favour that on the death of Vandyck he succeeded him as Court painter, but the wars



ENDYMION PORTER, BY DOBSON.
(*National Portrait Gallery.*

rendered the appointment of little value, and he died in 1646 at the age of thirty-six. He is unquestionably a powerful portrait painter, somewhat dry, perhaps, but full of seriousness and force. His portrait of Endymion Porter, in the National Portrait Gallery, is fairly typical, though by no means one of his strongest

works. Besides portraits, Biblical subjects came from his studio; but it is as the first of the great English portraitists that he is most worthy of remembrance.

Minor English Artists.

These two may count as great names, but many smaller ones have come down to us. Such are Neve, Povey, Holderness, Barlow. It is true they are mostly mere names, but their number is significant, and they are English. More significant is it that the English artist Hamilton was sufficiently well known to be employed to paint birds and grapes for the Elector of Brandenburg. To be called an artist grew to be a distinction among men of family, and it is said that the king himself was among those who were proud of the title.

In the minor arts, besides the miniaturists who continued to bear the torch lighted in Elizabeth's reign, the workers in enamel found a good patron in the king, and Petitot, the great Genevese enamellist, would doubtless have founded a school here but for the outbreak of the war. But for that, England, though somewhat belated, might have had her golden age of painting, like Italy and the Low Countries.

THOMAS WHITTAKER. Natural Science.

THE opening years of the seventeenth century are full of scientific activity, and are marked by two discoveries of the highest degree of importance—the discovery of logarithms by Napier, and of the circulation of the blood by Harvey. The repute into which the experimental method was now coming is marked by Bacon's proclamation of it as the new instrument that can alone subject Nature to human ends. Still, there were considerable remains of the old disrepute of scientific studies, as may be briefly shown by two quotations from historians of the period. Oldenburg, in his preface to the "Transactions of the Royal Society" for 1672, calls to mind that, as "Galilaeus and others in Italy suffered extremities for their celestial discoveries," so "here in England, Sir Walter Raleigh, when he was in the greatest lustre, was notoriously slandered to have erected a school of atheism, because he gave countenance to chemistry, to practical arts, and to curious mechanical operations, and designed to form the best of them into a college." [1]

Nor was mathematical science in much better odour. It is a

[1] Whewell: "Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences," ii., 269.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

curious fact that Hobbes never opened Euclid till he was past forty. "When he was at Oxford geometry made no part of any student's training, and was matter of concern to none except, perhaps, a small circle round Sir Henry Savile of Merton . . . It was in fear 'lest the mathematic studies should utterly sink into oblivion' that, at last, in 1619, years after Hobbes had left Oxford, Savile instituted his professorships of geometry and astronomy. Upon the foundation of these chairs, Wood relates that 'not a few of the then foolish gentry' kept back their sons from the university, not to have them 'smutted with the black art,' most people regarding mathematics as 'spells,' and its professors as 'limbs of the devil.' In similar phrase Hobbes himself complains, as late as the middle of the century, that the universities had only just given over thinking geometry to be 'art diabolical.'"[1]

Bacon's Logic of Science.

Bacon's "Novum Organum" was not published till 1620; but probably it was begun in 1608. The "Advancement of Learning" was published in 1605. These dates belong to scientific philosophy. Bacon, indeed, did not himself furnish a sufficient philosophical basis for inductive logic. His suggestions as to its procedure are, however, very remarkable. These, together with the stress he laid, not merely on experience, but on active experimentation, are, in relation to science, his most distinctive contribution to thought.

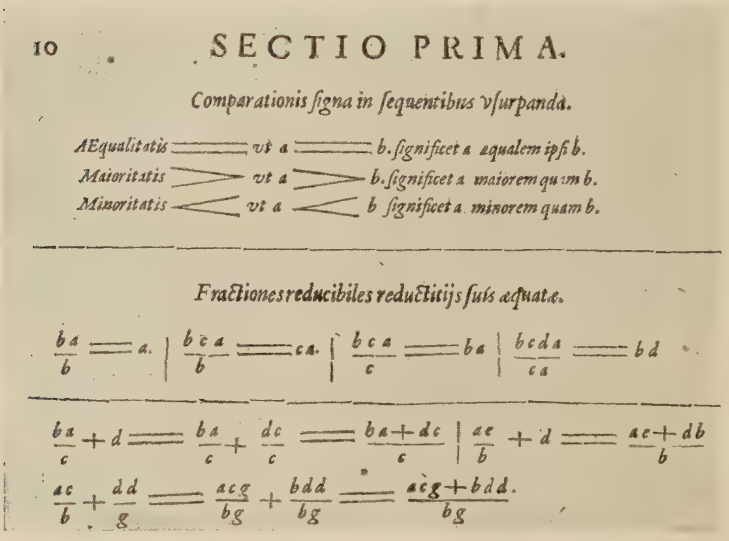
Mathematics: Harriot.

Mathematical science was advanced by the algebraical works of Harriot and of Oughtred. Thomas Harriot (1560–1621) was an astronomer as well as a mathematician, and began to make telescopic observations almost simultaneously with Galileo. He made numerous observations on sun-spots, and was interested in all the dawning physical sciences—especially meteorology and optics. He was at one time Sir Walter Raleigh's mathematical tutor, and was sent out by him to Virginia as a surveyor with Sir Richard Grenvile's expedition in 1585, on which he wrote a report. In his posthumous work, "Artis Analyticæ Praxis" (1631), a discovery of fundamental importance in the theory of equations is expounded, and a finished form given to the outlines of modern algebra. To Harriot is assigned a place in the history of modern analytical geometry, between Vieta and Descartes.

John Napier (1550–1617), of Merchistoun, near Edinburgh,

[1] Croom Robertson: "Hobbes," p. 32.

Napier. the discoverer of logarithms, began by writing a theological treatise, which was translated into several languages. It had for title "The Plaine Discovery," and was an interpretation of the Apocalypse in the anti-Papal sense. The date of this work is 1593. In 1614 Napier published his first work on logarithms, known as the "Descriptio." There is reason to believe that he was at work on the subject twenty years before. His discovery was, in any case, the result of an investigation deliberately



10 SECTIO PRIMA.

Comparationis ſigna in ſequentibus vſurpanda.

AEqualitatis — *vt a* — *b. ſignificet a æqualem ipſi b.*
Maioritatis > *vt a* > *b. ſignificet a maiorem quam b.*
Minoritatis < *vt a* < *b ſignificet a minorem quam b.*

Fractiones reducibiles reductiis ſuis æquatæ.

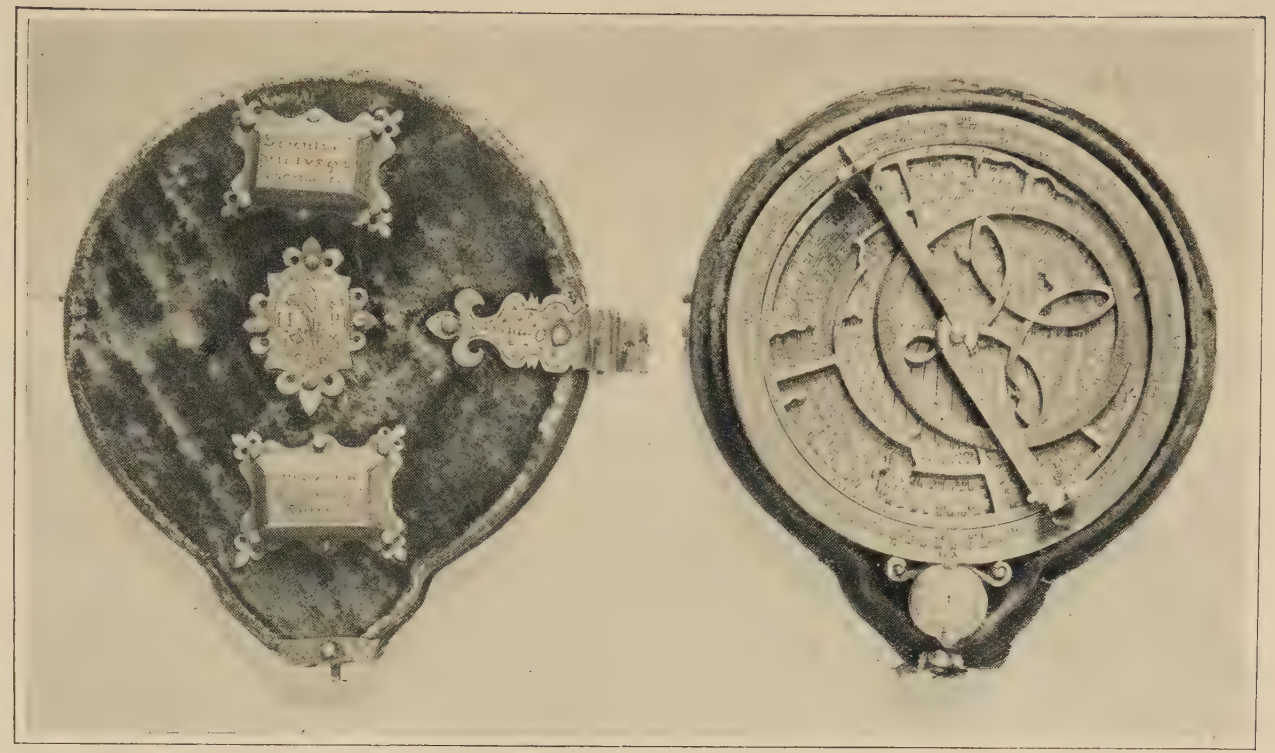
$\frac{ba}{b} = a.$ | $\frac{bca}{b} = ca.$ | $\frac{bca}{c} = ba$ | $\frac{bcda}{ca} = bd$

$\frac{ba}{c} + d = \frac{ba}{c} + \frac{dc}{c} = \frac{ba+dc}{c}$ | $\frac{ae}{b} + d = \frac{ae+db}{b}$

$\frac{ac}{b} + \frac{dd}{g} = \frac{acg}{bg} + \frac{bdd}{bg} = \frac{acg+bdd}{bg}.$

PART OF A PAGE FROM HARRIOT'S "ARTIS ANALYTICÆ PRAXIS."

undertaken in order to obtain some means of abbreviating the multiplications and divisions that were found so laborious in astronomy. The work of 1614 gives the "description," but not the construction, of logarithms. Their use is explained, and a table is given, but not the method by which the canon was worked out. The principle of logarithms is explained by the correspondence of two series of numbers, one in arithmetical, the other in geometrical progression. Napier went on to explain the construction of tables in a separate work, which was posthumously published in 1619 by his son Robert. In this work, known as the "Constructio," the decimal point as we now have it was first systematically employed. Other ways of marking



AN ASTROLABE OF 1574 WHICH BELONGED TO PRINCE HENRY.

(British Museum.)

the separation became more common for a time, but in the end Napier's point was restored.

He was fortunate in having for contemporaries mathematicians who, from the very first, both understood and enthusiastically took up his invention. Edward Wright, the principal author of the method known as "Mercator's Sailing," translated the "Descriptio" from Latin into English in 1615, having been struck with the importance of logarithms for navigation. He died in 1615, before the translation could be published; but it was published posthumously by his son, Samuel Wright, in 1618. Henry Briggs (1556–1630) improved the invention so as to add immensely to its utility, and devoted the rest of his life to working it out.

Logarithms.

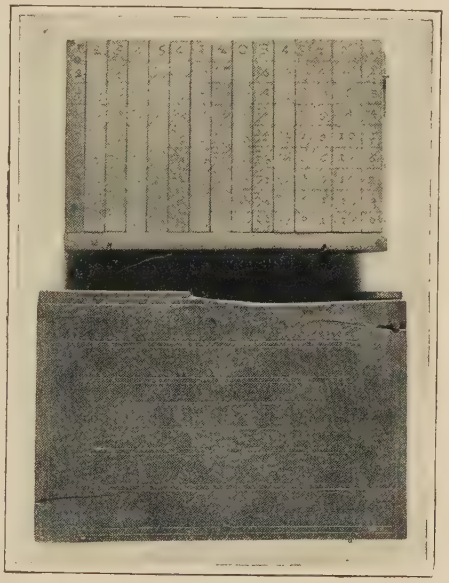
Napier's logarithms were not those now called Napierian—which are of special mathematical interest, though not in use for ordinary calculations—but are a related system. Briggs introduced the ordinary "decimal logarithms" that are now in use. He proposed the alteration to Napier, modified his proposal at Napier's suggestion (as he himself relates), and, in association with him, worked out the change that both finally agreed upon. His visit to Napier, of which a very interesting account is given by William Lilly, the astrologer, in his "Life and Times," was the beginning of a friendship which lasted till Napier's death. He afterwards assisted Robert Napier in the publication of the "Constructio." In 1617, after Napier's death, he published his "Logarithmorum Chilias Prima," giving the logarithms of the first thousand numbers to fourteen places of decimals. Many more tables followed from his hand. These tables of Briggs, the result of so much enthusiastic labour, are the foundation of all the present logarithmic tables.

Another famous invention of Napier's was a mechanical device for multiplying and dividing, known by the name of "Napier's Bones." This was set forth in a work called "Rabdologia" (1617). The invention consists in the use of numerating rods. Some formulæ in spherical trigonometry are still known as "Napier's rules of circular parts," and "Napier's analogies."

Biology has this in common with mathematics—that it is a science already founded in antiquity. As a special science it dates at least from the time of Aristotle. In one of his scientific

works, indeed, Aristotle speaks with a shade of disapproval of physicians who think it necessary to set forth their general philosophy of nature before proceeding to the things of which they have special knowledge. This may be taken to show that the departments of biology were already recognised as special sciences. And, from Aristotle's time to the modern period, many detailed advances had been made in anatomical and physiological theory. Harvey, before making his great discovery, had to master all these older acquirements. The discovery of the circulation of the blood was the result of independent experimentalising and theorising, combined with the widest knowledge of older books, and with the best teaching that could be got from anatomists of Harvey's own time. Yet the discovery itself, as has been perfectly made out, was anticipated by no one, either of the ancients or the moderns.

Biology: William Harvey.



SET OF "NAPIER'S BONES."
(*British Museum.*)

William Harvey (1578–1657) was born at Folkestone, Kent. He had a distinguished career as a physician. His discovery, overthrowing the traditionally accepted view, is said to have injured him for a time in his profession; but the circumstance is not certain, and has been denied. In any case, he succeeded in converting the men of his own science and of his own profession during his lifetime. This was remarked on by Hobbes as unique in the history of scientific discovery. The philosophers, Hobbes and Descartes, both very rapidly took up the new conception of the circulating mechanism. The essence of Harvey's discovery is that the blood as a whole is driven out-

wards from the heart as the source of its motion, and again returns to the heart. No one before had held that there was a "circulation" in this sense. Harvey not only conceived of it in this way, but gave the complete experimental proof with the exception of a single link. All that was needed to complete the proof was the demonstration of the passages (the capillaries) by which the blood flows from the last ramifications of the arteries into the veins. To discover these the microscope was necessary; and, when the microscope had been invented, Malpighi was able to observe the actual process in the lungs of a frog. This was in 1661, four years after Harvey's death.

Harvey's classical work, the "De Motu Cordis," in which he expounded his discovery to the world at large, was published in 1628. He had first brought forward his views in 1616, and had continued to expound them in the lectures he delivered at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where in 1615 he had been appointed Lumleian Lecturer. His other celebrated work, the "De Generatione," belongs to the next period. Though this work has not the importance of the "De Motu Cordis," it is remarkable that the doctrine of "epigenesis", expounded in it—the theory that the development of the embryo takes place by the successive addition of parts, not by the unfolding of a complete miniature present from the first—is substantially that which is now held.

The Circulation of the Blood.

The change made by Harvey in physiological theory, to be more exactly understood, must be compared with the doctrine it displaced. Aristotle's theory was that the blood is elaborated from the food by the liver; that it thence goes to the heart; and that from the heart it is distributed by the veins over the body. His successors, concluding from the appearance of the arteries after death, held that they carried air. Galen showed that they carried blood as well. The physiological conception inherited from antiquity accordingly was that there were two kinds of blood, one kind (blood mixed with air) carried by the arteries, the other by the veins. Both kinds of blood, it was supposed, are distributed slowly and irregularly over the system. The septum or partition between the right and left sides of the heart was held to be pervious. The heart, it was taught, became filled with blood during its dilatation; and the filling was due to the impulse of the blood flowing to the heart. In the early modern period Vesalius had proved anatomically that the septum is

complete, though he had not wholly given up the notion that there were pores in it. Sylvius had demonstrated the valves of the veins. Servetus (1553) and Realdus Columbus (1559) had made out the existence of the pulmonary circulation; that is, the complete passage—outflow and return—of the blood through the lungs from the right to the left side of the heart. This lesser circulation, as well as the greater, had been unknown to the

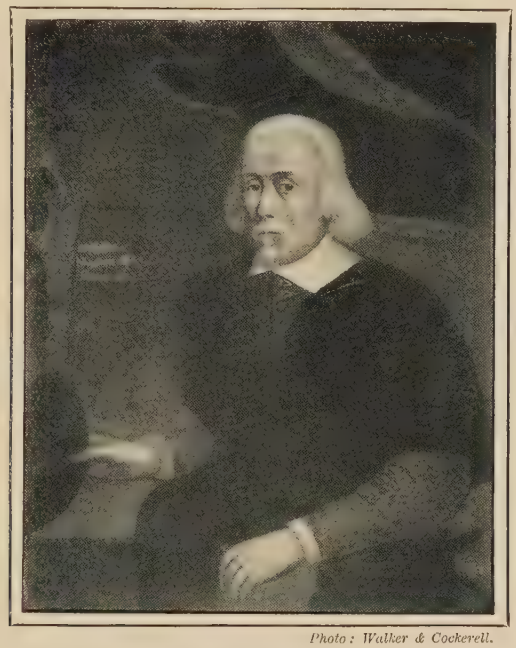


Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

WILLIAM HARVEY.

(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

older physiologists. Harvey, starting from these discoveries, and adding others of his own, revolutionised the older conception in the way that has been seen. He showed that the pulse is due to the filling of the arteries with blood, and that this has its cause in the contraction of the heart. He proved definitely that there are no pores in the septum. The blood, therefore, has to make a circuit to get from one side of the heart to the other. The blood in the arteries and veins is the same. That is to say, it is the same liquid, though modified by passing through the tissues

from the arteries of the general system to the veins, and again in passing through the lungs. The action of the right and left sides of the heart is the same, consisting in muscular contraction by which the blood is propelled. The valves of the veins are so arranged as to facilitate its flow to the heart; not, as Sylvius thought, to moderate its flow from the heart. All is explained by supposing that from the left side of the heart it is driven through the general system by the arteries; that it is not all used in the tissues, but that most is collected into the veins; that by the veins it flows back constantly to the right side of the heart, whence it is driven to the lungs; that in the lungs, though brought into contact with air, it does not cease to be blood, but thence flows back to the left side of the heart, and is again driven out to the system as before. Thus the heart, not the liver, is the dynamical starting-point of the whole distribution.

With this great discovery in the most complex of the natural sciences, the scientific history of the period may be brought to a close. Outside of England the most conspicuous points in scientific advance are the foundation by Galileo of modern dynamics, henceforth central among the sciences of mechanism, and Kepler's establishment of his famous laws of the planetary motions. Both of these advances were indispensable for the subsequent working out of the Newtonian astronomy. In England experimental investigations of all kinds were meanwhile being pursued, in the spirit called Baconian, by those who afterwards founded the Royal Society. Hobbes, as part of his philosophy, was working out a system of Nature on mechanical principles. His mathematical studies, taken up late in life, were to bring him into controversy with the professional mathematicians. This, however, belongs to the next period.

ROBERT STEELE. Witchcraft and Alchemy.

We have already seen how the fear of the supernatural fell on our Tudor rulers, though their laws against witchcraft were the mildest of the day in Europe (III., p. 446). With the accession of James a change came over the feeling of those in power. During the later years of Elizabeth tract after tract appeared, calling for severe punishment upon witches, but with no result; the English trials, up to now, had been characterised rather by folly than ferocity; the new rule was marked by ferocious folly.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

1642]

For forty years Scotland had been engaged in witch-hunting, with the result that 8,000 human beings are believed to have been burnt between 1560 and 1600; and for the last ten years of the century the king had been at the head of the hunt. He had sailed in 1589 to Denmark, and, returning in May, 1590, with his Protestant queen, he had met with some slight storms. He reasoned that this could only be the work of the fiend, and the human agents were soon found. Agnes Sampson, a white witch, was tortured by a cord twisted round her temples for an hour till she confessed; John Fian suffered the sharpest tortures—his nails were torn off, and pins run into their places; his legs and hands were crushed to pieces in the king's presence, till he confessed (no one was ever sentenced till the crime had been "voluntarily" confessed) to a witch-meeting at North Berwick, when they went round the church widdershins [1] till the doors flew open and the Satanic crew entered it and held their revels there. Thirty of the accused were burnt alive on one day in 1591, and a jury which imprudently acquitted one of them was threatened by the king with severe punishment. James himself wrote a work on Demonology against Scott and Wierus, a Continental writer who had taken a fairly sensible view.

SCOLD'S BRANK, OF TYPE USED IN BURNING WITCHES. (*Norwich Museum.*)

[1] Against the sun, counterclockwise; a potent charm in old folklore.

TONGUE-PIECES FOR BRANK.

(*Norwich Museum.*)

New Laws against Witchcraft.

In the first Parliament of James the more merciful Act of Elizabeth was repealed; a new and exhaustive one was enacted. The principal things prohibited were to remove or conjure an evil spirit, to consult, covenant with, or feed one, to take up the body of a dead person for use in magic, to hurt life or limb, to seek for treasure or lost or stolen goods, to procure love, or to injure cattle by means of charms. Under this Act 70,000 persons were executed up to 1680. The story is too long to admit of detail here, and may be read in books like Mrs. Lynn Linton's "Witch Stories." One of the early prosecutions under the Act, happily unsuccessful, was instituted by the poet Fairfax. The well-known trials of the Lancashire witches occurred in 1613, and again in 1634; and in 1618 two women were hanged at Lincoln for bewitching Lord Rosse, son of the Earl of Rutland, by burying his glove. The most ferocious outburst of cruelty in England, however, was that which took place in the Eastern Counties under the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian majority in the Long Parliament, associated with the name of Matthew Hopkins. This man was living at Manningtree in 1644, when an outcry of witchcraft arose in the town, and there he learned his art of witchfinder, which he practised for the next four years. His principal means of discovery were to search for an insensible spot on the body by pricking with pins, or King James's favourite method of trial by swimming. Here the accused was wrapped in a sheet and dragged through a pond, the great toes and thumbs being fastened together. If the body kept near the surface, which of course occurred when there was a strain on the rope, the wretch was condemned. The argument was that as witches renounced their baptism, so water, the sign of baptism, rejected them. A recital of all the cruelties Hopkins used will serve no purpose, more especially as they roused at last the indignation of the country against him, and he is said to have been convicted of witchcraft by his own methods. It is worthy of note that a parliamentary commission came down and inquired into the subject of witchcraft in 1645. With the accession to power of the Independents the persecution ceased for a time.

Matthew Hopkins, Witch-finder.

It is easier to say what men have believed and done than to account for it. We must not forget that the wisest and best of men were believers in the power of witchcraft. Erasmus, so far above the follies of his age, was an implicit believer in witchcraft.

Bacon gives a scientific explanation of its powers; Elizabeth, intellectually above any man of her day, consults Dee on alchemy, sees the spirits in his speculum, sends him large gifts of money, and gives him her protection; the bishops, one and all, are firm believers; Sir Matthew Hale, Coke, and the other judges, accept the monstrous tales of children and convicts, and neglect all the laws of evidence to convict a witch. Sir Thomas Browne gives evidence against them; Burghley listens to and

TWO WITCHES DISCOVERED.

(*Frontispiece to Matthew Hopkins's "Discoverie of Witches,"* 1647.)

preserves the rigmarole of convicted alchemists; the greatest nobles of the land and their wives are the patrons of the astrologers and charlatans of the day.

The kind of man they produced may be studied in a physician and astrologer of another sort from Jerome Cardan (III., p. 453), Simon Forman, "astrologer and quack doctor." His life was a strange one. Poor scholar, apprentice, usher, ploughman, white witch, astrologer, quacksalver—each in turn, his diary tells us of his progress. Imprisoned as a rogue and vagabond by the country justices, or as a quack by the College

Astrology.

of Physicians, he gradually wormed himself into notoriety. In 1579 he began to find that his accidental predictions were realised; in 1580 he began to cure diseases, in 1583 he came to London and commenced practice as an astrologer and doctor, finding out lost or stolen property. In 1587 and 1588 he began to call up angels, and to practise necromancy. In 1594 he began the

A WITCH AND HER FAMILIARS (MS. Add. 32,496).

(*From a contemporary drawing in a MS. of Fairfax, "Discourse of Witchcraft."*)

search for the philosopher's stone, and in 1603 he was made M.D. of Cambridge. His greatest gains were from his lady clients. Contemporary satire shows the nature of his services to them. Jonson speaks in *Epicene* of his love-philtres, and Sir Anthony Weldon is still more explicit on the nature of his services. He is best known to this generation by the mention of him in

the Overbury trial (p. 217), where it came out that he was employed by the young Countess of Essex, married at thirteen to a boy of fourteen, who had engaged his services to preserve her from her husband's advances, and obtain for her the love of Carr, afterwards Earl of Somerset. The obscene leaden and wax figures by which, Forman assured her, her end would be attained, were produced in court four years after his death, and a crack in the gallery, caused by the rising of the spectators to view them, led to a momentary panic, it being feared that the devil was coming "to claim his own." The proceedings in this case showed that the old connection between the poisoner and the witch still existed.

W. H. HUTTON. The Universities.

When Elizabeth died the Universities had been thoroughly purged of Romanism only to fall into the extremity of Calvinism. While the majority of the nation longed for moderation, its pedagogues seemed to delight only in the expression of the most violent dogmas. Practical men had come to recognise under the rule of the Great Queen that England needed a national and independent Church, as well as a national and independent State. But pedantic theorists were striving to denationalise religion by introducing the Genevan system. Calvinistic theology would in time have given England the Presbyterian Church. And Calvinistic theology at the accession of James I. was supreme in the Universities. The influence of politicians had assisted the action of divines, and, says Heylin:

Calvinism.

"The face of the University was so much altered that there was little to be seen in it of the Church of England according to the principles and positions upon which it was first reformed. All the Calvinian rigours in matters of predestination, and the points depending thereupon, received as the established doctrine of the Church of England; the necessity of one sacrament, the eminent dignity of the other, and the powerful efficacy of both unto man's salvation not only disputed but denied; Episcopacy maintained by halves, not as a distinct order from that of Presbyters, but only a degree above them, or perhaps not that for fear of giving scandal to the churches of Calvin's platform; the Church of Rome inveighed against as the 'whore of Babylon,' the 'mother of abominations'; the Pope as publicly maintained to be Antichrist, or the Man of Sin, and that as positively and magisterially as if it had been one of the chief articles of the Christian faith; and then, for fear of having any good thoughts for either, the visibility of the Church must be no otherwise maintained than

by looking for it in the scattered conventicles of the Berengarians in Italy, the Albigenses in France, the Hussites in Bohemia, and the Wickliffists among ourselves. Nor was there any greater care taken for the forms and orders of this Church than there had been for points of doctrine; the surplice so disused in the Divine Service of the Church, and the Divine Service of the Church so slubbered over in most of the colleges that the prelates and clergy assembled in Convocation anew in 1603 were necessitated to pass two canons to bring them back again to ancient practice."

Such were the opinions of men like Dr. Humphrey, Regius Professor of Divinity, Dr. John Rainolds, President of Corpus Christi, and the two Abbots after them, and such the practical teaching of the Universities when Laud was an undergraduate. From him chiefly the change was to come. And in his college—St. John's—indeed, Calvinism had never been triumphant. Tobie Matthew (President 1572–77, afterwards Archbishop of York) took in controversy a tone by no means Calvinistic; Buckeridge (President 1605–11, afterwards Bishop of Ely) was one of the foremost in the anti-Calvinist reaction. But during the earlier part of James I.'s reign Oxford was Calvinistic, and as such it received the support of a Calvinistic king. At Cambridge the same influence was predominant, especially at Sidney and Emmanuel. Four out of the five English representatives at the Synod of Dort (1618–19) were Cambridge men. The attitude of James I. towards the Universities was one of non-interference with, if not active patronage of, Calvinistic theology, coupled with an insistence on such a practical acceptance of the Church polity as the necessities of an independent national Church required. Thus the canons of 1604 required the wearing of the surplice in divine service in both Universities. The Puritan Heads were alarmed—"God grant that other worse things do not follow the so strict urging of this indifferent ceremony," was the feeling of Dr. Samuel Ward, the Master of Sidney. This was followed by the requirement of a declaration of acceptance of the Church formalities by all proceeding to a degree. But the king was no less prominent in patronising than in directing. In 1604 both Universities received the right of returning two burgesses to sit in the House of Commons. In 1606 the nomination to all ecclesiastical patronage belonging to Roman Catholics was given by statute to the Universities, Oxford receiving the southern and Cambridge the northern shires. James, as a learned king,

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

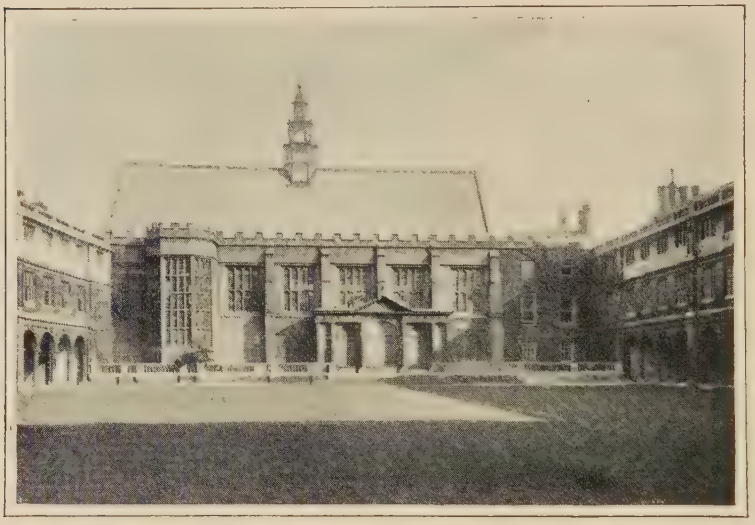
delighted to patronise learned men.

At Cambridge, during the reign, one college began decisively to outstrip the others in influence. Trinity, under Dr. Neville (Master 1593–1613) assumed a position of supremacy in the University which it has never relinquished. At Oxford no such uncontested supremacy was ever acquired. The leadership shifted as the respective ability of the authorities changed. Towards the end of James's reign the influence of Laud had had its effect, and St. John's was holding a temporary prominence among the colleges.

James took a personal as well as a theological and pedantic interest in the Universities—or, at least, his interest showed itself in personal visits. The occasions were marked by the performances of the semi-classical

VIEW OF OXFORD ABOUT 1615.
(*Braun and Hohenberg, "Civitates Orbis Terrarum."*)

semi-modern plays in which the learned and half-learned humorists of the time delighted (p. 221). Oxford was not behindhand in its masques and mummings. The *Christmas Prince* and *Narcissus* are characteristic of the affected quaintness of the time, and the allegorical street-welcomes were no less necessary a feature of a royal visit under James than they had been under Elizabeth. Cambridge, however, bequeathed to posterity more famous plays, as its *Ignoramus* (1615), and earlier its renowned *Pilgrimage to Parnassus*



NEVILLE'S COURT, TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

and *Return from Parnassus*. And whatever their theology, their learning, or their humour, the Universities were strongly, not to say subserviently, loyal to the Crown. In 1626, at a time when political animosity against him as Minister was at its height, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

The Reaction.

But during all the later years of James I. a strong reaction against Calvinism was being felt at both Universities. At Cambridge Andrewes and Harsnet, men strong in their knowledge of Christian antiquity and in the holiness of their personal lives, worked each in his own way in favour of a more liberal and

THE GARDEN FRONT, ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Photo: Gillman & Co., Ltd., Oxford.

Laud's Influence.

historical theology. At Oxford William Laud, founding his study, as said the bishop who ordained him, "upon the noble foundation of the Fathers, councils, and the ecclesiastical historians," was teaching the University by his sermons and his lectures to discard the stern, narrow system of belief which had so long reigned supreme. It was a long struggle—as long as that which gave victory to the Tractarians two centuries later. Laud, as fellow and head of his college, lived through the fiercest opposition. He was rated by the Vice-Chancellor, attacked in sermons, insulted in the streets. But in the end "Arminianism" conquered. Men were weary of the fierce denunciations of wrath which came from Calvinistic pulpits, and reason suggested articles of peace.

Discipline Restored.

The next period of University history is that in which Laud was Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of Oxford. In the latter capacity he did a great work. He restored discipline, he reformed college abuses, and he issued a code of University law. In 1630 it seemed that all ancient formalities and ancient order were in decay. There was no wearing of the academic dress, no obedience or reverence among juniors, among seniors chiefly wrangling, and among all ages bitter disputes, often ending in the breaking of heads if not the loss of life. In 1636 Sir John Coke could note a complete change. There was no more haunting of taverns or loitering in places of ill-example, but a serious devotion to study and a constant resort to the public libraries and schools. In the colleges Laud interfered, as Visitor or as Chancellor, to compel the Fellows of Merton to obey their statutes, to recognise the lawful privileges of Queen's, and to rate even heads of colleges for their folly and haste. But his greatest work was the issue of a careful codification of University statutes, drawn up, simplified, and amended, which he had caused to be the work of learned lawyers, and had himself revised with scrupulous care. He substituted a settled government, through a Board of the Heads of Houses, for the chance rule of old days, and he gave to the rulers and the ruled alike a fixed body of University statutes under which their University could expand and flourish. The power which he enjoyed, Laud desired to give permanently to the Church by asserting a right to visit the Universities as inherent in the office of Metropolitan. The claim was contested by the Uni-

versities, but was finally admitted by the King in Council. It was, however, never exercised, as the time of trouble diverted men's thoughts into other channels. The intimate interest shown by the Crown and the leading ministers in the Universities during the previous half-century had its natural result in leaving Oxford and Cambridge at the opening of the Civil War strongly Royalist in their sympathies. The colleges freely gave up their plate to the Royal cause, and before long furnished troops of students to the Royal armies.

BUST OF SIR THOMAS BODLEY.
(Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

The life of an undergraduate in those days was a merry one. The tutors were occupied as much with their own studies as with the instruction or discipline of their pupils, and we have in the letters of the time vivid pictures of a gay society. Edmund Verney, the gallant young cavalier who was treacherously murdered at Drogheda, went to Oxford in the year before the outbreak of the war, and was but an idle young scapegrace when he was there. He was caught at "Mrs. Gabriels'" supping on a Friday, when no meat could be got in college; he absented himself "from my lectures," complained his tutor indignantly, "and likewise from prayer in the hall;" he was overwhelmed with debt, and he fell into grievous ill ways. At length he was forced to admit of his ill courses that unless he "leaves Oxford he cannot leave them. I can impute it to noe other cases than my own ambition in perpetuall desiring of greate company, for had I associated myself with low quality I should have found it no hard matter to have shaken them off. . . . It is not any hate I bear to learning,

Undergraduate Life.

but my own facile nature, soe apt to be drawn the worst way." And so he must leave Magdalen Hall, and join the army to fight the Scots. No doubt to many, as to young Mun Verney, the trumpet was not altogether unwelcome when it sounded in the classic groves of Oxford.

GEORGE SAINTSBURY. Literature.

WHEN we look narrowly and distinguishingly (which is, perhaps, not a very easy thing to do in any such case) at the general characteristics of the literature of the first half of the seventeenth century, as contrasted with that of the second half of the sixteenth, we shall find very considerable justification for regarding the later period as an age of prose, rather than, like the earlier, one of poetry. And this is not in the very least inconsistent with the admission that the quality of its poetry was certainly not on the whole inferior, and that the amount of positively good verse was probably larger. For in all such questions we must look at the rising not the falling sap; at the direction of the current; at the character of the seed sown, not at that of the flower that is blown or overblown, or of the fruit that is ripening or even dropping from the stalk. And if we look in this way, if we take thought for the birth-dates, ages, and history of the great men of the day, if we observe that even the greatest poets had a tendency to be prose writers as well, and, above all, if we look after as well as before, we shall be more and more confirmed in the conclusion stated above.

The English Bible.

It may be partly an accident, but is also certainly something more than an accident, that the most remarkable and the most influential single book of the whole period was in prose. It is unnecessary to praise the authorised version of the English Bible. The approval of every competent scholar who has the taste as well as the erudition appertaining to true scholarship, the mastery which its language has attained over the whole course of English literature, and last, not least, the disastrous failure of all attempts to improve upon it, settle the matter quite sufficiently. But it is relevant, and even necessary, to point out the happy combination of power in the artists, and fortune in the circumstances, which gave and so long maintained the prerogative authority of this book. In respect of fortune, indeed, the antecedent as well as the subsequent advantages

were extraordinary. Scholarship had advanced far enough to supply a respectable text and an ample knowledge of the languages, but had not reached the stage of concentration on various readings and grammatical niceties in which really literary translation is perhaps impossible. The rough work, the work which corresponds to that of the man who hews the marble for the sculptor, had been done by a succession of vernacular translators from Wycliffe onward. The great semi-

THE AUTHORISED VERSION: BUST OF DR. JOHN RAINOLDS.
(*Corpus Christi College, Oxford. By permission of the President.*)

canonical versions of the Septuagint and the Vulgate were no mean assistance. Best of all, the translators began their work at a period when, as was pointed out at the close of the section devoted to this subject in the last chapter, a strange creative literary sense was abroad in the English people, when the vocabulary of English had been enriched, and its syntax supplied by long practice, and when it had not been hackneyed or smoothed out of raciness by too much use. Further, the known procedure of the translators was, in at least two ways, an extraordinarily happy example of the difficult, and,

to some people, almost impossible art of collaboration. They allowed precedence in the translation of each book to such scholars and divines as had given special attention to that book; and the version thus arrived at being read aloud, only such things as any objector could prove to be erroneous or inadequate were altered. Thus the version could not well fail to preserve a certain undivided tone which is not to be attained by a mere mosaic, or patchwork. But the happiest of their ideas was that which Selden mentions in a passage misunderstood by some moderns; the way in which, while often indulging in extremely vernacular English, they rendered into English words the exact idioms of Hebrew and Greek when it seemed good to them to do so. Hereby they at once gave wonderful strength and colour to their version, and enriched the tongue to an extent hardly to be realised, till the facts have been examined. The good people who so vehemently object to a similar practice now, and cry out at French, or German, or Italian idioms, however exactly Englished, as solecisms, perhaps do not suspect and certainly ignore the fact that English language and English literature have been built up in this very way. It would hardly be excessive to say that a certain number of translations—with that of the Bible at their head, of course, but also including such books as North's "Plutarch," Florio's "Montaigne," the "Arabian Nights," and a few others—have had more influence upon the actual stuff and the actual machinery of the English tongue, than its very greatest native writers.

THE AUTHORISED VERSION: DR. THOS. HOLLAND.

(*From a print in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

Its Fortunes

The after-luck of the Authorised Version, however, was even more remarkable than the chances of its birth and the skill of its parents and sponsors. It was issued at a time and under a Government which made its universal acceptance a certainty.

But the season of revolution which followed did not impair, but, on the contrary, enormously extended and multiplied its influence. To the Puritan it was his one book, his manual of belief, his system of philosophy of all kinds, from metaphysics to politics, his arsenal for polemic, his literature of amusement. The highest Churchman was equally, if not so exclusively, attached to a document issued with all the sanction of Church

THE AUTHORISED VERSION: JOHN KING, BISHOP OF LONDON

(From the portrait by Janssen. By permission of the Dean and Governing Body, Christ Church, Oxford.)

and king, and containing his own storehouse of weapons against Papist and Puritan alike. The passion which set in for hearing sermons accustomed everybody to it in text and citation: and the long-continued habit of attending daily service made large portions of it familiar to those who could not or did not read. It soaked from every side, at every pore, into the understanding and the heart of the English people.

The dominating theological interest of the time was also expressed and heightened by much original theological writing,

Theological Writers; Sermons.

both for the purposes of the pulpit and for those of the study. In regard to preaching there will probably always be a difference of opinion as to the relative excellence of the preachers before the Civil Wars, of whom Andrewes, Donne and Hall are perhaps the chief, and those after it, whose greatest names are South, Barrow, and Tillotson. But perhaps the question may be amicably settled by pointing out that Jeremy Taylor, who overlaps the two periods, and, on the whole, rather belongs to the earlier, and exemplifies its style, is by common consent the chief of English sacred orators. The magnificence of his style, which at times is almost unequalled and quite unsurpassed, marks the furthest limit—with certain passages of Browne—of the florid and rather lawless period of English prose. But he is approached, though not quite to such a sustained extent, in splendour, and actually surpassed in a sort of mystical strangeness and charm, by the much earlier Donne, whose literary, like his personal history, is a singular one. Beginning as an amatory poet of the most exquisite quality, but also of the greatest licence in tone and temper, and a satirist of a rough, rude vigour not often exceeded, Donne was, after much foreign travel and soldiering, sobered by a happy marriage, first into the study of law, and then into that of theology. He took orders late, and, though a favourite preacher with King James, did not at once receive any great preferment, which, however, fell to him at last in the shape (among other things) of the Deanery of St. Paul's, then in many respects one of the best benefices in England. But the death of his wife and the reaction from the early transports of his passionate and mystical temperament impressed upon his later work generally, and especially on his later sermons, a strange hue of gloom nowhere else to be found in prose. Hall, also a satirist, was a preacher of more cheerful temper but of very varied powers and great ability; while Andrewes may, perhaps, be said to have, despite his natural shrewdness, less of the secular literary man and more of the cleric about him than either. But they were only the greatest of many great orators, who by turns excited and fed the almost insatiable appetite for the time for pulpit eloquence.

Controversy.

But the composition of sermons naturally did not employ all the energies of the theologians of the time; and controversy, exposition, and so forth, were indulged in by all the persons

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

already named, and others. James himself had developed his great-grand-uncle's taste for polemics, and distinguished himself (comically enough if the sequel be looked to) by opposition to Arminius at the Synod of Dort. At the other end of the period, but in a very different order of literary accomplishment, Jeremy Taylor meddled with controversy not altogether to his advantage, for the logical strand in his mind was not the strongest, and he was thought to have slipped into something like heresy. Between them all the great divines of the time dealt either with the anti-Presbyterian or the anti-Papal debates, and not seldom with both; while not a few enriched the body of Anglican divinity with writings rather devotional than disputatious. Milton again, at the later end of the period, began the series of controversial works—occasionally diversified by splendid passages, but constantly disfigured by acrid temper, bad manners, indecent contempt of dignities, and an overweening intellectual and spiritual pride—which intervened between the exquisite first growth and the grand later harvest of his poetical powers. But the principal work of the time, which has come down with at least traditional reputation to posterity, was Chillingworth's "Religion of Protestants"—a book strengthened in some respects, weakened in others, by the fact that the author had himself vacillated from and to the standard of Anglican orthodoxy, and exhibiting what is in such cases almost inevitable—a certain leaning towards latitudinarianism which was to be considerably accentuated in the clergy of the English Church as time went on, though it never received any directly official or synodical sanction.

Politics and Philosophy: Hobbes.

This latter tendency—latitudinarian in belief, Erastian in discipline—overflowed into the kindred subjects of politics and philosophy. The tight hand kept on Nonconformity until the ill-success of the policy of Laud and Strafford, feebly carried out by their master, set free the dissidents, prevented much expression of this tendency from appearing in literature till nearly or quite the end of our period. It can scarcely be doubted that the thoughts of the greatest man in both these departments—of one of the greatest men that England has furnished to the history of them—were matured long before its conclusion. Thomas Hobbes (p. 393) was by this time a man of fifty-four. It was only then that he published the "De Cive," the first of his great

political and philosophical treatises, and indeed of his original works. But his translation of Thucydides fourteen years earlier had shown the bent of his mind sufficiently; for, whatever some authorities may say, the great Athenian is the father of all such as consider history in connection with philosophy, and politics in connection with history. So, too, it was only about this time that the rough and rude, but splendid and vigorous, tracts of Milton, in whom there was little philosophy, properly so called, appeared. The violence, though not the genius, of this Puritan spirit had been earlier shown by Prynne, and it would be possible in a greater space both to say more about these writers as they have been named, and to add the names of many others. But the choicest spirits for illustration of the actual mind and temper of the nation in James's reign and the earlier part of his son's are perhaps Selden and Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Both show tendencies which were on the mounting hand through Europe, and both show them with a specially English difference. A greater than either was indeed the contemporary, though the younger contemporary, of both. But the wonderful literary genius of Hyde, and his unequalled faculty of gauging and drawing men, produced no overt expression during this time, unless it be a State paper or two; the cool shade of exile had to come before it could find time and opportunity to bear its full fruit.

Selden.

Selden was an older man even than Hobbes by four years, and he died five years after the execution of the king. His political, like his mental, position was very peculiar; and though his great works on "Titles of Honour," on "Tithes" (rather bad history, as Lord Selborne has shown once for all, and not very good law), and on the "Mare Clausum," are now sealed books to all but a few literary students of the particular subjects, his universally read "Table Talk" (of which Mr. Reynolds has at last produced a worthy edition) keeps it well before all but the most careless readers. The defects and the merits of Selden's temperament were both eminently English. He was the first and greatest of the "Trimmers" who enlisted during this stormy century so large a contingent of our nation's strength. As long as personal sovereignty menaced the traditional privileges of Englishmen he was distinctly popular in sympathy, and even stood a certain amount of persecution in the popular cause. When that cause had got the upper hand and began to presume,

Selden drew back. He was an Oxford man; but the greatest Cambridge poet of our time has exactly summarised Selden's idea, without probably thinking of Selden, in the well-known lines about

> Freedom slowly broadening down
> From precedent to precedent.

He was thus very horrible to "high-fliers" and men in a hurry on either side; and indeed to the present day there is a certain

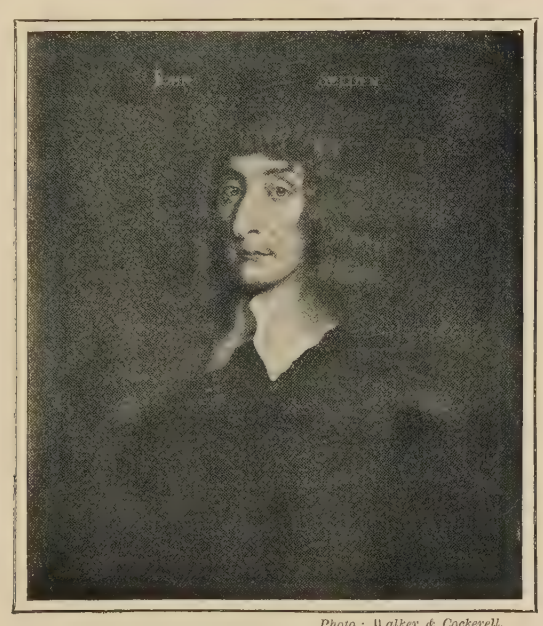


Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

JOHN SELDEN.

(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

cold-bloodedness about him. He had the lawyer's—especially the English lawyer's—dislike of ecclesiasticism; he had the scholar's dislike of democracy. He was almost a great man; but he was not in the least a hero.

Herbert of Cherbury.

Still less heroic, and much less great, was Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who, however, had more literary power than Selden, and was even more double-faced. While Selden's conduct in the civil strife was lukewarm and trimming, Herbert's, who began on the opposite side to the author of "Mare Clausum," was something

very like that of a deserter. He wrote three notable books in prose, but only two of them in English—the "History of Henry VIII.," a distinct attempt to fall in with the extremer views of James and his son on sovereignty; the well-known "Autobiography," and the famous "De Veritate" (p. 392). Probably the last is the most important. It is, though not in English, the first attempt by an Englishman to express those rationalising views on religious questions which were gathering force in all European countries, and had been, to a certain extent, expressed in French already by Montaigne and Charron. That it was not written in English and was not translated into English, is most assuredly not due, as in Bacon's case, to any contempt of the vernacular, but to Herbert's master passion of avoiding anything likely to get him into trouble. As for the "Autobiography," it is no doubt delightful, but it is delightful partly, if not wholly, as a monument of coxcombry.

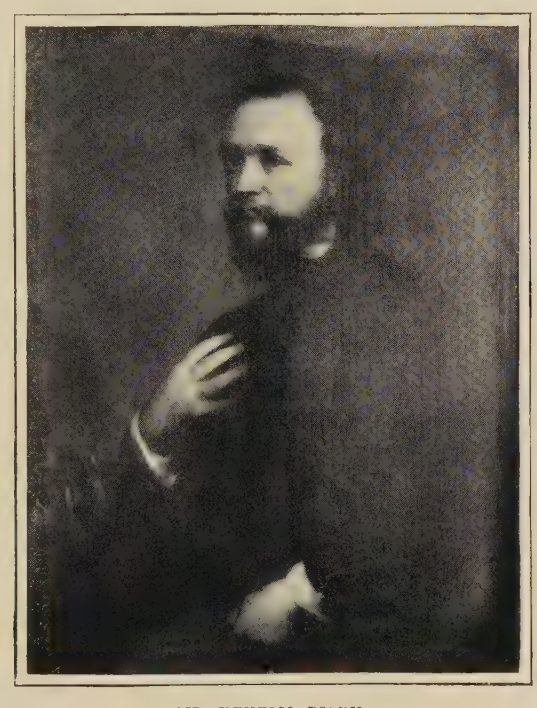
Prose Literature: Raleigh.

The prose of the time, however, was illustrated and employed by a large number of writers, who did not find it necessary, or were not tempted by their own tastes, to attack any of what La Bruyère calls *les grands sujets;* or who, if they touched them, touched them in a more or less non-controversial way. The composition at least of Sir Walter Raleigh's famous and rather puzzling "History of the World" dates from the earlier part of this time—from that long imprisonment of his which, with Strafford's death, the Treaty of Dover, and the attempted dragonnade of the English bishops and universities under James the Second, form a quartette of unanswerable indictments against our Stuart kings even in the judgment of the stoutest rational Jacobites. Great uncertainty has always rested over the actual authorship of this, as of most of Raleigh's work; but if he wrote the best parts of it he wrote passages which have few if any superiors in English prose. To our section, too, belongs the first, and not the least, work of one whom in some moods one might feel inclined to call the greatest writer of that prose,

Browne.

the "Religio Medici" of Sir Thomas Browne, not then knighted. It was published in our last year, 1642, but is known to have been some seven years older in composition and to have been handed about in MS. Browne gives us the most eloquent and almost the most characteristic example (the latter superlative must be reserved for another to be mentioned presently) of what

is the special intellectual and literary temperament of the seventeenth century till nearly its close. This temperament was marked by an extraordinary and, in a way, exact, learning combined with a very strong romantic tendency, a vigorous and wide-ranging scepticism, not excluding in some cases an unhesitating and unhypocritical orthodoxy, a willingness to extend this into what later ages would call decided credulity and super-



SIR KENELM DIGBY.

(*From the portrait at Trinity House, by permission of the Elder Brethren*)

stition, a singular blend in style of the academic and the vernacular. The splendour of Browne's diction was not quite fully shown till a little later. The character of his genius is pretty completely exhibited in the "Religio."

It brought him into respectful and polite controversy with another typical figure of the time, Sir Kenelm Digby, occultist, orthodox believer, pink of chivalry, and husband of a lady of face fairer than her fame—the romantically named and roman-

tically beautiful Venetia Stanley. Sir Kenelm, perhaps, belongs, though his talents were great and his passion for books admirable, to the class of oddities who are very strongly represented at this time. To these also pertain Thomas Coryat, the title of whose "Crudities hastily gobbled up" is known to many who know nothing else of him, who is said to have introduced forks into England, and who certainly executed, with the least apparent means, very remarkable travels in Europe and Asia. Another great Thomas (it was certainly not true at this time, as Dryden asserted it to be a little later, that "dulness was fated to the name of Tom" in the age of Hobbes and Browne), and a still greater oddity even than Coryat, was Sir Thomas Urquhart, the translator of Rabelais after a fashion, which no rendering from one tongue to another has ever exceeded in literal fidelity, and the author of a series of original works, of which it is hard to say whether their title-scheme, their phraseology, or their informing spirit and thought is the more astounding. At times it may seem as if Urquhart was on, or over, the verge of madness; but he never forgets method, and it may almost be said that he never writes nonsense.

Coryat.

The "Resolves" of Feltham, the earlier letters of Howell, and at least the earlier "Lives," though not the "Complete Angler" of Walton, belong to the period. Howell, indeed, begins (though whether his letters were actually written at the time at which they are dated has been questioned) considerably before the accession of Charles the First, while Feltham must have published before 1628. The works of all three have been at different times, and of one at almost all times, more favourite reading than those of far greater writers. Of Walton, who touches the time least in actual production, though he had imbibed some of the sweeter and more gracious traits of its spirit, it is almost unnecessary to speak. The sweetness and (to no small power of illumination) the light of his disposition, his exquisite appreciation of whatever things are pure and of good report, and his not less exquisite feeling for the milder and more domestic aspects of English scenery have secured him a popularity which men much his superiors in strict literature have failed to secure. So, too, Howell, a busy "polygraph" as the French say, and a professional man of letters who had travelled much, and tried many irons in many

Walton.

fires, has filled his letters (his miscellaneous writings are mostly unread) with such vivid and interesting details—gossip, anecdote,

TITLE-PAGE TO CORYAT'S "CRUDITIES," 1611.

description, and what not—as have altogether bribed many good judges, and have not failed to produce an effect even upon the most incorruptible. Feltham, who had a very great vogue as

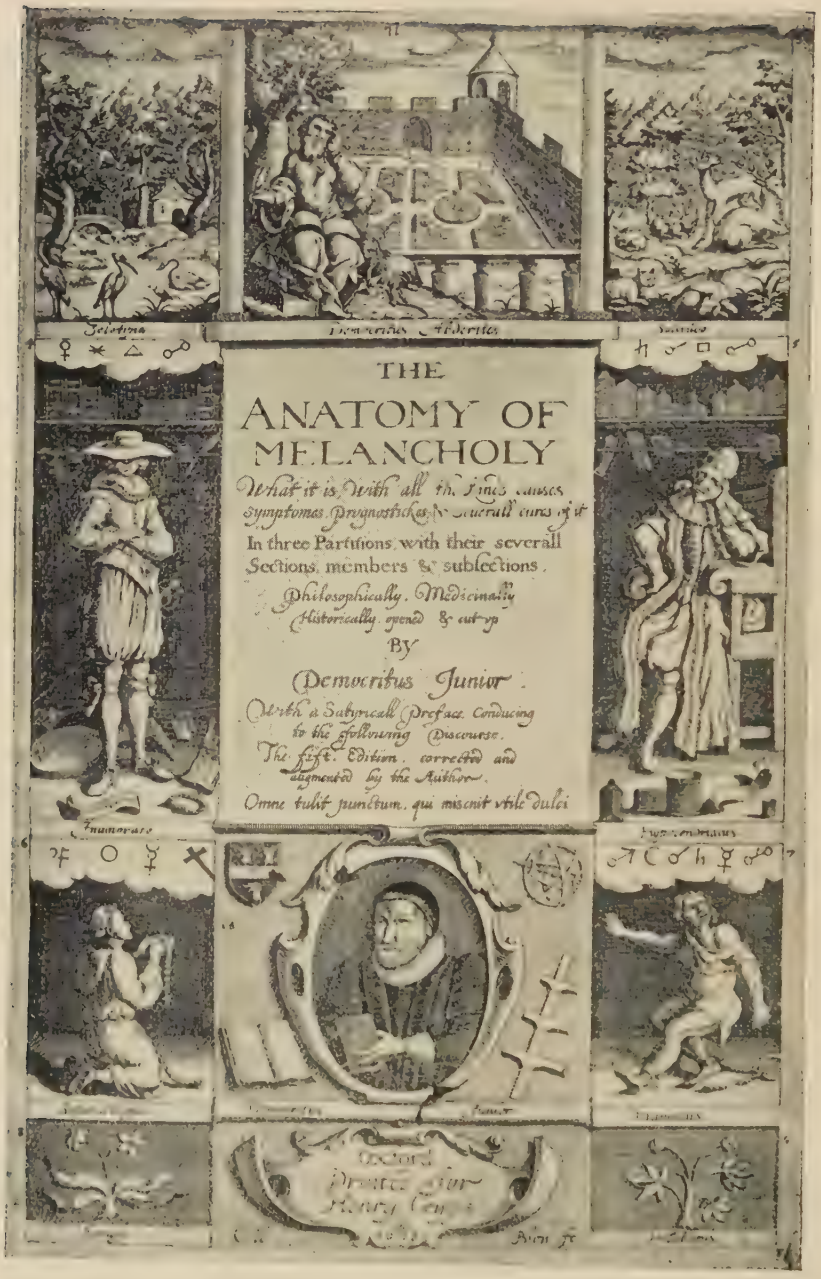
the author of moral reflections in his own day, and has seen it revived at least once, is, perhaps, just now less of a favourite than either; for he is neither picturesque nor diversified, and the beginning of the twentieth century finds ethics without epigram commonplace. But his house is built upon the rock; and it can afford to wait for new tenants to dwell in it.

Fuller. From this time, too, date the famous "Characters" of Overbury, though some of them may be earlier, and the similar work called "Microcosmography," of Bishop Earle; from this the earlier sermons and the first important work, the "Holy War," of another of the great Thomases of the first half of the seventeenth century, Thomas Fuller. Of the quaintness of this time Fuller is probably the most remarkable exponent in that degree of it which stops short of the learning run mad of Urquhart and the sheer jack-puddingism of Coryat. As a busy writer, Fuller was a man of the Civil War and Commonwealth time; and it is arguable that the difficulties of that time (from which, however, though he never ratted or truckled, he suffered less than almost any other Royalist divine) may have helped to direct him into and confirm him in the singular indulgence in quips and cranks (never irreverent or indecorous, but certainly unexpected) on sacred subjects, which distinguished him most. But he was a man of thirty-four in 1642, and his already published works show that the style was quite natural to him, as, indeed, it was to his whole generation. By the time of his own early death, as we know from a diatribe of no less a man than South, it had begun to seem shocking, not to the casual fool, but to men themselves of the keenest intelligence, and the most unsparingly sarcastic humour. But this was one of the evil effects of the Reign of the Saints, who did not look with favour upon joking, and whose own indulgences in it, as we know from the example of Milton, were of the least jocular kind.

Burton. But the greatest name, except Bacon, in this time has yet to be mentioned. It is exceedingly interesting to contrast with that towering hope for the future and almost contumelious disdain of the past which characterise Bacon himself, the tone and temper of this other writer. Robert Burton was, indeed, born more than a quarter of a century before James the First came to the throne. But the period of his intellectual flourishing

(he died in 1639) was almost co-extensive with our time, and as the "Anatomy of Melancholy" first appeared in 1621, while its author went on assiduously correcting and enlarging it till his death, Burton is the very criticism of and counterblast to the author of the "Novum Organum." He, too, had taken nearly all knowledge to be his province; and the enormous acquaintance with books which his notes and quotations display is a plentiful harvest even for the forty years of uninterrupted study which he appears to have enjoyed from his election as student of Christ Church in 1599 to his death. But nothing can possibly be further from Burton's temperament or his hopes than any *instauratio magna*, any great new conquest of knowledge and power for man. On the contrary, he seems to regard the whole province of learning as merely destined to supply at once the food and the remedies of his famous "Melancholy." This "Melancholy" might be treated and described in a great number of ways; but a good description of it for our purpose, and one which I think both true and not hackneyed, is that it is a sort of English version—darkened by the national "spleen," enlarged and ennobled by a much greater learning, and differentiated by personal idiosyncrasy—of the sceptical criticism of Montaigne. It is important to observe that there is no overt scepticism in Burton, and that enormous as is the range of his subjects of desultory comment, he exhibits a sort of instinctive caution when he approaches politics and religion. But the whole tone of the book is *Quod nihil scitur*, illustrated by the very parade of learning, and leading up to at least a hint of the further question, "And what does it matter if nothing is known, and if all is vanity?" The attitude is even more remarkable than Montaigne's, because there was little in the circumstances of Burton's own life and time to account for it. He was not, as Montaigne to some extent was, a "jaded voluptuary"; he had experienced none of the troubles of public life, no horrors of religious war; and there was not even for some time after he published his book much to excite fear as to the state of England, even in a man more careful of the signs of the times and more timid than "Democritus Junior" seems to have been. The singular combination of humour, despair, and zest of learning, displayed in the "Anatomy," is indicative not less of the temper of the time than of the critic's own nature and circumstances.

The "Anatomy of Melancholy."



TITLE-PAGE TO BURTON'S "ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY," 1628.

And there could be no stronger and more striking figure at the feast of the seventeenth century, with its vast schemes for the renovation of politics, philosophy, religion, its endless hopes from physical science, its projects of trade, of universal domination, be it Austrian or French, of new literatures to supersede the old, of architecture that was to dethrone the almost millennial rule of Gothic, of criticism of the very Scriptures, of exploration of the very heavens, than the apparition of this erudite skeleton pointing to entire libraries and saying—"This is the record of ambitions and energies as great as and so far longer-lived than yours. It is all poison, all food for melancholy; and it is lucky if among the poison there be a little antidote."

Learning: Dugdale, Camden, Hakluyt.

In all the prose writers hitherto mentioned there is more or less attempt at style; they all belong, some eminently, some at least as passmen, to the school of literature proper. But a great deal of work was done—as indeed was inevitable from that very devotion of the age to learning which has been noted—in the domain of purely instructive writing destined to accumulate and impart information only. The works of Selden—who indeed was much more than a mere antiquary or compiler—have been noticed. Those of Dugdale may also, in a certain sense, be said to belong to our period, though the "Monasticon" did not actually appear till 1655, and its author's other work till after the Restoration. Camden died in the very middle of our time, and after the accession of James was still busily employed in enlarging and in erecting the "Britannia." The death of Hakluyt, at no great distance of time from that of Shakespeare, did not put an end to the remarkable geographical publications of that patriotic and indefatigable scholar; for his successor, Purchas, came into possession of his manuscripts and utilised them for his "Pilgrims," which became the second great English collection of voyages and travels. The chroniclers, indeed, of the Holinshed and Stow class, began to fall off; but in their place the compilers of careful memoirs and records of the political events of their own time, of whom, next to Clarendon, of course, Whitelocke is perhaps the chief, filled up the interval between them and the historians proper of the next century.

There was also, save for some shrewd observations of Ben Jonson and one or two others, a curious falling-off from those attempts at literary criticism which we noticed in Elizabeth's

time. But, with few exceptions (such as prose fiction), it is scarcely too much to say that by the time of the breaking out of the Civil Wars, English literature was quite fully constituted. It had tried almost all the branches of its own art, had put its services at the disposal of most other arts and sciences. The writing of books and the reading of books were both established as a regular part of the intellectual habits of the nation, with hardly any restriction in subject and with no want of adaptable-

RUINS OF BACON'S HOUSE, NEAR ST. ALBANS.

Bacon.

ness in manner. The greatest light of the period in prose has, however, hitherto received little more than allusion. Bacon's own finished performances date in point of publication, with the exception of the earlier "Essays," wholly from it. The completer form of that famous book "The Advancement of Learning," the "Sylva Sylvarum," the "History of Henry the Seventh," the "New Atlantis," independently of the Latin works, all belong to the reign of James the First or to the brief space in that of his son during which Bacon was allowed life. The characteristics of at least that part of them which has continued to be read—too often, it is to be feared, compulsorily and as school work—are as well known as the characteristics of any of

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

our older writers, except Shakespeare and Milton. The stately tropes and metaphors: the magnificent promises and heraldings of what the new science is to give us; the cunningly adjusted scraps of classical or biblical phrase; the pithy apophthegms; the shrewd common-sense; the suggestion that seems even more

BACON'S MONUMENT, ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, ST. ALBANS.

pregnant than it is; the masterful employment of a learning which is perhaps more thoroughly at command than extensive or profound—all these notes of "topmost Verulam" are well known. Unjust to his predecessors, hasty and even superficial in his grasp of sciences and philosophies, rhetorical, casuistical, almost shallow, delusive in his mighty promises, hollow in his cunning schemes and methods—all these unfavourable labels have been at different times attached to Bacon, and for some at

least of them the Devil's Advocate may make out a strong case. But the magnificence of his literature, and his imagination in the directions where he was imaginative, is undeniable; and he was perhaps, to those who look at literature as it affects and is affected by the social history of England, the best mouthpiece and embodiment of that side of the late Renaissance which retained the hopes of an all-embracing *philosophia prima*, supporting them on the treacherous struts and props that seemed to be lent by the new learning in physics as well as by the study of the ancients.

Photo: Poulton.
BUST OF SHAKESPEARE.
(*Stratford-on-Avon Church.*)

There can be little doubt that if we take the number and excellence of the playwrights and the interests of the spectators (on a third point, the art of the actors, we know practically nothing), the first thirty years of the seventeenth century excel as a dramatic period any other in English history. As time went on, no doubt, the merit of the practitioners declined, and the opposition on moral and other grounds strongly increased; but it does not appear that the general taste for the theatre was at all affected by either the one or the other change. Indeed, the contrary is shown by the eagerness with which it once more sought indulgence directly the prohibition of stage-plays was removed. Indeed, so far as the literary merit of this dramatic literature is concerned, we may still further narrow down the statement, and say that in the first twenty years of the century the English theatre reached a perfection in point of literary genius which has never at any other time been equalled in England, and which has certainly never been surpassed elsewhere.

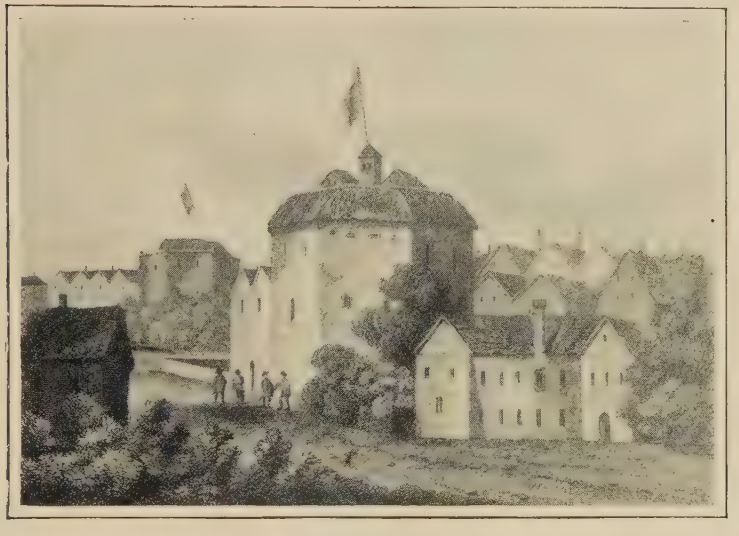
The Drama.

A very slight survey of dates and details will suffice to make this good. These two decades saw at their beginning the dramatic art safely through the stage of initiation by the hands of Marlowe

and his friends, and well out of the possibility of danger, though not free from occasional futile assaults on the part of the regular or Senecan tragedy. They saw, farther, the end, the flourishing, or the rise of every Elizabethan dramatist who can by the most liberal arrangement be put in the first class without exception, save Marlowe at the one end and Shirley at the other.

Shakespeare's Later Plays.

In the first place, they included the last sixteen years of the life of Shakespeare, and beyond all question—uncertain and precarious as is the exact attribution in time of his plays—



THE GLOBE THEATRE IN 1612.
(*From a contemporary print.*)

almost the whole of his finest work, of the work which most makes Shakespeare Shakespeare. His struggling days were long past; he was a prosperous gentleman at Stratford even before the century opened. But this prosperity did not, as it often does, in the very least choke or clog his talent. There is every reason to believe that from this time date the great romantic tragedies other than *Romeo and Juliet*, the greatest of the Roman plays, and, above all, and probably latest of all, those three masterpieces of romantic drama which is not purely tragic, *The Winter's Tale*, *The Tempest*, and *Cymbeline*—things which no other dramatist in the world except Calderon has even

approached, and which will remain for ever, even if in other plays and other poems and prose higher single touches appear to this or that taste, the most original and exquisite achievements of the English genius.

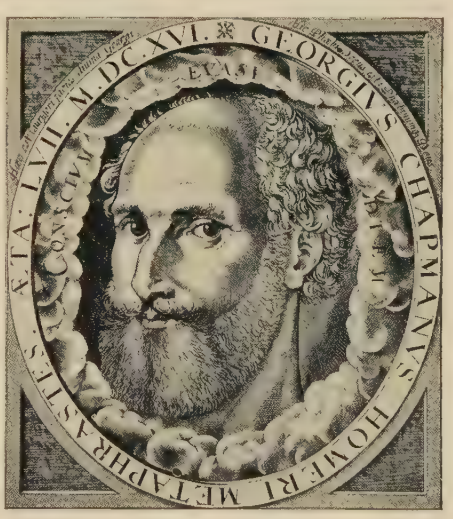
Photo: Walker & Cockerell.
BEN JONSON.
(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

Shakespeare's great friend in fact, rival in fiction, contrast and counterpart in sober criticism — Ben Jonson — lived during a far longer part of the period; indeed, he almost reached its end, was for many years its literary dictator, and may be said on the whole to have been, all things considered, and space of time as well as variety of work allowed for, its representative literary man. But all his best work was done by the end of the second decade. Before that time he had written all his great plays and most of his best poems, had received the appointment which is sometimes called the Laureateship, and had acquired such a reputation, not merely for dramatic and poetic quality, but for learning of the soundest and least dilettante character, as has never been surpassed by any English poet. After 1620 he was chiefly busy with masques, sometimes beautiful, but sometimes a trivial waste of time, with the later batch of plays which Dryden unkindly called his "dotages" and so forth; though just before his death he was able to produce the exquisite poetry of the "Sad Shepherd," and the wonderfully nervous English and learned intelligence of the prose "Discoveries." But the great plays *Sejanus*, *Volpone*, *The Silent Woman*, *The Alchemist*, *Catiline*, and *Bartholomew Fair* were all produced between 1605 and 1614; in other words, even before the death of Shakespeare. Nor would it be easy in any other country to find two men at the same time producing work so diametrically opposite in character and yet so instinct with genius in both cases. The supreme touch, the universal and divine touch of his friend, Ben had

not; and all his art and sense could not supply the want. But short of that he could do mightily; and it is at once very instructive as to the age, and very creditable to it, that he was on the whole its favourite author.

Chapman.

Of the same flight, so to speak, as Shakespeare and Jonson, there continued through most of our period Chapman and Dekker, who have been spoken of earlier; while the plays of Marston, who had figured chiefly as a poet and satirist, belong almost wholly to the earlier part of the time. Chapman, an Oxford man, and a very great man of letters, was one of the oldest of the later Elizabethans, being seven years older than Shakespeare and Marlowe, fifteen or sixteen older than Ben, and not more than five or six younger than Spenser himself; while he lived well on to the reign of Charles the First. But his dramatic work, including the strange, but in parts splendid series of French plays on Bussy d'Amboise and connected subjects, dates from before 1620, and in some respects is as characteristic as any work of the day. In his plays Chapman (whose work as a poet and translator will be again touched upon later) exhibits perhaps to the full the unequal and undigested character of the time. But his atmosphere is magnificent, and it is by their atmosphere that the writers of this time and of all times are to be chiefly judged. He has the "brave translunary things," the contempt at once of mere commonplace and mere fashion, the learning which, if it can never find absolutely complete expression, does not obscure genius, and redeems insufficiency in other ways. *The Revenge of Bussy d'Amboise* and *All Fools* are things as imperfect as



GEORGE CHAPMAN.
(*From his "Whole Works of Homer,"* 1616.)

they can be, and yet as little to be surrendered for perfect things of a lower kind as anything ever was.

Dekker.

Dekker is the complement of Chapman, with whom, as with Jonson and Marston, he was conjoined in a series of now inextricable literary friendships and quarrels. Chapman was a scholar and a ripe one; Dekker is not known to have had any education. Chapman had a rugged obscurity and a native force tending to extravagance as his chief gifts; Dekker combines sweetness, which is never cloying or merely sentimental, with a curious limpidity and fluency of diction. He wrote, so far as we know, no poems of note, save the charming lyrics inserted in his plays; but his prose is a sort of manual of the lower London life of the times of Elizabeth and James; and his best plays, *Old Fortunatus* and *The Honest Whore*, exalt pathos, which is never maudlin or conventional, to nearly its highest pitch. A parallel contrast between Dekker and Dickens would be very instructive; I do not know that it has ever been drawn.

DEKKER DREAMING.

(*From "Dekker his Dreme,"* 1620.)

Marston.

Marston was a much less attractive person. It would seem that his literary experiences as satirist and poet in the last decade of the sixteenth century, as dramatist in the first of the seventeenth, were but an episode in his life, and that he subsided for many years into the position of a quiet country clergyman. There is something not discordant with this in the extreme violence and gloom of his chief dramatic work, whether we take his tragedies *Antonio and Mellida* and *Sophonisba;* or his chief comedies *The Malcontent* and *What You Will*. But enough may have been said of them already.

It is hard, in so brief a space as that which is here available, to do justice to a school so numerously attended as the dramatic school of this time, even putting aside the numerous

men of one play, and the still more numerous plays of more or less unknown men. Only allusion can be made to Day and Tourneur, persons of faculty which in any other day would have been far more than ordinary. But Webster, Heywood, and Middleton in the first, Massinger and Ford in the second half, must not lack some brief notice. It is, indeed, a sufficient indication of the extraordinary strength of this period that men like the author of the *Duchess of Malfi*, of the *Changeling*, and of *A Woman Killed with Kindness* should be relegated to the second line, with possible doubts in some not ignoble minds whether they ought not to be in the third. I have no such doubts. The *White Devil* and the *Duchess of Malfi*, Webster's masterpieces, have a quality which is unmistakable. We shall never have it again, though we may have as good (not very soon, I think) in different kind. The claim of Middleton to all but supreme rank rests mainly on the characters of Beatrice-Joanna and her lover De Flores in the *Changeling;* but it is supported by much splendid tragedy in the *Mayor of Queenborough*, *Women beware Women*, and *The Witch*, and by about a dozen comedies of excellent life and bustle. As for Heywood, one of Lamb's chance phrases, half-paradox, half-generous hyperbole, has diverted the general attention from his real merits. We may argue *ad infinitum* what a "prose Shakespeare" may be, and what the rank of a prose Shakespeare would be. But no one who takes the trouble actually to read Heywood's plays (it is no mean task, though we have, according to his own account, but a small fraction of what he wrote) can fail to entertain a feeling of something like awe at the capacity of the hacks of literature in those days. **Minor Playwrights.**

All the writers hitherto mentioned did their best, if not their whole work, in the first half of the period—as did two of the very greatest whom, for an object, I keep to the last. But there remain two others to be noticed, who, though both were Elizabethan proper by birth, are not known to have written anything that now exists till after 1620. These are Massinger and Ford, names coupled early by accident, but inoffensively and perhaps irrevocably. Massinger was a dependent of the Pembroke family, an Oxford man, and from documents, apparently a playwright as early as 1614. But **Massinger and Ford.**

The Virgin Martyr, his earliest extant, and perhaps his greatest play, did not appear till eight years later. His theatre is considerable and of very great excellence, though he has been, on the whole, less of a favourite than he deserves by reason of the glorious play just noticed (even if, as seems certain, Dekker had a hand in it), *The Unnatural Combat*, *The Duke of Milan*, *The Roman Actor*, and other great tragedies, with such a pair of comedies, or tragi-comedies (not to mention others) as *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, and *The City Madam*. On the other hand, John Ford, a Devonshire gentleman, who though a diligent writer did not apparently write for bread, has perhaps had, intense as was his somewhat narrow talent, praise enough for *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, *The Broken Heart*, and *The Lover's Melancholy*. He could play on certain strings a note almost heartrending in its passion and pathos; but he knew not life as a whole.

Beaumont and Fletcher.

The most popular, and perhaps the most noteworthy dramatic authors of this half-century—for Jonson's fame was rather as poet and man of letters generally, and especially as a convivial centre and leader to men of letters younger than himself — were two who have not yet been mentioned, though the longest-lived of them died when several of those who have been mentioned had yet many years of life and work before them. These were the "Dioscuri of English letters," as they have been termed with excusable pedantry—John Fletcher and Francis Beaumont. Both were of respectable, and Beaumont of distinctly gentle, family. Both were University men; Oxford contributing Beaumont (the younger and more short-lived by a decade at each end), Cambridge Fletcher, who himself died at fifty. Beaumont's early death can only have given a bare ten years for the actual collaboration, and Fletcher is asserted to have subsequently worked with others or alone. But the identity of colour in the nearly half a hundred plays which commonly go by the joint names is very remarkable and scarcely to be explained unless on one of two hypotheses—either that almost all the plays were more or less sketched while the pair worked together, or that Fletcher's admittedly more creative and exuberant genius took such a "ply" from the critical influence of his friend as

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

never wholly to lose it. Even the work of Shakespeare is scarcely more remarkable for combined volume and variety than this immense theatre; and though it cannot be said that even their best play approaches the average of his, though their construction is looser and more facile, their thought and phrase less superior, and their characters, above all, less eternally human, yet *Philaster, The Maid's Tragedy, The Two Noble Kinsmen, A King and No King, The Humorous Lieutenant, Rule a Wife and Have a Wife, The False One, Thierry and Theodoret* surpass anything out of Shakespeare for combination of poetry and acting merit. Also, what is peculiarly noticeable about Beaumont and Fletcher is that they seem to have hit the taste of the English theatre-going public not merely for a time; they were as popular after the Restoration as before, and their best plays at any rate held the stage which almost all their contemporaries had lost, until the time, within living memory, when, by the oddest of changes, the Elizabethan drama was driven from the boards almost at the very moment when it was taken down from the shelves.

Poetry.

In the pure poetry of this period, and especially of its earlier and better time, not a few names already celebrated as dramatists meet us; and a few who have been already noted and quoted as authors in prose to some extent. The remarkable after-growth, sometimes called "Caroline" poetry, hardly belongs to us at all. Herrick, its perhaps greatest name, published nothing till later. Vaughan survived far into the post-Restoration age, and Cowley some way into it. Crashaw, Lovelace, and Suckling bore their fruit on the very eve of the civil convulsions. But all these belong partly to our time, and in those who belong wholly to it it is so rich that perhaps on the whole no forty years of English poetry can equal it. To it belong the earlier poems of Milton, in which some judges have seen a sufficient indication, if not a full development, of his entire poetical power; the greater part, if not the whole, of the strangely contrasted verse, now stiff, now limpid, of Jonson; the latter part of the wonderful poetry of Donne; the Spenserian school of the Fletchers, of Browne, and of Wither; a great supplement of the lyric work for music of which so much has been said in the last chapter, and of which Campion was the chief exponent, though only *primus* among many

pares. Here, too, belongs the mass of the astonishing lyrical work which is scattered about the drama of the time; here the stately translation or imitation of Sylvester; the statelier harmony of Sir John Davies; the curious and interesting Anglo-Scottish school of Drummond and Stirling; the early regularity of Sandys, a master of the decasyllabic couplet long before Waller or Denham; not a little of the work of Waller, Denham, and Cowley themselves; the cheerful miscellanies, in verse, sometimes pretending to something higher, of Randolph, of Cartwright, of Corbet; the sacred strains, anticipatory of the "Christian Year," of George Herbert; the perfection so utterly different in spiritual tone and temper, so alike in purely intellectual characteristics, of Carew and Crashaw. The list tends to grow breathless; and yet any lover of English poetry, whose studies or tastes have led him to pay some attention to this period, will feel at once that it is imperfect, and will feel even more strongly that the summary enumeration of the particulars has done them a gross wrong only to be repaired at an expense of space impossible here. For our purpose, however, a general pointing out of literary filiation and progress may be more useful than a minute discussion of particulars; and it is indisputable that during this period certain definite literary influences appear in a manner extremely interesting and of remarkable importance as a tell-tale of the literary state of England. With a few outsiders in special lines, such as the philosophical poetry of More and Beaumont, with the further exceptions of the immortal names of Drayton and Daniel (each keeping life and pursuing composition for considerable parts of our time, and both founding families of historical poetry), and with some irregulars and eccentrics such as every literary period of any fertility provides, the poets of this time are dominated, willingly or unwillingly, by three influences — the influence of Jonson, the influence of Spenser, and the influence of Donne.

Spenser was dead before our time began, but his influence was extremely powerful in his own university, where it directly produced the Fletchers, Giles and Phineas, whose great poems, "Christ's Victory" and the "Purple Island," would certainly never have been written but for the "Faërie Queene"; and it

was scarcely less powerful, though its evidence was a little more concealed, in the two chief Oxford poets who made their appearance during James's reign—William Browne and George Wither. All four, and their master perhaps more than any of them, had in turn an influence on the mind, not less receptive than original, of John Milton.

Jonson's Influence.

But Milton also owed much to Ben Jonson, whose "learned sock" he praised, and from whom he drew more than, in the general ignorance of Jonson's masques, is likely to be recognised. No one, indeed, not his namesake the Doctor, not Dryden, who perhaps came nearest to him in this respect, not Coleridge, not Scott, has ever exercised quite the influence on the literature of England that Jonson did for many years. Great authors have often been rather inaccessible persons; and sometimes they have been rather unamiable ones. It can scarcely be said that extreme amiability was one of the features of Jonson's own character; but he had this saving point of idiosyncrasy, that he was not in the least afraid of, or averse from, "the younger generation." A man of extremely convivial and decidedly undomestic turn, he was accessible to everyone at the taverns he frequented, and besides the group of "Sons," which is famous, and included all the more noted men of letters of the second half of our period, he seems to have had a wide circle of *protégés* and clients extending, as later traditions more or less dimly indicate, all over the kingdom. This semi-Falstaffian gift of tavern-kingship, however, could not have availed of itself to give Jonson the position he held. But his more solid claims to literary respect were unusually great. Although it is very doubtful whether he belonged to either University in any but an honorary capacity, scholars of the strictest academic sufficiency like Selden, Farnaby and others, admitted his scholarship; he was the honoured friend of Raleigh and Bacon; and it is im-

Photo: Goupil & Co
JOHN MILTON.
(*By permission of the Duke of Buccleuch.*)

possible for any reader, himself possessing the slightest tincture of classical learning, not to recognise in every work of Jonson's —be it play, poem, or prose—the presence of a reading which never obscured, though it sometimes stiffened and hardened, the creative faculties of the author. If the English literature of the first half of the seventeenth century is, as I verily believe it to be, the most learned in point of general diffusion of learning that any half-century of any country's history can show, it is no doubt not wholly due to Jonson. But he himself was a capital example of the spirit that was abroad, and his influence largely served to extend that spirit more widely.

Donne's Influence.

The third influence, the most intangible of all, was in a way the mightiest, because it expressed a more subtle tendency of the time. No authentic edition of Donne's poems issued from the press till after his death, and the dates at which any of them were published are very uncertain. During the greater part of that section of the period during which he was alive, he was known as a grave divine of an intensely melancholy cast of thought and a rather stern tone of preaching. Yet Jonson, his own contemporary probably to a year, who was not wont to be specially kind to his own contemporaries, thought him "the first poet in the world in some things"; his verses are known to have been multiplied freely in manuscript; and his influence over the whole poetry of the period, whether direct by way of imitation and inculcation, or indirect by way of early expression of what was in the air, was unsurpassed. Donne set the example of what has since been called the "metaphysical" style, the style of remotely far-sought and elaborately overwrought conceits, similes, and metaphors. Donne showed (much, it is said, to his own confusion and repentance later) how an almost unlimited voluptuousness of thought and imagery might be combined with a transcendental refinement of passion such as no author had even thought of before. Donne not merely shared, but carried farther than anyone else, the mastery of vague, suggestive, musical language. And Donne, as no one had ever done, and as no one has ever quite done since, utilised this music to accompany strange issues of mystical thought, remote descants of spiritual meditation, such as were previously unknown to poetry, English or other, before his time. And all the greater as well as some of the lesser of his

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

contemporaries followed him, now, like Crashaw and Cowley and Cleveland and the youthful Dryden, to unbelievable excesses of comparison in a sort of new Euphuism; now, like Carew, to daringly licentious sensuousness; now, like More and Joseph Beaumont, to poetical scholasticism; but always (where the imitator was strong enough) to that strange indefinable combination of music in phrase, melancholy in sentiment, and mystical passion in thought, which has been already referred to. It is this, even more than its learning, that is the note of the period in poetry, and it sounds everywhere in modes and measures tempered by the qualities of the individual. It may be purely pious as in Herbert, philosophical as in Vaughan, decently and ethically passionate as in Habington, ecstatic as in Crashaw, exquisite and dainty as in Herrick, chivalrously or mockingly amatory as in Suckling and Lovelace; but almost everywhere (whether accompanied by the Jonsonian learning, or, less frequently, by the Spenserian allegory) it inspires the poets of the time before the Rebellion. And if we may not—though with such words as Jonson's, spoken to Drummond as early as 1618, we surely may—attribute it directly to Donne's influence, we may, at any rate, say that Donne was the earliest, the most original, and in a way the greatest exponent of it.

R. E. PROTHERO. The Advance in Agriculture.

THE beginning of the seventeenth century promised to usher in a new era of rural prosperity. No improvements in agricultural practices were possible until the land was, to some extent, enclosed. Under the Tudor sovereigns this indispensable work had been performed in the midst of much agrarian suffering and discontent (Vol. III., p. 480). Large estates were more common; open village farms had, in considerable districts, given place to compact separate freeholds or tenancies; agrarian partnerships, in which it was no man's business to be energetic, were giving place to that individual ownership which is the most powerful incentive of enterprise. The fall in the value of precious metals had raised the prices of agricultural produce; corn and meat found better and dearer markets; under the stimulus of improved profits arable farming became more prosperous, and the practice of laying down tillage land to pasture was checked. The increased wealth of landlords showed itself in the erection

of Jacobean mansions; tenant-farmers and yeomen freeholders were growing rich. Only the agricultural labourer still suffered. His wages remained stationary, while the necessaries of life grew dearer (p. 180). He was more secure of employment, and in that way only was his lot changed for the better.

New Sources of Produce.

Much of the land had changed hands during the past century, and the infusion of new blood into the ownership of the soil introduced a more adventurous spirit into farming. A crowd of agricultural writers followed in the train of Fitzherbert, Tusser, and Googe. Gervase Markham and Leonard Mascall instructed husbandmen in the art of extracting wealth from the soil by improved agricultural practices and by the more scientific "government" of horses oxen, cattle, and sheep. John Crawshay, who describes himself as "a plaine Yorkshire man," writes about horses, and warns his readers against buying horses in the market, "for many men will protest and swear that they are sound, when they know the contrary, only for their private gain." From Italy Rowland Vaughan introduced new methods of irrigation, and of treating water-meadows. Markham and Lawson wrote upon orchards and gardens, in which were now accumulating such rich stores of agricultural wealth as turnips, carrots, and potatoes. Even the smaller profits of farming were not neglected. John Partridge had already written upon the keeping of poultry, and had given recipes for keeping their natural foes at bay. "Rub your poultry," he said, "with the juice of Rue or Herbe grass, and the weasels shall do them no hurt; if they eate the lungs or lights of a Foxe, the Foxes shall not eate them." Nor were bees neglected. Butler and Levett discoursed on their "ordering," and the profits which were to be derived by the skilful bee-keeper.

GOING TO MARKET (MS. Egerton 1269).

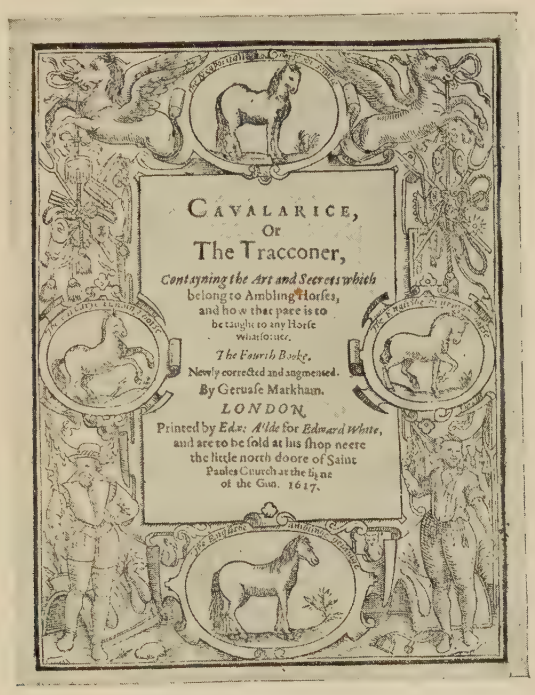
During the same period men like Sir Richard Weston were

FRUIT TRENCHERS OF THE JACOBEAN PERIOD.

(British Museum.)

introducing crops which were destined to change the face of English farming, Weston had formerly served as ambassador in the Palatinate, and when he returned to England he brought with him the methods practised and the crops cultivated in the Low Countries. At Sutton, in Surrey, he introduced the turnip and artificial grasses—destined to be the pivots of English farming—into field cultivation. Oliver Cromwell, it is said, also

New Crops.


CAVALARICE,
Or
The Tracconer,
Containing the Art and Secrets which belong to Ambling Horses, and how that pace is to be taught to any Horse whatsoever.
The Fourth Booke.
Newly corrected and augmented.
By Gervase Markham.
LONDON,
Printed by Edw: Allde for Edward White, and are to be sold at his shop neere the little north doore of Saint Paules Church at the sign of the Gun. 1617.

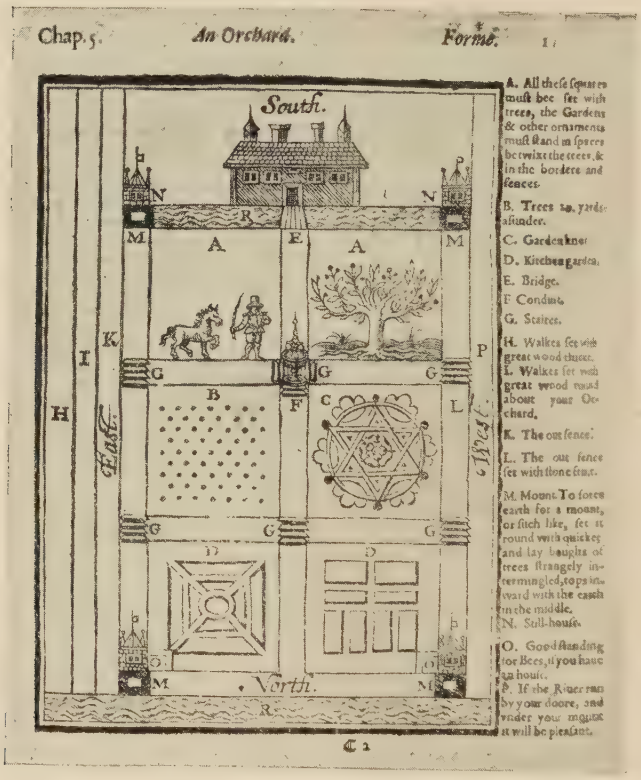
TITLE-PAGE TO GERVASE MARKHAM'S "CAVALARICE," 1617.

experimented in the new agricultural practices. Weston's experiments were afterwards published by Samuel Hartlib, a friend of Milton and a pensioner of Cromwell. Another agricultural writer of the period who deserves mention is Gabriel Plattes, if only because of the support which his career afforded to those practical farmers who despised agricultural writers. Like Tusser, he failed as a farmer, and finally died shirtless and starving in the streets of London.

In the experiments of Weston, and in the writings of Hartlib,

Plattes, and others, were stored new materials for agricultural wealth. But before the new practices could be successfully adopted it was necessary that the soil should be extensively drained. With the need comes the man.

The necessity and the methods of drainage were also ably


Chap. 5. An Orchard. Forme. 1.
South.
North.
East.
West.
A. All these squares must bee set with trees, the Gardens & other ornaments must stand in spaces betwixt the trees, & in the borders and fences.
B. Trees 12. yards asunder.
C. Gardening.
D. Kitchen garden.
E. Bridge.
F. Conduit.
G. Staires.
H. Walkes set with great wood trees.
I. Walkes set with great wood round about your Orchard.
K. The out fence.
L. The out fence set with stone fruit.
M. Mounts: To force earth for a mount, or such like, set it round with quickes, and lay boughs of trees strangely intermingled, tops inward with the cassh in the middle.
N. Still-house.
O. Good standing for Bees, if you have an house.
P. If the River run by your doore, and under your mount it will be pleasant.

HOW TO LAY OUT A GARDEN.

(*G. Markham, "New Orchard and Garden,* 1638.")

Drainage.

discussed by Walter Blith, whose treatise, the first of its kind, is interlarded with quaint Biblical quotations, which show the temper of the times. As the Puritans of the day sought the authority of Scripture for their political constitution, so the Puritan farmer justifies his advocacy of drainage by references to the Bible. "Can the rush," he asks, with Bildad, "grow without mire, or the flagg without water?" In another way, also, Blith's

"English Improver" is significant of the era of the Civil War. He turned his reaping-hook into a sword, became a captain in the Roundhead army, dedicated the third edition of his work (1652) to the Right Honourable the Lord-General Cromwell, and adorns it with a portrait of himself arrayed in full military costume.

Blith advocates a national scheme for drainage, in which landowners should be compelled to join for "the Commonwealth's advantage." When he wrote (1641), the condition of the fens had already excited the attention of the Government. It was now that the great work of draining and reclaiming the Eastern Counties was for the first time seriously undertaken on a scale commensurate with the magnitude of the task.

Reclamation of the Fens.

The Great Level of the Fens extended into the six counties of Cambridge, Lincoln, Huntingdon, Northampton, Suffolk, and Norfolk. Seventy miles in length, and varying in breadth from twenty to forty miles, it comprises nearly seven hundred thousand acres. Now a richly cultivated, fertile district, it was, in the seventeenth century, a wilderness of bogs, pools and reed-shoals —a vast morass, from which here and there emerged a few islands of solid earth. Six considerable rivers—the Ouse, the Cam, the Nene, the Welland, the Glen, and the Witham—carry the upland waters through this wide stretch of flat country towards the sea. Whenever the rains fell the rivers were flooded and overflowed the country for miles around. Nor was this all. It was only in maps that they reached the ocean at all. Two causes principally contributed to convert the district into a morass. The outfalls of the rivers were silted up so that their mouths were choked by many feet of alluvial deposit. Twice every day the tide rushed up the channels for a considerable distance, forcing back the fresh water, and converting the whole country into one vast bay.

Efforts had been made by the Romans to reclaim these flat levels, and their "causey" is still in existence. In the palmy days of the great monasteries of Crowland, Thorney, Ely, and Ramsay isolated districts were drained and richly cultivated. In the reign of Henry II. (1154) a contemporary writer speaks of the district round Thorney as "a very Paradise in pleasure and delight; it resembles heaven itself—it abounds in lofty trees, neither is there any waste place in it; for in some parts there are

apple trees, in others vines, which either spread upon the ground or run along poles."

But this description only applied to the islands on which the great monasteries were situated. The rest of the country still remained an unproductive bog, the habitation of amphibious husbandmen, and the resort of robbers and marauders. No important effort was made to reclaim the district till the time of Cardinal Morton, Bishop of Ely, in the reign of Henry VII. (Vol. II., p. 629). A cut, forty feet wide and four feet deep, which runs from Peterborough to Wisbech, still bears the name of "Morton's Leam," and is still of importance, both in drainage and navigation. Other local efforts were made, but they were for the most part ineffective. In spite of individual enterprise, the general character of the district grew so deplorable that it attracted the attention of the Government. The Great Level, with its 700,000 acres, was then described as being, and having been, "for the space of many ages, a vast and deep fen, affording little benefit to the realm, other than fish or fowl, with overmuch harbour to a rude and almost barbarous sort of lazy and beggarly people." The district was surveyed, commissioners and courts of sewers were appointed, and an Act was passed for the drainage of the Great Level in 1600. In 1606 a local Act for the improvement of the fens was passed, under which a portion of the Island of Ely was reclaimed. As their recompense the adventurers in the undertaking received two-thirds of the land thus recovered from the water. Still, however, the work was not begun on any large scale. Still it was true, as a local writer wrote of the country nearly two centuries later, that

Morton's Leam.

> "Nothing grew beneath the sky
> But willows scarcely six feet high,
> And osiers, barely three feet dry."

"C.H.," who, in 1629, urged upon the public the "Drayning of Fennes," gives an unattractive picture of the district:—"The Aer Nebulous, grosse, and full of rotten Harres; the Water putred and muddy, yea, full of loathsome Vermine; the Earth spuing, unfast, and boggie; the Fire noysome turfe and hassocks; such are the inconveniences of the Drownings."

The real work of reclaiming the Great Level dates from 1630.

In that year Francis, Earl of Bedford, with thirteen gentlemen adventurers, undertook to drain the Cambridgeshire portion of the district, on condition that they received 95,000 acres as their recompense. New channels and drains were made to carry off the surface water, existing courses were scoured and straightened, banks were raised to restrain the rivers within their beds, new outfalls into the sea were cut, numerous dams and sluices were erected to keep out the tides and land-floods. The

The Earl of Bedford's Scheme.

THE FENS UNDRAINED.

(*Dugdale, "History of Imbanking and Draining Divers Fens,"* 1662.)

work was carried on with vigour, and though it was of necessity partially suspended during the Civil War, it proceeded under the Commonwealth. Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, its director, reported in 1652 that "wheat and other grains, besides innumerable quantities of sheep, cattle, and other stock, were raised where never had been any before."

Similar works were carried on in other parts of the Great Level during the reign of Charles I. Thus Deeping Fen, Lindsey Level, East and West Fens, the Wildmore and Holland Fens, Ancholme Land, and the Isle of Axholme, were all attacked by

improvers, who were to receive as their reward large portions of the reclaimed lands. In several instances the drainage was so far completed that the adventurers claimed and obtained their rewards. But from various causes the water regained its hold on the country. In some cases the work was only partially finished; in others it was so inadequately executed by persons whom Walter Blith calls "mountebank engineers, idle practitioners, and slothful, impatient slubberers," that it broke down under the first wet season. In others the windmills, which were used to raise the water of the interior districts to the level of the main river, could not cope with a flood. In others the works were destroyed by the fenmen, and were not restored till the eighteenth and even the nineteenth century.

Local Opposition.

While the reclamation was in progress complaints were rife of the "riotous letts and disturbances of lewd persons." Nor was the opposition of the inhabitants at all unreasonable. In the arrangements made for the reclamation of the fens no compensation was made for rights of turf-cutting, fowling, fishing, hunting, and pasture. In the manor of Epworth, for example, there were 13,400 acres and 370 commoners. Six thousand acres were allotted to the commoners and 7,400 to the adventurers. In other manors the land was divided in similar proportions. All over the fen districts there were outbursts of popular indignation. The commoners were called to arms by a Tyrtaeus of the fens, whose doggerel rhymes have been preserved by Dugdale in his "History of Imbanking and Drayning."

"Come, brethren of the water, and let us all assemble,
To treat upon this matter which makes us quake and tremble;
For we shall rue it if 't be true the Fens are undertaken,
And where we feed, in fen and reed, they'll feed both beef and bacon.

"The feathered fowls have wings to fly to other nations,
But we have no such things to help our transportations.
We must give place (oh, grievous case!) to horned beasts and cattle,
Except that we can all agree to drive them out by battle.

"Wherefore let us entreat our ancient water nurses
To show their power so great, as to help us drain their purses;
And send us good old Captain Flood to lead us out to battle.
Then Twopenny Jack, with scales on's back, will drive out all their cattle."

The Civil War was the opportunity of the fenmen. They

The MAP of the GREAT LEVELL DRAYNED.
Deping Fen
Great Poteland
Peterborough
Whittlesey Meare
Yaxley
Holme
Sawtry
Upwood
Ramsey
Ramsey Heath
Stonea Fen
Chatteris
Wisbech
Wisbeche North Side
Wisbeche South Side
Elme
Leverington
Newton
Tid Saints
Tid St Mary
The Norfe Shoe
Wiggenhall
Walsoken
Emneth
Terrington
Clenchwarton
Lynn
Marshland
Crowland
Thorney
Thorney Fen
Peakirke drains
Peakirke
Peterborough great Fen
for Worlington water
Wisbech high Fen
Part of Wisbech Fen
Whittlesey
Whittlesey Mere
Whittlesey mere bank
Whittlesey Meare bank
Morton's Leame
Ramsey Meare
Stony Fen
Ramsey Mere
Yaxley Fen
Holme Common
Upwood
Woodwalton
Sawtry
Conington
Stilton
Farcet
Orton
Peterborough
Thorpe
Norman Cross
Stanground
Wansford
Castor
Ailsworth
Walton
Eye
Werrington
Bourn
Dowsdale
Dowsdale drains
Bourn Mere
Bourn Fen
Bourn Mere drains
Bourn Mere bank
Bourn Mere Leame
Bourn Mere Leame bank

The Work interrupted.

destroyed the mills and embankments, filled up the drains, levelled the enclosures, burned the crops before they were reaped, and restored whole tracts of reclaimed country to their previous state of morass. In the neighbourhood of Hatfield Chase, near the Isle of Axholme, every day for seven weeks men armed with muskets drew up the flood-gates so as to let in the flowing tides, and kept the sluices shut at every ebb, threatening that they "would stay till the whole level was well drowned and the inhabitants forced to swim away like ducks." At Epworth a petition of the adventurers states that 74,000 acres of reclaimed land had been wasted, the houses demolished, the ploughs burned, the ploughmen beaten and wounded. The industrious colonies of French and Flemish Protestants, who had been settled on the adventurers' lands, and who there introduced with success the useful practice of "paring and burning" the boggy lands, found their houses burned, and their crops destroyed or depastured by the cattle of the commoners. It was not till after 1714 that the riots which the reclamation had caused ceased to disturb the peace of the country, and by that time their object was in a great measure achieved, and the vast swamps and wet marshes of the fen district were restored to the ague-stricken inhabitants in their primitive unproductiveness.

G. TOWNSEND WARNER. The Growth of Manufacture.

THE first forty years of the seventeenth century saw an expansion of trade. Men's minds turned towards progress. New inventions of Elizabeth's days were developed. There were continual applications for patents; and if the "hydraulic cabinet for sending men to sleep," "the improved fish-call," and others, seem frivolous, yet the inventors must have thought there was something in their ideas, or they would hardly have paid the Crown sums of money for patents. And some of the inventions were eminently valuable in idea. Patents were taken out for processes for smelting with pit-coal: some form of gig-mill was used, and there is mention made of a great loom, by which one person could do as much work as ten. But in attempting to get accurate statistics about the trade of England we meet with difficulties. The statistical school of England, which Petty was to inaugurate, had not begun. So, though there

is here and there a statement about the output of a trade, yet they are rare, and in many cases not to be relied upon, for the computator had seldom any better resource than a guess. And there is another reason for distrusting trade estimates. When we find them, they are generally the outcome of trade quarrels. The object of trade writers in meeting attacks is usually to minimise the extent of their trade. The weavers objected to the linen-men on the ground that woollen fabrics were being superseded; or the charcoal-smelters quarrelled with those who were trying to use coal; or the wood-mongers were jealous of the charcoal-men. In each case both parties had an interest in representing their own trade as languishing through the prosperity of their opponents, while the opponents retorted that they themselves were not half so prosperous as was made out. Each new trade had to show that it was not harming any established trade, or it was likely to be restrained by Act of Parliament or Proclamation. Trades that were looked on with the most favourable eye were that old favourite the woollen trade, and generally those that produced articles which Englishmen would otherwise have had to import. Such industries were considered to act favourably on the balance of trade, and so were commendable.

LOE. THOMAS HAMON. HERE ENTERD DO TH LYE
THRICE BVRGESSE FOR THE PARLIAMENT ELECTED
SIX TIMES BY FREEMENS CHOICE MADE MAIOR OF RYE
AND CAPTAINE LONGE TIME OF THE BAND SELECTED
WHOSE PRVDENT COVRAGE IVSTICE GRAVITIE
DESERVES A MONVMENT OF MEMORYE

BRASS OF THOMAS HAMON, RYE, SUSSEX.

(From a rubbing in the possession of T. D. Atkinson, Esq.)

State Interference.

Governmental interference with trade was not necessarily unpopular. Common fairness condemned novelties which threw Englishmen out of work, or trades which weakened England's power. It was foolish "to change substantial goods for half-penie cockhorses." It was better to have timber for ship-building than iron furnaces in Sussex; it was unfair that sawyers should be thrown out of work by a Dutch saw-mill worked by the wind, with which human muscles could not compete. Similarly with the monopolies and patents. Restricted to their proper uses, they were well enough (p. 191). Certain manufactures, such as gunpowder, were best kept in responsible hands. If a man hit upon a valuable invention, or introduced a new trade, it was right that he should profit. Unfortunately for the Crown, monopolies and patents could only be properly applied either to small trades, or to trades in their infancy, and there was little money in these. The temptation to make a larger revenue by applying them improperly was too great for the Stuarts' empty pockets.

Aliens.

The ideas of the time come out clearly in the regulations about foreigners and in the Trade Commission of 1622. There was always a jealousy of foreigners in England, but within certain limits the Government stood their friend. A proclamation of 1622 provides that strangers who had not served an apprenticeship were not to sell by retail, and in gross only at fairs or markets of the town where they dwelt. Handicraftsmen were to continue their trades, but those without apprenticeship were to pay a fine to the king. Any strangers, however, who instructed the English people in new and profitable trades might use their trade freely for ten years. The Crown protected the manufacturers of "bays" and "says" at Colchester from local interference. The act was humane, but the motive was expediency rather than humanity. At the head of the Commission of 1622 was the President of the Privy Council, and included were the Presidents of the Court of Wales and of the Council of the North; the Master of the Rolls was the most prominent of the remaining forty-five members. The proclamation appointing it sets forth that there were complaints about the cloth trade, that men were out of work, that rents were left unpaid, and that customs were diminishing: that there was need for a commission, as trade is variable and there is constant

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

need for alterations in policy. Apparently, then, the commission was intended to be more or less permanent. As no report of its doings has ever been discovered, it seems that very little was done. But the articles themselves are interesting. The Commissioners are to inquire why wool has fallen in price, and how to prevent the export of it and also of yarn, fullers' earth, and wood-ashes, how to bring to England the wool from Scotland and Ireland, and how to avoid a glut in the

THE STEELYARD.

(*From an engraving by W. Hollar.*)

market when it came; how to simplify the laws about wool; how to put a stop to faulty manufacture; how to improve the arts of dyeing and dressing, and how to cheapen dye-stuffs. More generally, they are to inquire if the societies and companies, particularly the Merchant Adventurers, really hampered the woollen trade. Then come the ideas of the time: how to make bullion more plentiful; how to preserve a right balance of trade by attending to exportation; how to maintain the Navy and the herring fishery; how to prevent importation in foreign bottoms; how to make strangers spend their money

in England, and not carry it away with them. These are all commended to the Commissioners. They are the current views of commercial policy. The articles then deal with the linen trade: Why, they ask, has the Eastland corn-trade declined, so that the company's merchants no longer import flax and hemp? Our linen trade should be encouraged by planting flax. Native commodities generally should be improved; and the Commissioners are finally bidden to consider how best to make clothiers prosperous and English cloth fashionable and popular. Throughout there is one idea—that of making the country prosperous. But the prosperity is to rest on the accumulation of bullion by the balance of trade; on the strength of the kingdom through the encouragement rather of established trades than of new ideas; on home industries rather than on foreign commerce; on the well-being of all rather than on the wealth of the individual.

Industries: Woollen Manufacture.

Of all English industries the woollen industry was the largest and the most favoured by Government. The following woollen fabrics are mentioned: bays, says, felts, woollen broadcloths, half-cloths, kersies, dorens, penistons, friezes, rugs, perpetuanos or serges, narrow pin-whites, frizados, bombazines—a considerable variety. Although the woollen trade was scattered pretty generally over England, three principal districts may be distinguished—East Anglia, the western counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, and the West Riding. In East Anglia had settled the so-called new drapery of Elizabeth's time. Norwich manufactured bombazines which were the rage in James's reign, and russets. The village of Worstead gave its name to the peculiar yarn with the long fibres, now so familiar. Colchester had thriven on the trade of bays and says introduced by the immigrant Dutch, so much so that "Bays and Says" was the old toast of the town at the municipal oyster feasts. So important was the trade that during the siege of 1648 Fairfax considered the complaint of the blockaded manufacturers, and an offer was made on behalf of the Parliament to buy what they made during the time. The western counties were, as they still are, the district where the finest cloth was made. The Gryffin Mill, at Stroud, dates from 1600. Bristol attempted to rival Colchester bays. Thomas Westcote, in "A View of Devonshire in 1630," gives an account

of the woollen industry as he knew it. Exeter serges were celebrated; Tiverton and Crediton, Barnstaple and Torrington, were all centres of cloth-weaving, where kersies, bays, and frizados were made; Totnes was the only place that made narrow pin-whites; Ottery St. Mary made mixed coloured kersies. Crediton, he says, gave rise to the proverb, "As fine as Kirton thread," "for it is very true that 140 threads of woollen yarn spun in that town were drawn through the eye of a tailor's needle, and," he adds, to substantiate his story, "both are to be seen at the shop of Mr. Dunscombe,

Photo: W. & T. Gaines, Leeds.

THE CLOTH MARKET, LEEDS, 1640.

(*Since destroyed.*)

at the sign of the Golden Bottle." If, as is presumable, the hundred and forty were drawn through together, the fact is enough to open the eyes of a modern tailor and of his needles also.

The West Riding was just becoming of importance. Wakefield made coarse drapery; Halifax, Keighley, and Hunslet, a town then of 200 houses, were also engaged in the trade. Leeds, by 1626, appears to have had a considerable trade, for in that year R. Simpson and Christopher Jackson, and "many thousands of poore clothiers," complained about the conduct of the aldermen of the town in the matter of incorporation. James I

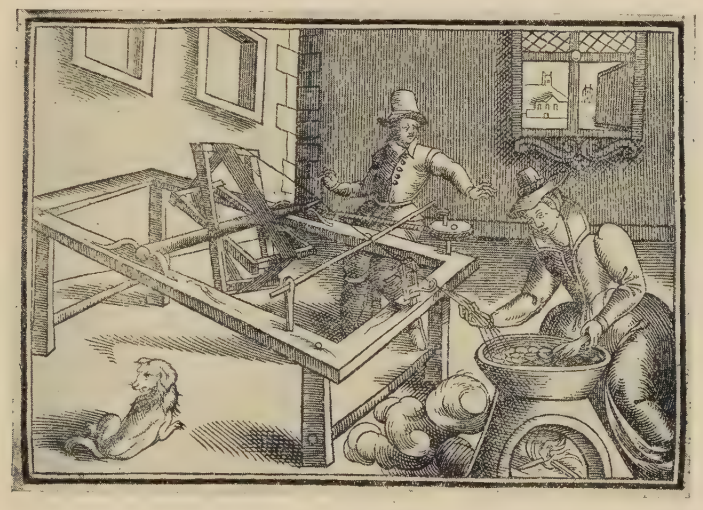
had a royal mill at Leeds, which he sold for £3 11s. 8d. The Yorkshire cloths were of somewhat inferior quality, but throughout there are repeated proclamations against bad manufacture. Two statutes in James's reign and proclamations in 1630, 1633, 1635, and 1638 deal with the matter. The main object was to ensure a supervision of the cloth made by searchers of cloth, or by the aulnager, and a certification of its quality by official seals. Among the objectionable practices were boiling the wool first with galls, the use of false weights, the unevenness of size in cloth and yarn, the "greatness and goutiness" of which deceived masters, owing to the best being on the top. Gig-mills, forbidden in the reign of Edward VI., had been revived under the title of mosing-mills, for dressing with teazles; these were to be taken down. Cloth worked "squally, baudy, rowy, holely," and the like was to be marked as faulty. The chief difficulty was with the practice of stretching and thickening the cloth. White cloths, exported principally by the Merchant Adventurers, were not to be stretched, though coloured cloths might be stretched one yard and "half a quarter" in breadth. Teignters were forbidden; these were weighted bars attached to the lower part of the cloth to stretch it. John May, on being made Aulnager, put forth a pamphlet apparently to caution the weavers that he was not to be trifled with. He is strong against the mixing of wool with flox and thrums, or the use of long broad-cloth thrums, which caused so many knots that the cloth went all in holes. He denounces another practice of using inferior warp in the centre of the cloth, and then having the roll so tightly tied up that only the edge could be inspected. Oatmeal and tallow were used for thickening; he had known Devonshire kersies stretched from twelve yards to fifteen, and then the marks of stretching taken out with hot irons and the surface covered with flox. Dishonest

AN ALDERMAN (MS. Egerton 1269).

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

work does not seem to belong exclusively to the days of modern competition.

It is worth notice that the term clothier did not mean the same over England. In Yorkshire it meant weaver; in Gloucester and Wiltshire it meant the man who supplied the yarn to be made up, bought the cloth when manufactured, and found a market for it. Westcote found the Devonshire trade without much system of any kind. He said that first the gentleman farmer or husbandman brings it to the market, where it is bought by the comber or spinster, who brings it back the next



WINDING OFF SILK.

(*From N. Geffe, "The Perfect Use of Silkworms," a translation from Olivier de Serres*, 1607.)

week as yarn, when it is bought by the weaver. Next week sees it return as cloth, when it is bought by the clothier, who sends it to London, or to the merchant, who, "after it has passed the fuller's mill and sometimes the dyer's vat, transports it." It seems that dyeing was not well done in England, or at any rate could be better done in Holland. The royal policy brought considerable distress upon the trade, and created a great deal of dissatisfaction and confusion, particularly in the West of England.

Silk.

The silk trade, which was thought by one contemporary in 1681, probably erroneously, to employ as many as the wool

trade, had not yet become a serious rival. James I. tried experiments on the rearing of silkworms and growing of mulberry-trees, which proved a failure owing to the coldness of the climate. Mr. Burlamach, by direction of the king, brought from abroad silk-throwsters, dyers, and broad-weavers. It was better, if English men and women must buy silk, to buy silk of home manufacture. The variety of silk fabrics is considerable. In a proclamation of 1638, we find tissues, gold or silver stuffs, tuftafaties, plushes, velvets, damask, wrought grograines, stick-taffities, ribbons, laces, silk-mohair, barratine-silk, figured-satins, ferret-ribbons, rash-silk, loom-work, fugeratta, and a stuff called black and white. A prohibition was directed against making goods of cotton mixed with silk, but the chief difficulty of the Government was over the dyeing. No one was to use slip alder-bark, filings of iron, "or other corrupt and deceptfull matter." The silk was to be dyed Spanish black, and not London black, and the gum was to be boiled off before dyeing, though later an exception was made in favour of hard silk which had to be dyed "on the gum." The following list of dyes shows the capabilities of the time:—"Sadd colours the following: liver colour, De Roy, tawney, purple, French greene, ginger lyne, Deere colour, orange colour, and besides light colours and graine colours. No galls were to be used, nor any gumme, sirropps, or deceiptfulle stuff." It was in the silk business that the "great loom" before mentioned was employed. This was prohibited, also "all engines that shall make at the same time more than one sort of laces or ribbons." It seems that the capabilities of machinery were not clearly understood. Although Richelieu believed that the French silks were superior to all others, yet the French prohibited the import of English-made silk stockings.

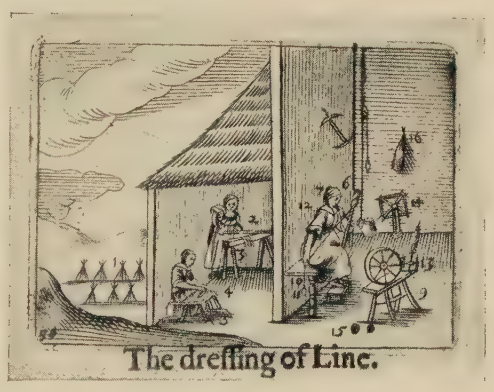
Cotton.

During this period the cotton trade in Lancashire was just springing into existence. Cottons are mentioned before the Stuarts, but it is doubtful if they were in reality anything but woollens. Fustians seemed to have been originally woollens, and Westcote includes the cottons of Pilton among the woollen fabrics, though there was a saying, "Woe unto you Piltonians that make cloth without wool"; and in 1638 cottons are mixed up with broad-cloths, kersies, and other woollens in a proclamation. But probably in the reign of James I. true cotton

was introduced, for Lewis Roberts wrote in 1641 of Manchester, "they buy cotton-wool in London that comes first from Cyprus and Smyrna, and work the same into fustians, vermillions, and dimities, which they return to London," whence they were often re-exported whither they had come. Bolton was also a cotton manufacturing town, and there is mention of cottons made in Scotland.

The linen business of these times is mainly connected with Strafford's work in Ireland. Roberts speaks of Manchester as a weaving-town, buying linen-yarn from Ireland and exporting it when woven to Ireland again to be sold. The Commission of 1622 wished to encourage linen, and there is a proclamation of Charles I. forbidding the burying in linen, and prescribing that woollen fabrics were to be used instead. But it is evident that the English industry cannot have been at all important, or Strafford would never have fostered the trade in Ireland He tells us he discouraged the woollen industry "lest it trench on England," and encouraged linen, causing to be sown £1,000 worth of flax-seed, setting up six or seven looms, importing workmen from Holland, and believing that he could undersell France or Holland 20 per cent. The country was suited to flax, and the women bred to spinning. He thought that if by the blessing of God his work was successful, it would be the greatest enriching of the kingdom that ever befell it. He recommended purchasing the licence of linen yarn from its holders, and so fostered the industry that, had it not been for the rebellion, it might have spread widely over Ireland. In regard to the woollen trade, which he suppressed because it interfered with that of England (p. 273), it must be remembered in mitigation

Linen.



FLAX DRESSING.

(*J. A. Komensky's "Orbis Sensualium Pictus"; translated by Hoole*, 1659.)

of judgment that he did not suppress the old frieze industry, in which the native Irish alone were engaged; and that in considering the economic effects of his policy we are not entitled to assume that the domestic cloth industry would have stood the competition of machinery in Ireland in the next century better than it did in East Anglia. It must not be concluded, therefore, that but for Strafford's tyranny the Irish peasant might have spun and woven for himself a prosperity so enduring as to resist even the effects of the industrial revolution.

Coal and Iron.

The coal and iron trades can be conveniently taken together. During this period coal was being increasingly used as house fuel. This was only either in the neighbourhood of pits or in places close to the sea, so much so that coal in London was generally called sea-coal. This use of it met with approval, as it spared the timber which was thought so valuable for shipbuilding. The Newcastle Corporation made difficulties about export, only allowing certain persons to engage in the trade and requiring the payment of duties. Coal was put among the monopolies in 1637, but the grant was revoked the next year, and the price in London fixed at 19s. per chaldron in winter and 17s. in summer. The wood-mongers (who also sold coal) were accused of enhancing the price and giving short weight, by the device of shrinking the sacks with wet. One of their members defended them, saying that it was impossible to keep the sacks dry in wet weather, and further that dry sacks would not fit pliably to the back. He said the dearness of coal was due to the excise of 4s. the chaldron, to the hazard of the sea, to a rise at Newcastle, and to the disuse of "gift coals," whereby they used to have "four, five, nay eight to the score." He recommends punishment of engrossers, the fixing of a market either at Billingsgate or the Pool, and the compelling of each shipmaster to give coals to the poor. The use of coal for smelting was much desired. Dudley had a patent which was excepted from the Monopolies Act of 1624. Another was granted a few years later for smelting and fining iron, tin, salt, lead, and making bricks, tiles, and lime with coal. This was much opposed by the charcoal-men who supplied the furnaces of Surrey and Sussex, the centre of the trade, with charcoal. But they, in turn, were supposed to do great damage. Norden states that in Sussex there were near one hundred and forty hammers and

furnaces for iron, and in Surrey three or four glass-houses, and that they spent every twenty-four hours "two, three, or four loads of charrcoale which in a year amounteth to an infinit quantitie as you can better account by arithmetique than I." The building of new furnaces near London and in the south-eastern counties had been restrained by statute in 1581 and 1585. The blast in use was generally a hand-blast, though a water-blast is mentioned. Neither was strong enough to use successfully with coal. Salisbury, Woodstock, and

A SUSSEX IRON FOUNDRY, 1636.

(*From a fireback in the Lewes Museum.*)

Godalming were the most formidable rivals to Sheffield. This town had 2,207 inhabitants, 725 of whom were not able to live without charity. The town was in the hands of the Lord of the Manor, who leased the furnaces to manufacturers. The cutlers were incorporated in 1624. They had a monopoly of knives, sickles, shears, and scissors and subsequently they claimed to include scythes and files. Seemingly they were not very busy, for they had two compulsory trade holidays in the year, lasting each about a month, one in August and one at Christmas. Wire was manufactured of Osmond iron, superior for wool-carding to

Cutlery.

what was made abroad. Iron when cast into bars, sows, or pigs, was stamped by Government surveyors. On the whole, the industry, though considerable, was not spreading fast; nor was it desired that it should do so while charcoal had to be used.

J. E. SYMES. Trade and Finance; Prices.

DURING the first half of the seventeenth century the rise in prices continued to be among the most important of the social changes. This rise was still due to a great extent to the importation of bullion, especially of silver, but the growing population helped to force up the cost of necessaries, and the succession of bad harvests between 1630 and 1637 aggravated the evil during those years. When, however, we examine the figures more closely, we find that the rise was neither as rapid nor as steady as it had been during the reign of Elizabeth. The following table illustrates this in the case of the first four Stuart decades, in relation to a number of typical commodities. Pepper is included as an example of certain foreign luxuries the price of which actually fell, in consequence of the extension of our foreign trade, especially with the East Indies:—

	1603–12.			1613–22.			1623–32.			1633–42.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Wheat	1	15	3½	1	17	9	2	3	7½	2	1	2
Barley	0	19	5	1	0	8½	1	2	2	1	4	2¾
Malt	0	19	10	1	1	7½	1	4	2	1	6	0¼
Oats	0	11	10¾	0	13	5¼	0	13	8¼	0	15	11½
Beans	0	19	2	0	17	11½	1	3	3¾	0	19	6
Peas	0	17	5¼	1	2	1½	1	1	11	1	0	0½
Flour	2	6	2¾	2	7	1¼	2	9	2	2	12	9
Oxen (highest)... ...	6	9	8	6	18	5	7	6	7	9	9	8
Horses (highest) ...	11	16	2	13	2	0	15	1	8	13	18	10
Sheep	0	13	8	0	16	2¼	0	16	0¾	0	12	2
Candles, per 12 lb. ...	0	4	0¾	0	4	6¼	0	4	4¾	0	4	11⅓
Charcoal	1	4	11½	1	5	6¼	1	4	11½	1	9	11¼
Table Linen (medium), per 12 yards... ...	0	16	11½	0	17	11¼	0	17	7¼	0	18	10¼
Cloth (common), per 12 yards	1	4	2	1	9	11	1	6	5	1	19	5
Wrought-iron, per cwt.	1	12	8	1	11	6	1	15	1	2	6	8
Pepper, per 12 lb. ...	1	8	2½	1	6	10½	1	2	9½	1	4	4

It will be noticed that in the two last decades there was an actual decline in the prices of several of the commodities in the above table, and this would have been more marked but for the

God blesseth trewe labour;
Be still quicke and kinde
with plentye and fauour;
Reward thou shalt finde
Pricke not at thy pleasure,
Be wary still and wise
But in trewe bestowing measure
In godnesse to rise

BAKERS AT WORK (MS. Add. 34,605).

bad harvests already referred to. Misselden, writing in 1623, evidently does not recognise a general rise in prices. On the contrary, he asserts that "commonly one commodite riseth when another falleth"; and when Parliament appointed its Standing Commission on Trade in 1622, it was to consider, among other matters, the causes of and remedies for the fall in the price of wool. Broadly speaking, we may say that the general rise of prices ceased about the middle of the seventeenth century, and had been seriously checked in its third and fourth decades.

The Reaction and its Results.

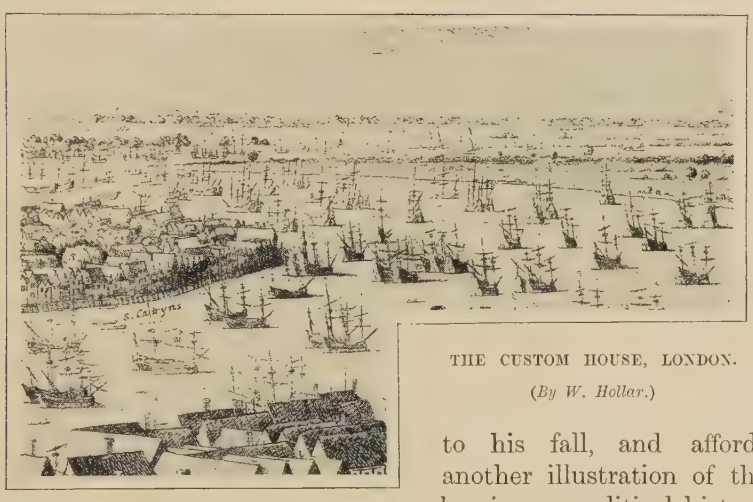
The political consequences of this change were very important. We have seen that the rise of prices had immensely increased, and enriched the middle classes; but, when prices became stationary, profits naturally fell. A great stimulus to industrial enterprise was removed, and a widespread discontent among the commercial classes ensued. It can scarcely be questioned that these fluctuations of prices in the seventeenth century help to explain the opposition to the Stuart kings and the outbreak of the Puritan Revolution. For it was just those classes that advanced in wealth and importance through the rise in prices, and then found their prosperity checked, who played the chief part in the resistance to Charles I.

The National Finances.

An important political result of the rise of prices in the first half of the seventeenth century was the consequent derangement of the national finances. The revenue came in those days mainly from the rent of Crown lands, and from various feudal and other dues and fines, most of which were fixed in amount. The rise in prices implied that the Crown must pay higher wages and salaries, and also higher prices for all it needed, whilst its income was not proportionally increased. It was only by the strictest economy that Elizabeth had been able to carry on her administration, and the early Stuarts were not economical. Moreover, their position was further aggravated by a further rise in prices. Hence the necessity of seeking new sources of revenue. The country was not accustomed to any but the lightest taxes, and so Parliament, apart from its other causes of hostility to the king, was seldom disposed to assent to pecuniary demands. Accordingly, James and Charles were constantly searching for means of raising money that should not require the consent of Parliament. James relied especially upon customs duties, the right of levying which he claimed to be part of the

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

Royal prerogative, as a mere regulation of trade. His view was sustained by the Court of Exchequer in the celebrated "Bate's Case" (1606; p. 3). The volume of foreign trade was, however, as yet so small that no considerable income could be derived from this source, and James tried next the device of selling honours—such as baronetages and peerages. Charles introduced several fresh expedients. After 1629, more especially, he raked up old laws, and claimed fines from those who had broken them, and enforced the payment of dues that had long been in abeyance. The opposition he thus roused contributed



THE CUSTOM HOUSE, LONDON.
(*By W. Hollar.*)

to his fall, and affords another illustration of the bearing on political history of such economic facts as fluctuations in prices.

The same economic facts may, perhaps, help also to explain the increased agitation against the monopolies, and the privileges of the trading companies. The rise in prices made outsiders more anxious to share in the consequent profits of branches of trade that were monopolised. The subsequent fall perhaps aggravated their discontent, though it made these profits less considerable. We find, however, that as early as 1604 the House of Commons passed Bills abolishing many of the restrictions on membership of trading companies. Their aim was to put all English merchants in an equally favourable position, provided that they would contribute their share of the expenses necessary for the security of trading in far-away and often comparatively

The Attacks upon Monopolists.

barbarous countries; and it is interesting to find the supporters of these Bills maintaining a "natural right" of Englishmen to trade where they pleased. But the peers, as was to be expected, were more anxious about vested interests than about "natural rights." They threw out the Bills which the Commons had passed, and, perhaps, thereby contributed to the progress of Dutch commerce. For it seems clear that the system of privileged

THE ENGLISH MERCHANTS' HOUSE AT MIDDELBURG.

(*From an old print in the Middelburg Museum.*)

companies, which may have been necessary in the early stages of a trade, was, in the long run, unfavourable to energy and enterprise. The companies relied too much on their monopoly; and young merchants with the originality, insight, and organising power which would have won success found themselves excluded from the chief branches of foreign trade, or compelled to act as "interlopers," and in defiance of the legal rights of the established corporations. Accordingly, we find most of the companies

1642]

decaying. The trade with Russia and the whale fisheries passed almost completely into the hands of Dutchmen, Danes, and Hamburghers; and the English Levant trade similarly languished under the depressing influence of the "company" system. Even the East India Company, destined though it was to have ultimately so brilliant a career, made little way in its first twelve years, and comparatively little in its first half-century.

The Portuguese had a century's start over the English in the direct sea trade to India. Their distinguished mariner, Vasco da Gama, had landed at Calicut as early as 1498, after sailing round the Cape of Good Hope. For the next six years the Portuguese had much

CALICUT. (*Braun and Hohenberg, "Civitates Orbis Terrarum," 1573.*)

fighting and little trade in India; but after 1504, their commerce began to grow so considerably that the Republic of Venice attempted to suppress the Portuguese traders, from a feeling that they were becoming formidable rivals in the trade between India and Europe, which had hitherto been carried on by an overland route and to the great profit of the Venetian Republic. But the Portuguese held their own, and steadily built up a great trading empire in the East. In 1510 they took Goa, which became the centre of this Eastern trade, which included products from Cochin China, Japan, and the East Indian Islands. Every year a Portuguese fleet sailed from Lisbon, and returned after a long voyage laden with Eastern produce which was sold in Lisbon, largely to Dutch merchants, who carried it far and wide to other European ports. But the annexation of Portugal by Philip II. of Spain was followed by a rapid decline of Portuguese influence and commerce in Asia. Philip was already overburdened with the cares of a vast empire and the effort to maintain his European supremacy; and his Dutch enemies were not slow to seize the opportunity of extending their own trade and ruining that of Spain. They were further stimulated by the closing of Lisbon against them in 1591, by which action they were driven, either to lose the important share which they had hitherto had in the Oriental trade, or to attempt to deal directly with Asiatics. They chose the latter, and their success soon excited the emulation of Englishmen.

The East India Company.

In 1599 certain English merchants petitioned Elizabeth that they might be incorporated in a Joint Stock Company; and, in the following year, their charter was granted. It gave the company a monopoly of all trade east of the Cape of Good Hope, as far as the Straits of Magellan, whether with Africa, Asia, or America. The company was to be exempt from the payment of customs for four years, and was given permission to export bullion. Their first trading expedition sailed in 1601. It consisted of five ships laden with bullion, iron, broad-cloth, cutlery, and glass. Between 1601 and 1620 the company sent in all seventy-nine ships, of which eight were lost at sea and twelve captured by the Dutch. The goods brought from India were sold at six times their original cost; but the expenses were so great that the profits were small—at least for those days, whe

money lent on good security was expected to bring in ten per cent. interest.

Dutch Competition.

This comparative failure was chiefly due to the rivalry of the Dutch. In 1602 the great Dutch East India Company was formed by an association, on a national basis, of the Dutch traders engaged in the traffic with Asia. While England gave a monopoly to a few merchants, Holland organised her trade on a system which enabled any Dutch merchant to take a share in it. The Dutch company, moreover, was governed by representatives of the chief towns in the Republic; whilst the management of the English company was in the hands of a narrow clique. These facts may partly explain why the English made at first so little progress as compared with the Dutch. In 1612 the charter of the English company was modified, and in 1617 subscriptions to the company's capital by the general public were invited. Among those who thus got an interest in the company were fifteen peers, thirteen titled ladies, eighty-two knights (including judges and Privy Councillors), and over eight hundred other less exalted personages; but this extension produced, at first, little more than the means for fighting the Dutch. So far as the mainland of India was concerned, the fighting was not of a very serious character. Both companies aimed merely at the establishment of factories for commercial purposes. But in many of the East Indian Islands it was very different. In these the struggle was for dominion; for here the natives were generally too barbarous or too weak to provide protection for the strangers from Europe. Here, the merchants were obliged to conquer before they could trade with any safety or regularity; and it happened that some of these islands were practically the only places where nutmegs and cloves could be procured. Some of the islands had been conquered by the Portuguese; but these latter had been driven out by the Dutch, who then extended their dominion over other islands, and in each case they insisted on having a monopoly of the trade. The English merchants were naturally enraged to find these fertile islands closed against them, and they clamoured for free trade. The Dutch answered, with some plausibility, that they had borne the expense of driving out the Portuguese, of conquering natives and building forts, and that they had a right to the fruits of their labour. In 1613, and again in 1615, the English made vigorous efforts to break down the Dutch mono-

The Struggle for the Spice Trade.

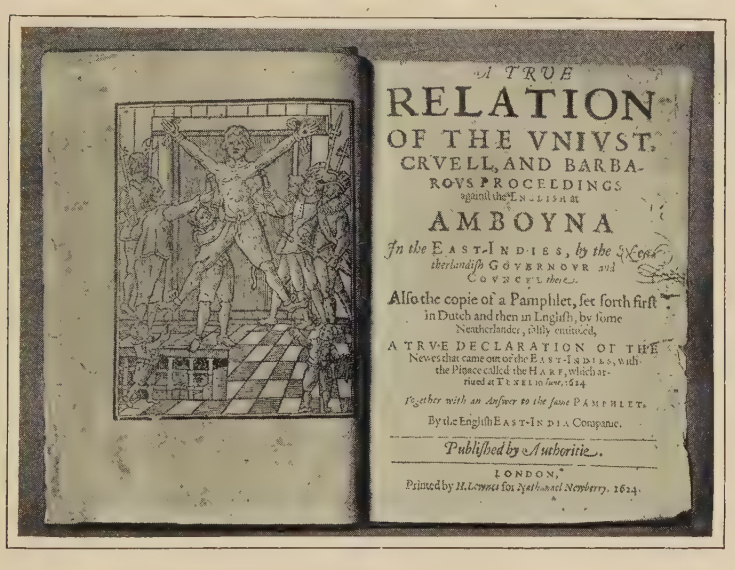
poly; but they only succeeded in establishing themselves in the small island of Puloway, which the Dutch had not occupied, though they claimed it as part of one of their groups. The Dutch thereupon sent an expedition against the island, but were driven back by natives armed with English weapons, who proceeded to invite the English to occupy the island. The English commander, however, did not feel himself strong enough to fight the Dutch, and he made an agreement with them, under which they were to retain possession of the island, but to allow the English a share in the trade. The authorities in London repudiated this agreement, and sent out six ships to support their merchants. Meanwhile, another island, Pelaroon, had been similarly occupied by the English; but on this occasion the claims of the Dutch were forcibly resisted. Neither Government approved of this fighting, and Commissioners were sent over from Holland to effect an arrangement with our country. After much discussion, it was agreed that the monopoly should be divided. The English company were to have one-third of the cloves and nutmegs from the islands which the Dutch claimed, and one-half the pepper from Java. In the other ports of the Indian Ocean both companies were to trade freely and independently. The Portuguese were to be kept in check by a fleet composed of an equal number of Dutch and English vessels, and the expenses of the defence were to be met by an export duty at the Eastern ports (1619). But, while this agreement was being slowly arranged in London, the subjects of the negotiating Governments were flying at one another's throats in the distant seas. Eight of the English company's ships were captured by the Dutch, and some of the natives suffered severely for their friendliness to the English.

The English in Persia.

In 1622 the English company was also engaged in a war with the Portuguese. This grew out of their attempt to open up a trade with Persia. The Shah would only sanction this if the English would join him in an attack on the Portuguese settlement at Ormuz. The attack was successfully carried out, to the great indignation of the Spanish Government, to whom the Portuguese had now become subject. James and Buckingham took advantage of the Spanish remonstrance to extract £20,000 from the company for themselves. Spain was too busy and too decadent to avenge the wrongs inflicted upon her subjects in

distant seas; but with Holland it was different. The active and powerful Dutch company was well able to protect itself, and to inflict injuries upon the English. In 1623 a terrible massacre took place at Amboyna. The Dutch had, or professed to have had, suspicions that the English intended to attack the fort of Amboyna. They therefore seized some of the servants of the English company, and tortured them in order to make them confess; and, having thus extorted from them an acknowledgment of the supposed plot, they seized all the other English

The Amboyna Massacre.


A TRVE
RELATION
OF THE VNIVST,
CRVELL, AND BARBA-
ROVS PROCEEDINGS
against the ENGLISH at
AMBOYNA
In the EAST-INDIES, by the
Netherlandish GOVERNOVR and
COVNCELL there.
Also the copie of a Pamphlet, set forth first
in Dutch and then in English, by some
Netherlander, falsly entituled,
A TRVE DECLARATION OF THE
Newes that came out of the EAST-INDIES, with
the Prince called the HARE, which ar-
rived at TEXEL in June, 1624
Together with an Answer to the same PAMPHLET.
By the English EAST-INDIA Company.
Published by Authoritie.
LONDON,
Printed by H. Lownes for Nathaniel Newberry. 1624.

THE ATROCITIES AT AMBOYNA.

(By permission of the Elder Brethren, Trinity House.)

subjects they could lay hands upon and put them to death (February 11). It seems scarcely credible that the Dutch suspicions could have had any foundation. The mere handful of English at Amboyna could hardly have hoped to take the fortress, even if they had formed such a plot; and their execution, on the sole authority of the Dutch, was a plain violation of treaty engagements. But England was at this time raging against Spain, and not disposed to quarrel with Spain's enemy; and the indignation aroused by the news of the Amboyna massacre was allayed by promises that those who were

responsible for it should be brought to trial. The subject was for some years a matter of negotiation between the two Governments (p. 368).

The East India Company Unpopular.

The East India Company was not very popular in England. Private traders complained of its monopoly, and the fact that they exported a considerable amount of bullion excited much opposition to their proceedings. In 1628 they thought it necessary to put out a "Petition and Remonstrance" in answer to their critics, in which they pointed out that they were able to sell Eastern goods more cheaply than those who used the older route through Turkey, and that the spread of their trade caused an expansion of the revenue from customs. As to the charge of exporting bullion they boldly argued: "It is not the keeping of our money in the kingdom which makes a quick and ample trade, but the necessity and use of our wares in foreign countries, and our want of their commodities."

Its Progress.

In 1624 Morris Abbott, brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury, was elected governor of the East India Company, and after this he was re-elected again and again. Under his able guidance the company steadily advanced. The factory at Surat was now the headquarters of the English trade, whilst the expulsion of the Portuguese from Ormuz had given it a secure position at Lepalian. On the Coromandel coast the English erected a strong fort, "able to defend itself against any sudden assault by the poor black men of that country." The Portuguese rivalry in the neighbourhood of Surat was practically ended by a crushing defeat in 1630; but the Dutch continued to compete fiercely with us in almost every branch of the Eastern trade. Among other difficulties was the constant necessity for bribing the great Mogul and various minor potentates, as well as powerful people at home. King Charles, as a patron of literature, expected the company to supply him with Arabic and Persian manuscripts; and in 1640, when his financial difficulties had become very serious, he compelled them to sell all the pepper they possessed for royal bonds, which were to be redeemed in five half-yearly payments. The queen's favour had to be won by gifts of native cloth in gorgeous colours, and other Oriental luxuries. Moreover, the company's servants did not a little private trading, continually exceeding the limits prescribed for them. They seem also to have been excessively addicted to

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

1642]

drinking, gambling, and other dissolute practices, in spite of the company's regulations, and of the efforts of the clergy sent out to preach to them. Nevertheless, the Indian trade steadily grew, and in 1640 the Rajah of the Carnatic allowed the English to build the fort at Madras, which then took the place Surat had previously held as headquarters of the company's trade.

Movement against Monopolies.

Returning to England, we must next speak of the movement against domestic monopolies in the reign of James I. Elizabeth's promise to discontinue the practice of granting patents was not very strictly observed; and her successor does not seem to have considered himself in any way bound by the late queen's promises. The regulation of trade was then regarded as part of the royal prerogative; and as Elizabeth's Parliament had not embodied its hostility to monopolies in a statute, James might fairly claim that in continuing to grant patents he was acting within his legal rights. So, far, indeed, as these monopolies were means of adding to the revenue, they were in effect a tax on the community, and thus violated the general principle that taxes could be levied only with the consent of Parliament. But this principle was far from being established at the accession of the Stuarts, and we can, therefore, hardly blame James for using his prerogative, though we may condemn him for using it unwisely. It will here be convenient to distinguish between the different motives which were at the bottom of the different grants of monopolies:

(1) The increase of the revenue was seldom, if ever, the sole purpose of a grant, but it was generally one of the objects aimed at. In almost all cases this method of raising money was an objectionable one, even apart from the fact that it lay outside the jurisdiction of Parliament.

(2) The enrichment of favourites was an even more objectionable motive for the granting of monopolies. The favourites often knew nothing of the trades to which their monopolies applied. They often used their power in an oppressive and short-sighted way; and it was undoubtedly this element of the monopoly question which roused the greatest hostility to the whole system.

(3) The desire to control the materials for war explains the monopolies of gunpowder, saltpetre, and ordnance; an anxiety to accumulate bullion probably partly explains the

attempt of James to keep in his own hands the monopoly of the manufacture of gold and silver thread. In these cases monopoly was based upon mistaken economic theory.

(4) The desire to reward inventors and to encourage the introduction of new industries was the chief motive of many of the grants, and these objects at least were reasonable. We still recognise the wisdom of giving patents to successful inventors; and it may, in some cases, have been wise to encourage men to make expensive industrial experiments by the offer of a temporary monopoly. For instance, we find that the development of iron works involved a dangerous destruction of woods and forests in the early part of the seventeenth century, since the iron was all smelted with charcoal (p. 179). A man named Sturtevant undertook to use coal for the smelting, and a patent was granted to him in 1612, but in spite of his monopoly the method was unremunerative. Lord Dudley (p. 178) then tried another method, for which he also obtained a patent, and this was fairly successful. It was obviously to the national interest that these experiments should be tried, but neither of the inventors would have cared to incur the expenses, or run the risks involved, without a hope of at least a partial monopoly.

Licences for Inns.

(5) Some patents were given in order to restrict or regulate trades which involved dangers to public morality and order. The most interesting of these was the patent for inns (1617). Under it Mompesson and two other persons were appointed Commissioners, with authority to give or refuse licences for inns. The theory was that some supervision and restriction would thus be established in the public interest, and that the Treasury would gain by the payments made for such licences. As a matter of fact, most of the money went into the pockets of the Commissioners, and the supervision was merely a means of extortion. Keepers of disorderly houses easily obtained licences, while respectable people were kept out of the trade unless they would comply with the demands of the Commissioners. It will be noticed that in this case the principle was not altogether unlike that on which we still act. The abuses were due to the machinery by which the licences were granted, and the profits diverted from the public purse.

From the above analysis it will be seen that the system of

The description of GILES MOMPESSON late Knight censured by Parliament
This craftie GILES through fame or false pretence
dressinge foule offences
Tapsters tubs from knaues
And other crafts
But Parliament
contrary to his thought
the Sergeant ward hee was
former wrongs that hee had done
keeper made him here to vanish
fore was and banisht quite
to be no more a Knight
which. This feat could hold
Will prosper
Woe worthe the wine when first on tap
For private games when I then hinder
Those Monopolies curse fall hee with sh
Which have my reputation thus made lame
My Honor
From S.r Mompesson vnto poore lame Giles
Yet haulinge nowe before me thinks I see
Some in the way of haulinge after
For why wee know our gracious Kinge a Saint
He gives his faithfull subiects all content
Where love & feare hee lovingly doth shew t
Where mercies meete by pardons may know t
By vsinge Iustice vnto great and meane
Oh wher more needs a Loyall Subiect

A SATIRE ON GILES MOMPESSON, MONOPOLIST.

monopolies cannot be regarded simply as a means of raising money without Parliamentary sanction, nor merely as a means of enriching favourites, nor as wholly based upon mistaken ideas upon the subjects of what we now call Political Economy. It was all these and something more—a provision against real as well as fancied dangers, and, in some cases, a praiseworthy encouragement of business enterprise and invention. But the British public did not make the needful distinctions; and a general outcry against all monopolies drove Elizabeth to promise a general withdrawal of them. The difficulty and inconvenience of a universal withdrawal led to an almost universal retention of them. Then, under James, the system grew through financial pressure, favouritism, and an exaggerated belief in the royal wisdom and the capacity of Government to direct industry wisely; and then the outcry arose again. The Addled Parliament (1614), though it passed no statute, extorted from the king a fresh promise to revoke monopolies; but the promise was broken, fresh monopolies were granted, and, when Parliament was again convoked (1621), the unpopularity of the monopoly system made an attack upon it a convenient means of expressing the general hostility to the Government. Mompesson fled from England; while several of those who had held patents were proceeded against and punished. It was not, however, until the Parliament of 1624 that monopolies were legally abolished, except in the cases of:—(1) new inventions, for which a fourteen years' monopoly might be granted; (2) charters of trading companies; (3) certain municipal privileges; (4) certain specified industries, such as the making of glass and of gunpowder. By this Act the legal position of monopolies was completely changed. The patents of Elizabeth and James, however oppressive, had not been illegal. Under Charles it was quite different. His patents were less harmful in themselves; but they were plainly unconstitutional ways of raising revenue—more unquestionably so than ship money, or than tonnage and poundage, raised without the consent of Parliament.

Abolition of Monopolies.

Exceptions.

Economic Progress.

On the whole, the early Stuart period seems to have been one of steady progress in material prosperity. The population of England had grown greatly during Elizabeth's reign, partly owing to the extensive immigration of foreign refugees, partly

owing to the opening up and development of industries. Under James there were about five million people in England and Wales. In spite of the failure of many of the trading companies, our foreign trade steadily increased. The imports and exports amounted in 1613 to £4,628,586, and had risen in 1622 to £4,939,751. Domestic industries also developed; and though the check in the rise of prices in the reign of Charles I. struck a blow at profits, it probably benefited the labouring classes. Certainly, the next century (1640–1740) saw a decided rise in real wages. James I. must have at least doubled the English currency; and the comparative slightness of the rise in prices is only to be accounted for on the assumption of a greatly increased demand for money, growing out of the increase in population and the still greater increase in the production of commodities. The reduction of the legal rate of interest from ten per cent. to eight per cent. indicates that the supply of loanable capital was increasing even more rapidly than the demand for it. No doubt the legislators were to some extent actuated by mistaken ideas of morality and expediency; but it is improbable that the legal rate differed much from that which the conditions of demand and supply would have fixed, if these had been untrammelled by law.

The Distribution of Wealth

In the distribution of wealth among the different counties, there were some interesting changes. If we compare the assessment for ship-money in 1636 with that made by Henry VII.'s Commissioners in 1503, we find that at the earlier date Middlesex was only twice as rich as the second county (Oxford) in proportion to acreage; while, in 1636, Middlesex was more than eleven times as rich as Hertfordshire, which then stood second in wealth. This points of course to the fact that London had progressed greatly—not only absolutely, but relatively to other parts of the country. No doubt, in 1503, London had recently suffered severely from a fire; but this cannot account for more than a very small proportion of its relative progress during the intervening years. Next to the advance of London, the most notable change in the assessments is the progress of the Home Counties north of the Thames. Hertfordshire rose from the fourteenth to the second place. On the other hand, Norfolk, which stood third under Henry VII., was twenty-fifth under Charles I. Its old practical monopoly in the manufacture

of cloth had been completely lost. The northern counties were distinctly the poorest under both assessments. With the exception of Cumberland, Lancashire stood absolutely the last among the counties, in wealth per acre, in the assessment of 1636.

W. A. S. HEWINS. Pauperism and the Poor Laws.

So far the history of the poor laws has been a record of successive attempts by Parliament to deal with poverty by remedial legislation, culminating in the great Act of 1597, which, with some few changes and additions, was re-enacted in 1601. The Act of that year, the "Old Poor Law" of Elizabeth, has never been repealed, and still forms the basis of the English system of poor relief. With the accession of James I., therefore, we enter upon a new period in the history of pauperism. For a long time there were no changes in the law of an important character. But the manner in which it was interpreted, and the methods from time to time adopted to carry it into effect, had a marked influence on English social development. The poor law at this time was part of a great legislative system which affected, in a greater or less degree, all classes of society, all economic interests (III., p. 751). When dealing with pauperism, the Government looked for remedies not to the poor law alone, but to the enforcement of numerous statutes regulating trade and industry, wages, and prices. There was at this time none of that distrust of State interference which characterised the nineteenth century. "Vested interests" had not become so wide and comprehensive as they are now, nor were they treated with that consideration which is sometimes demanded as a right in modern times. In the seventeenth century justices of the peace would occasionally suppress all the ale-houses within their jurisdiction.

The State of the Poor.

During the period covered by this section, especially in 1622–3, 1630–1, and subsequent years, much distress prevailed, not only amongst the poorer classes, but amongst the artificers and workpeople who, in good times, would be considerably above the level of poverty. It is not easy to determine whether the condition of the people as a whole was better or worse than it was during the latter half of the sixteenth century. But the continued rise of prices, the commercial crises through which the country passed, and the numerous

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

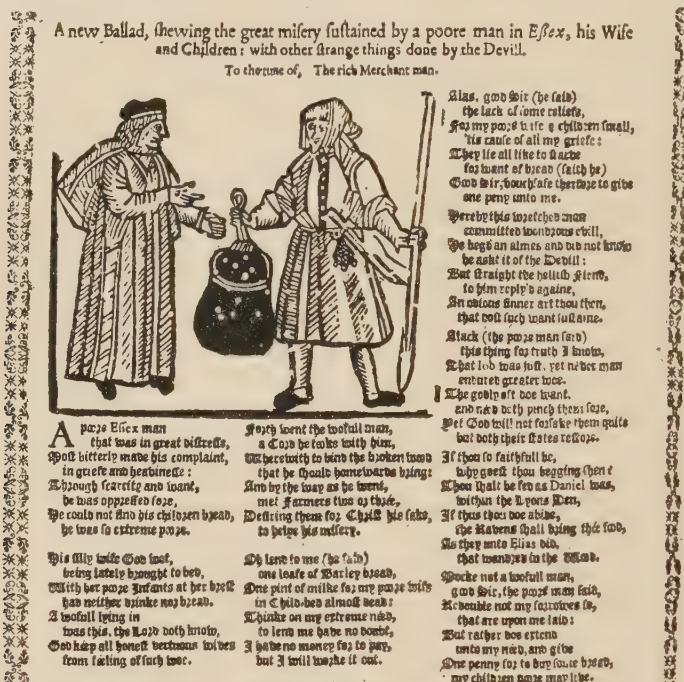
bad harvests caused widespread distress. Even artisans in regular employment could not have maintained a high standard of comfort. In the poorer quarters of London there were "great numbers of people inhabiting in small rooms" . . . "heaped up together and in a sort smothered" who "must live by begging or worse means."[1] The Commissioners for Buildings were constantly taking measures against the dividing of small tenements, and overcrowding.[2] The food of the poor appears to have been no better than their habitations. In the times of scarcity which recurred with such distressing frequency, barley was their "usual bread corn."[3] Provision was also made for supplying them with peas and beans, but this was difficult, because people could not "forbear feeding sheep and swine with peas."[4] In a contemporary ballad a poor man in Essex goes to gather acorns in a wood, intending to roast them for his children. There he fancies he sees the devil, who gives him a purse full of gold, but when he reaches home he finds nothing but oak leaves. He then loses his reason and kills himself.[5] We are told that the poverty of the poor caused them to break down the hedges of the enclosures for firewood. "For, saith the poor, although they want victuals, that is too deere for them to get by theire honest labour, yet they will not perish for want of fire, so long as it is to be gotten."[6]

Methods of Checking Pauperism.

Widespread poverty and vagabondism, and universal laxity on the part of the justices of the peace and the local authorities, gradually brought about a highly centralised administration of the poor law and kindred statutes. In 1605 the justices were directed to assemble once between the general sessions of the peace, and see to the execution of the statutes of labourers, and those concerning alehouses and tipplers, the assize of bread and ale, rogues, setting the poor on work and apprenticing their children."[7] In 1614, however, the Lord Mayor of London initiated vigorous measures for reforming what he found "out

[1] Proclamation of Elizabeth, 1602. [2] "Remembrancia of the City of London," pp. 41–51. [3] "Calendar of Domestic State Papers" (1622–3), p. 455. [4] *Ib.*, pp. 545, 546. [5] "A new Ballad, shewing the great misery sustained by a poore man in Essex, with other strange things done by the Devill. To the tune of The rich Merchant man" (Roxburghe Ballads, I., 286). [6] "New directions of experience by the authour for the planting of timber and firewood," 1615, p. 4. [7] Hamilton's "Quarter Sessions," p. 69.

of order" in the City. He freed the streets of a swarm of loose and idle vagrants, providing for the relief of those who could not get their living, and keeping others at work in



A new Ballad, shewing the great misery sustained by a poore man in *Essex*, his Wife and Children: with other strange things done by the Devill.

To the tune of, The rich Merchant man.

A poore Essex man
that was in great distresse,
Most bitterly made his complaint,
in griefe and heavinesse:
Through scarcity and want,
he was oppressed sore,
He could not find his children bread,
he was so extreme poore.

His silly wife God wot,
being lately brought to bed,
With her poore Infants at her breast
had neither drinke nor bread.
A woefull lying in
was this, the Lord doth know,
God keep all honest vertuous wives
from falling of such woe.

Oh husband heare, she said,
for want of food I die,
Some succour doe for me provide,
to ease my misery.
The man with many a teare,
most pittiously replyde,
We have no means to buy us bread;
with that the children cry'd.

They came about him round,
upon his coat they hung:
And pittiously they made their moans
their little hands they wrung.
Be still my boyes, said he,
and I le goe to the wood,
And bring some Acornes for to roast,
and you shall have some food.

Forth went the woefull man,
a Cord he tooke with him,
Wherewith to bind the broken wood
that he should homewards bring:
And by the way as he went,
met Farmers twice or thrice,
Desiring them for Christ his sake,
to helpe his misery.

Oh terne to me (he said)
one loafe of Barley bread,
One pint of milke for my poore wife
in Child-bed almost dead:
Thinke on my extreme need,
to lend me have no doubt,
I have no money for to pay,
but I will worke it out.

But they in churlish sort,
did one by one replie,
We have already lent you more
than we can come well by.
This answere strooke his heart
as cold as any stone:
Unto the wood from thence he went,
with many a grievous groane.

Where at the length (behold)
a tall man did him meet, (all
And cole-black were his garments
from head unto his feet.
Thou wretched man (said he)
why dost thou weep so sore? (more
What is the cause thou mak'st this
tell me and sigh no more.

Alas, good Sir (he said)
the lack of some reliefe,
For my poore wife & children small,
'tis cause of all my griefe:
They lie all like to starve
for want of bread (saith he)
Good Sir, vouchsafe therefore to give
one penny unto me.

Perdye this wretched man
committed wondrous evill,
He begs an almes and did not know
he askt it of the Devill:
But Straight the hellish Fiend,
to him reply'd againe,
An odious sinner art thou then,
that dost such want sustaine.

Mack (the poore man said)
this thing for truth I know,
That Job was just, yet never man
endured greater woe.
The godly oft doe want,
and need doth pinch them sore,
Yet God will not forsake them quite
but doth their states restore.

If thou so faithfull be,
why goest thou begging then?
Thou shalt be fed as Daniel was,
within the Lyons Den,
If thus thou doe abide,
the Ravens shall bring thee food,
As they unto Elias did,
that wondrous in the Wood.

Packe out a woefull man,
good Sir, the poore man said,
Resemble not my sorrowes so,
that are upon me laid:
But rather doe extend
unto my need, and give
One penny for to buy some bread,
my children poore may live.

With that he opened straight,
the fairest purse in sight,
That ever mortall eye beheld,
stil up with crownes full bright,
Unto the woefull man
the same he wholly gave,
Who very earnestly to pray,
that Christ his life might save.

Well (quoth the damned spirit)
goe ease the childrens sorrow,
And if thou wantest any thing,
com meet me here to morrow:
Then home the poore man went,
with cheerefull heart and mind,
And comforted his woefull wife
with words that were most kind.

THE POOR MAN AND THE DEVIL.

(*Roxburghe Ballad.*)

Bridewell, "not punishing any for begging, but setting them on work, which was worse than death to them." He dealt severely with lewd houses, "these nurseries of villainy," and the alehouses, where much corn was wasted "in brewing heady

strong beer," . . . "many consuming all their time and means sucking that sweet poison." He took an exact survey of all victualling and alehouses, and finding more than one thousand of them, with a total of 40,000 barrels of beer, he reduced their number and limited the quantity of beer they should use. He placed similar restrictions on the bakers and the brewers.[1] We find, by a grant to Edward Grant, citizen and mercer, Robert Moore, and two others, in 1613, that there was at this time an office of "Surveyor" in London and Westminster for the punishment of vagrants. London and Westminster were divided into four districts — north, south, east, and west—one of which was assigned to each of the grantees, who had an office for the transaction of his business, and kept registers of vagrants and poor persons. Provost-marshals were appointed to correct the negligence of constables and other inferior officers. "Secret and sudden searches" were to be made in all victualling houses, inns, and other suspected places.[2] During the first year this measure was followed by satisfactory results, but in 1616, owing, ap-

IN AN ALEHOUSE.
(*Roxburghe Ballad.*)

THE CUNNING NORTHERN BEGGAR.
(*Roxburghe Ballad.*)

[1] "Remembrancia," pp. 358, 359.

[2] *Ib.*, pp. 359, 360.

parently, to the fact that it was considered only a temporary expedient, no provost-marshals were appointed, and the Council ordered that the neglect should be remedied. Orders in Council, commanding the due execution of the laws, were again issued in 1617, and confirmed in 1621.[1] We may also note the decision in 1618 to transport "divers idle young people" to Virginia, where they might be set to work.[2] But temporary expedients and occasional Orders in Council appeared to be of no avail to bring the local authorities to a sense of their duty, and in 1621 it was decided to make a more determined and persistent effort to secure the due administration of the laws. Accordingly Commissioners were appointed with extensive powers for stimulating lazy and negligent magistrates. Their instructions[3] state that the non-execution of the laws proceeds "especially from neglect of duty in some of our justices of the peace and other magistrates, . . . because there are either no penalties or the penalties are too small." The magistrates "hould the subordinate sorte of people in awe," and so no complaints or informations are laid against them. The Commissioners are to look to the administration of "all and every such lawes and statutes nowe in force as any waye concerns the reliefe of impotent poor people, the bindinge out of apprentices, the settinge to worke of poore children and such other poore people as being hable to worke have no stocke or meanes to employ themselves, the compellinge and inforcing of such lazie and idle persons to worke as being of bodies able and strong do nevertheless refuse to laboure, the maintenance, government and well ordering of houses of correction, hospitalls and other places for the reliefe of poore . . . people. Redressinge of misemployment of lands, goods and stores of money heretofore given to charitable uses, . . . and all lawes nowe in force for the repressinge of drunkenness." They were, from time to time, to issue orders and directions, and to adopt "all other good and lawful ways for executing the statutes." This Commission formed the model for the more famous one of 1631, when the universal distress brought into stronger relief the evils which have already been noticed. Orders for the relief of the poor and for enforcing

[1] Tanner MSS. (Bodleian Library), ccxliii., 136. [2] "Remembrancia," pp. 361, 362. [3] Tanner MSS., lxxx., 175.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

other statutes were issued, and elaborate measures were taken for fulfilling the objects of the Commission. The justices of the peace were to report monthly to the sheriffs, the sheriffs to the judges of the several circuits, and the judges to the Commissioners. The returns of the justices seem to indicate that these efforts of the Government to reform the administration of the law were not without success.[1]

The Poor Rate.

It is said that for seven years before 1621 no collection for the poor had been made in many parishes, especially in country towns.[2] "Negligence hath overthrowne that famous worke"—the Poor Law. But failure to levy a rate was not always due to the indifference or laziness of the responsible authorities. The rate was in some districts very unpopular, and we hear of riots against it.[3] The increased charge for the relief of the poor in cities and towns, owing to the immigration of paupers from the rural districts, where the statutes were neglected, led to the introduction of a Bill in the House of Commons in 1621, making the laws of settlement more stringent.[4] Difficulties also arose from the variety of purposes for which separate rates might be levied. In addition to the rate for the relief of the impotent, there might be another for providing a stock, and a third for houses of correction, while some local authorities appear to have relied on voluntary gifts for setting the poor on work, not always without good results.[5] The churchwardens and collectors of St. Swithin's parish in London, in 1624, were ordered by the Lord Mayor to levy a rate equal to half a year's poor rates to provide a stock for setting idle and vagrant people to work in Bridewell Hospital,[6] and the inhabitants of Southwark were rated to defray the charges of the provost marshals already noticed. There also appears to have been some uncertainty as to the meaning of the term "inhabitant," and the mode of assessment. Resistance to a rate "blending lands and goods"

[1] "Remembrancia," p. 363; "Calendar of Domestic State Papers" (1631), pp. 474, 496 (1640), p. 184. Numerous returns from the justices are to be found amongst the State Papers. For those of Yorkshire *vide* Cartwright's "Chapters of Yorkshire History," pp. 309–321.

[2] "Greevous Grones for the Poor" (1621), p. 14.

[3] "Calendar of Domestic State Papers" (1620), pp. 124, 136.

[4] Commons Journals, V., 296. [5] Bacon's "Annalls of Ipswiche," p. 465; "Calendar of Domestic State Papers" (1620–3), pp. 143, 523.

[6] "Calendar of Domestic State Papers" (1624), p. 177.

together was condoned,[1] and in 1619 a case was submitted to the judges so that they might decide whether the churchwardens and overseers had power to levy a rate "on the inhabitants of a parish for their lands and goods in gross and on the farmers for their land per acre."[2] Sir Robert Houghton and Sir Ranulph Carew were in favour of that mode of levying the rate. The matter was scarcely set at rest by the judgment delivered at the Lincoln Assizes in 1634 in the Boston case, that the churchwardens and overseers "are to make their taxations and assessments well and duly, according to the visible estates, real and personal, of such inhabitants within their town and also to tax and assess the occupiers of land within their town only, and not the lessors."[3]

Compulsory Provision of Corn.

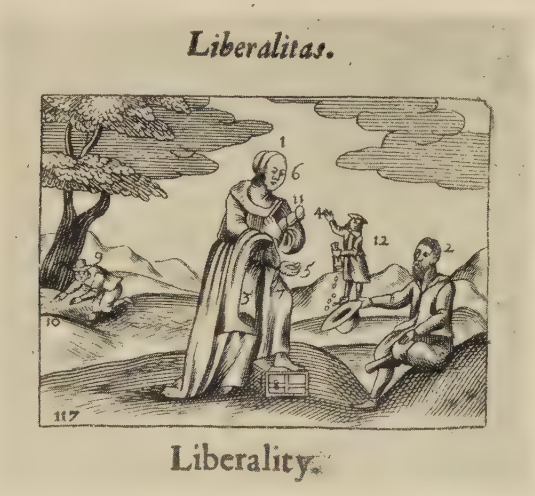
Nothing so well illustrates the persistence of medieval ideas in the social economy of the seventeenth century as the frequent interference in the interests of the poor with the ordinary course of trade. Of such interference one of the best examples is the compulsory provision of corn and other commodities. Local authorities were compelled to store up corn in time of plenty, and this was sold at reduced prices in times of scarcity. Thus the justices of Lincolnshire were ordered to provide such a "magazine" in 1620,[4] but those of Leicestershire, when requested to do so, pointed out that it was unnecessary, because the county was remote from any means of exporting grain, and grew chiefly peas and barley, which could not be long kept.[5] The city companies had great granaries in which corn was stored, with the same object of keeping down prices in times of scarcity. Thus, in 1613, they were ordered to "make their provisions of wheat according to their several proportions," the supply to be obtained from foreign parts. In 1619 the Council complained that they had lately omitted the "laudable custom" of maintaining a magazine of 20,000 quarters of wheat, and required "a speedy and real supply . . . in the proportions usually rated on the several companies." In 1629 the Lord Mayor stated that they had kept down prices, still had 1,500 quarters in store, and were taking steps to secure 10,000 quarters from remote parts. In

[1] "Calendar of Domestic State Papers" (1620), p. 124. [2] *Ib.*, I.
[3] Bulstrode's Reports, p. 354; Bott, "On the Poor Laws," I., 90.
[4] "Belvoir MSS." ("Hist. MSS. Comm."), Vol. I., p. 456.
[5] "Calendar of Domestic State Papers" (1620), p. 124.

1632 the Council ordered that those who had neglected to provide a supply of corn "should be punished in some exemplary manner according to their demerits," when some of the wardens of the companies were committed to Newgate.[1]

Its Practical Effects.

How such a system was carried into effect in time of scarcity can be seen from the following example. In October, 1622, an Order in Council was sent to the justices of the peace of all the counties of England and Wales to the effect that, to relieve the dearness of corn by the use of barley, they were to "suppress all



(*Komensky, "Orbis Sensualium Pictus," translated by Hoole, 1659.*)

such alehouses as were not needful for convenience of the people, and to take strict care that in those still permitted the beer and ale brewed were only of moderate strength." Farmers were to supply the markets sufficiently,[2] and to sell one-fourth of their corn at "under rates" to the poor.[3] Of course, the mere rumour of such orders would send up the price of corn long before any action could be taken. In January, 1623, the justices of Norfolk begged to be excused even from making a second survey of the quantity of grain in store, on the ground that their former survey had raised prices.[4] But, as a rule, the

[1] "Remembrancia," pp. 372–391, *passim.* [2] "Calendar of Domestic State Papers" (1622), p. 455. [3] *Ib.*, p. 470. [4] *Ib.*, p. 481.

justices acted in conformity with the orders they received. At Bury, Suffolk, which was a "great malting place," the malting of barley was forbidden for three weeks, and then allowed only once a week. The authorities hoped that this would lead to the use of greater quantities of barley for bread, "instead of which it ceased to be brought to market." They also suppressed twenty alehouses, restricted the price of beer, and took the assize of all bread. But in spite of an order forbidding millers to buy and sell corn, the Bury magistrates ventured to tolerate their practice of selling it ground to the poor in smaller quantities than they could purchase it in the market.[1] The justices of Hampshire took measures for the compulsory supply of 500 quarters of corn weekly, the charge being distributed over the different hundreds in specified proportions.[2] In Hertfordshire, "by example and persuasion," they provided corn in every parish, which was sold to the poor half-price, and in some places it was sold only to the poor during the first two hours on market day.[3] Similar reports came in from many other counties, and these measures were continued until the time of scarcity was passed.

Employment of the Poor.

There was one part of the poor law which would tax the energies of the most zealous justice of the peace, viz., that dealing with the employment of the poor. In hospitals and houses of correction rogues and vagabonds appear to have been frequently "set on work." But the provision of a stock for employing the poor in their own homes under the supervision of the overseers, or for starting a trade which would absorb them, was a much more difficult matter. People naturally objected to the payment of a rate for such a purpose, and it is doubtful whether any general attempt to levy one was made. But occasional mention is made of setting the poor on work by subsiding them out of the rates. In eight towns of Hertfordshire such an experiment was tried for two years. The object was to establish the "new drapery" for the employment of the poor, and the requisite capital was supplied from the rates; but the scheme failed, "the profits of the work not finding support for the workmen," and the magistrates complained that they could not call on the county to pay the charges of the projector, because the project was a burden from which the people wished

[1] "Calendar of Domestic State Papers" (1622), p. 484.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 488. [3] *Ib.*, pp. 539, 540.

to be free.[1] But the apprenticing of poor children to trade and husbandry was frequently undertaken. In the rape of Chichester, during the six months ending July 18th, 1639, twenty-six apprentices were so bound.[2] This practice had a very detrimental effect on the condition of the working classes, but its discussion scarcely falls within the limits of this section.

Photo: Chester Vaughan, Acton, W.
ARCHBISHOP ABBOT'S HOSPITAL, GUILDFORD.

CHARLES CREIGHTON. Public Health.

PLAGUE, which had never been for long in abeyance in London or other parts of England since the Black Death of 1348, was at no period more disastrous than in the two generations preceding the date of its extinction in 1666. The plague of 1603, which coincided exactly with the accession of James I. and marred the splendour of his coronation, was the most deadly in absolute numbers that the capital had as yet experienced, and was

[1] "Calendar of Domestic State Papers" (1620), p. 143.
[2] *Ib.* (1639–40), pp. 289–291, where also other cases are given.

The Prevalence of Plague.

followed by a steady prevalence of the infection for several years. The plague of 1625, which coincided exactly with the accession of Charles I., and, along with other things, caused his coronation to be delayed nearly a year, was still more fatal in absolute numbers than that of 1603, and equally so in ratio of the population; while many other years of the reign, especially 1636, had high mortalities from the same cause. Hardly one of the more important towns besieged or occupied during the Civil Wars escaped a plague of the first degree, the deaths in several of them being reckoned by the thousand. Lastly, the plague abruptly ended its career of more than three centuries in England with the terrific explosion of 1665 in London, which has always been reckoned the Great Plague, and is sometimes thought of as if it had been an unique event. The plague of 1665 was greater than all that had preceded it because London was then a much greater city, having doubled in population since the accession of James I.; so that the absolute mortality of 1665 was fully more than twice that of the plague of 1603. The plague of 1665 owes also much of its celebrity to the genius of Defoe, who, being always on the outlook for a good literary theme, seized the occasion of the Marseilles plague of 1720 to make a story of the last great London plague as if from the pen of an eye-witness. But the eye-witness authorities are the writers of 1603 and 1625, who were for some reason more numerous than in 1665, or more disposed to throw their experiences into literary form, whether prose or verse. It is really from the contemporaries of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson—from Dekker and Lodge (as physician), from Abraham Holland and George Wither, Taylor the Waterman-Poet, and the letter-writers of the time—that the most authentic glimpses of the great London plagues are obtained.

The Epidemic of 1603.

The plague of 1603 began in the parish of Stepney (which then extended from Shoreditch to Blackwall) about the time of the queen's death in March. But for the stir and bustle of the new reign, it is conceivable that the infection might not have passed the endemic level of an ordinary plague-year. The death of Elizabeth in the forty-fifth year of her reign, and the approach of James from Scotland, gave the signal for an extraordinary revival of business and pleasure. "Trades that were dead and rotten," says Dekker, in the "Wonderful Yeare,"

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

"started out of their trance. . . . There was mirth in every one's face, the streets were filled with gallants, tobacconists filled up whole taverns, vintners hung out spick-and-span new ivy bushes (because they wanted good wine), and their old rain-beaten lattices marched under other colours, having lost both company and colour before." In the midst of all this the plague

NAVE OF OLD ST. PAUL'S.

(From an Engraving by W. Hollar.)

began to claim notice in the eastern parishes, and at length to invade the City and the western Liberties. On June 23 the Trinity law sessions were suspended. A letter of July 10 says that "Paul's grows thin, for every man shrinks away"—the transepts and aisles of the old Gothic cathedral being used as a thoroughfare and place of news. Instead of passing from

the Tower to Westminster, the king's coronation progress, on July 18, extended only from Westminster Bridge (a landing-stage on the river) to the Abbey. By that time the deaths were up to nearly a thousand in the week. Funerals, says Dekker, followed so close that "three thousand mourners went as if trooping together, with rue and wormwood stuffed into their ears and nostrils, looking like so many boars'-heads stuck with branches of rosemary."

Popular Preventives.

Herb-wives and gardeners reaped a golden harvest, the price of rosemary going up from twelvepence an armful to six shillings a handful. Those were the aromatic herbs which were believed to keep off the infection, and were strewn in rooms, in churches, and in other places of assembly, or worn on the person. It was thought prudent to smell frequently of aromatic or "aigre" substances, which were often enclosed in jewels worn round the neck, or in pouncet-boxes, pomanders, or vinaigrettes, or in the tops of walking-sticks, which were frequently carried to the nostrils—the physician's gold-headed cane, which originally contained a scent-bottle, being a survival of the practice.

For a time the burials proceeded as usual in the parish graveyards, to the great enrichment of the sextons, especially those of Cripplegate, St. Sepulchre's, St. Olave's, and St. Clement Danes. At length the corpses came too fast for ceremony. The rule at that time was to bury only from six in the morning until six in the evening, so that bodies might not be stolen forth for burial in the dark and the existence of plague in a house concealed. When morning came there were many bodies for one grave. "All ceremonial due to them was taken away; they were launched ten in one heap, twenty in another, the gallant and the beggar together; the husband saw his wife and his deadly enemy whom he hated within a pair of sheets." The victims came mostly from the crowded lanes of the "sinfully polluted suburbs," from the ever-spreading skirts of the City which the Proclamation of 1580 had been powerless to curtail. The London lanes, says one quaint versifier,

> "Did vomit out their undigested dead,
> Who by cartloads are carried to the grave;
> For all those lanes with folk were overfed."

James Bamford, minister of St. Olave's, found the infection most rife among "such as do not greatly regard clean and sweet keeping, and where many are pestered together in alleys and houses"; whereas, "of those that keep a good diet, have clean and sweet keeping, live in a good air, use reasonable and seasonable preservatives, and be not pestered many in one house, or have convenient house-room for their household, we see few infected in comparison of those that fail in all these means of preservation and yet will thrust themselves into danger."

There must have been many of the former class in his own parish—a maze of alleys by the riverside and on the landward side of St. Olave's Street for a distance of some half-mile from London Bridge to Horselydown; for the plague-deaths in it from May 7th to October 13th numbered 2,640, the most fatal week having had 305 and the most fatal day fifty-seven.

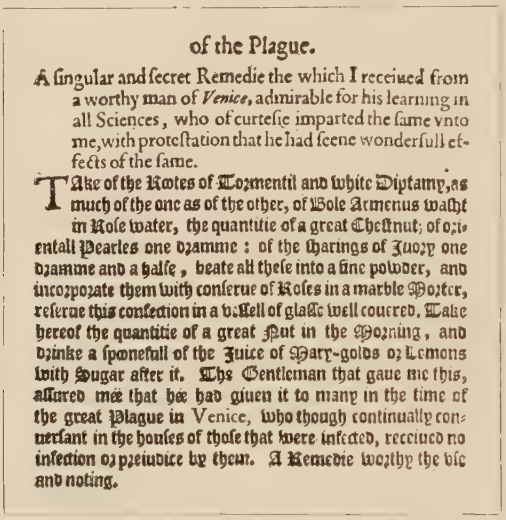
Popular Panic.

The minister of St. Olave's was one of the few parish clergy who remained with their people during the plague. Magistrates also fled, so that housebreaking and lawlessness of every kind proceeded unpunished. Bamford has no excuse to offer for the flight of his clerical brethren and of the magistrates; but he is not clear that the medical faculty were not justified in retiring to the country, seeing that "they are no public persons, and live, not by a common stipend, but by what they can get." Their place was taken by a band of desperadoes, who clapped their bills upon every door. Dekker gives a poor account of the power of drugs over the plague. Although they were sold at every corner, so that every street looked like Bucklersbury, the medicines "had not so much strength to hold life and soul together as a pot of Pinder's ale and a nutmeg. . . . Galen could do no more than Sir Giles Goosecap." One physician, who honourably remained at his post (in Warwick Lane) and issued a book for the occasion, was Dr. Thomas Lodge, better known as a poet and romancist (III., pp. 708, 711).

The richer citizens who fled to the country so long as there were any hackneys and coaches or waggons in Smithfield, or wherries on the water, to bear them away, were but coldly received in the villages and towns: "The sight of a Londoner's flat cap was dreadful to a lob; a treble ruff threw a whole

village into a sweat." And not without reason; for the villages or country parishes all round London have evidence in their registers of more deaths from plague in 1603 than even in 1665. The theme of Londoners being refused entertainment in the country is still more prominent in the plague of 1625. Dr. Donne writes that some were allowed to perish with "more money about them than would have bought the entire village where they died."

It was not until the end of November that the deaths from



of the Plague.

A ſingular and ſecret Remedie the which I receiued from a worthy man of *Venice*, admirable for his learning in all Sciences, who of curteſie imparted the ſame vnto me, with proteſtation that he had ſeene wonderfull effects of the ſame.

TAke of the Rootes of Tormentil and white Diptamy, as much of the one as of the other, of Bole Armenus waſht in Roſe water, the quantitie of a great Cheſtnut; of Orientall Pearles one dramme: of the harings of Iuory one dramme and a halfe, beate all theſe into a fine powder, and incorporate them with conſerue of Roſes in a marble Morter, reſerue this confection in a veſſell of glaſſe well couered. Take hereof the quantitie of a great Nut in the Morning, and drinke a ſpoonefull of the Iuice of Mary-golds or Lemons with Sugar after it. The Gentleman that gaue me this, affirmed mée that hee had giuen it to many in the time of the great Plague in Venice, who though continually conuerſant in the houſes of thoſe that were infected, receiued no infection or preiudice by them. A Remedie worthy the vſe and noting.

A PRESCRIPTION AGAINST THE PLAGUE.

(*T. Lodge*, "*Treatise of the Plague*," 1603.)

plague fell to a hundred in the week. The epidemic had cost London about a sixth part of its population, the actual figures of plague-mortality in the bills (not quite complete) having been 33,347, and the deaths from all causes for the whole year 42,945. But even so great a gap in the population as that did not remain long unfilled by influx from the country and abroad; for in 1605, the second year from the plague, the christenings were 6,504, the highest total they had hitherto reached.

Some time towards the end of the plague of 1603, King James granted a licence to reopen the Curtain and Boar's Head

theatres, "as soon as the plague decreases to thirty deaths per week in London," which condition was not fulfilled until after Christmas. Plague interfered with business of all kinds, but it bore hardest of all on the "poor players." It passed as an axiom that the concourse of people to see stage plays, bear-fights, dog-fights, and the like, was one of the chief means of spreading infection. Stage plays were prohibited during the plague of 1563. In a sermon preached at Paul's Cross on Sunday, November 3rd, 1577, on the text, "Woe to that abominable, filthy, and cruel city," the preacher cries out upon the play-houses of that day—we are apt to think of them as very primitive — "Behold the sumptuous theatre-houses, a continual monument of London's prodigal folly! But I understand they are now forbidden because of the plague." Shakespeare's most active time, when he was producing his historical pieces and his comedies, corresponded in great part to a remarkable abeyance of plague in London from 1594 to 1603. On May 17th, 1603, before the infection had risen to a great outburst, his name is joined in a patent for the Globe Theatre. But the plague revived in the end of 1605 and continued somewhat steadily, in the summers and autumns at least, for the next five years. Dekker, writing of the plague in 1606, says that the playhouses stand empty, with the doors locked and the flag taken down. At the beginning of winter, 1607, the plague-deaths having fallen to about the limit of thirty in a week, leave was given to reopen the theatres, so that the poor players might make a living. The period from 1603 to 1610 was more continuously occupied by plague in London than any other in Shakespeare's career, and the business of the stage was in like measure hindered. Plays were given before the Court or in the houses of the nobility, but seldom before the populace in the theatres, unless it were in winter. Perhaps that is a minor reason why there appears to be a premature break in the great dramatist's career in London, as well as a marked difference between the manner of his later and his earlier pieces. There was again a long interval free from plague in London, from 1610 to 1625, which corresponds with a period of gaiety and rapid growth; but it does not appear that Shakespeare's active connection with the London stage was ever resumed.

Plague and the Play.

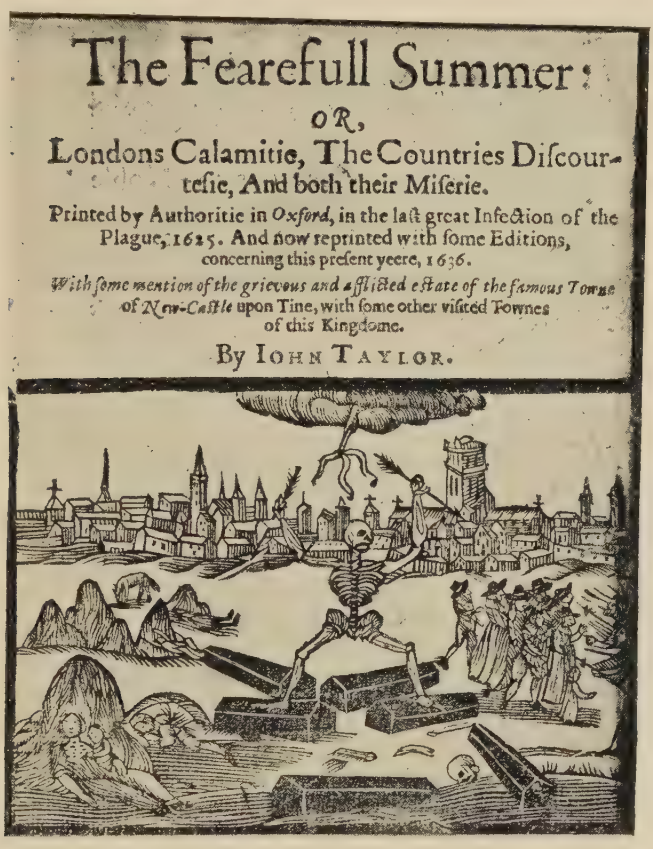
The Plague of 1625.

The great plague of London in 1625, which raised the mortality of the year to the enormous total of 63,001, the deaths by the plague being 41,313, reproduced exactly the events of 1603—the flight of the richer class, their inhospitable reception in the country, the absolute arrest of trade and business in London, the streets as deserted at noon as they would ordinarily be at midnight, lawlessness of the starving population, the burials by the cartload when infection was at its highest point of near a thousand deaths in a day on certain days of August. While plague was the predominant type of zymotic disease, and so uniform in its characteristics and effects that the history of it admits of little variety, it was not the only kind of epidemic sickness by which those times were distinguished from our own. The years 1622–24 furnish an example of a widely prevalent typhus fever which was in some respects unlike the typhus of more recent times. In Scotland its worst season was the winter of 1622–23, and its obvious occasion a famine comparable to one of the great medieval famines. But the worst years of the fever in England, 1623 and 1624, do not appear, from the tables of Thorold Rogers, to have been years of famine prices; and it is clear from letters of the time that no such obvious explanation of the epidemic could be found. The summer of 1624 was very hot and dry, and remarkable for the abundance of cucumbers in and near London; hence it was thought that these fruits may have had something to do with the fever, as they had been watered out of stagnant or half-dried pools and ditches. "But that reason," says a London letter, "will reach no farther than this town, whereas the mortality is spread far and near, and takes hold of whole households in many places." It took away "many of good sort as well as meaner people," causing deaths among the nobility and squires in their country houses. Sir Theodore Mayerne, the king's physician, thought that it was "not so much contagious as common through a universal disposing cause"—as we suppose influenza to be. It was a spotted or purple fever, attended with sleeplessness, and fatal in a large proportion of its attacks. It seems to have corresponded most nearly in its type and circumstances to the ill-reputed "Hungarian fever," which was peculiar to the sixteenth century and part of the seventeenth.

Typhus.

The other epidemic sickness that becomes usually prominent in the two first Stuart reigns is small-pox. Like the fever of 1623–24, it had many victims in good houses, and among adults as well as children. It is heard of in the Tudor period, but it is clear that it was then considered to be an unimportant

Small-pox.


The Fearefull Summer:
OR,
Londons Calamitie, The Countries Diſcour-teſie, And both their Miſerie.
Printed by Authoritie in Oxford, in the laſt great Infection of the Plague, 1625. And now reprinted with ſome Editions, concerning this preſent yeere, 1636.
With ſome mention of the grievous and afflicted eſtate of the famous Towne of New-Caſtle upon Tine, with ſome other viſited Townes of this Kingdome.
By IOHN TAYLOR.

THE PLAGUE IN LONDON, 1625.

(*Title-page to J. Taylor, "The Fearefull Summer."*)

malady, and it was so much associated with measles that the Latin name of small-pox, *variolae*, is rendered by "measles" in the Elizabethan vocabulary of Levins, who was himself a medical graduate. An entry on the margin of Trinity parish register at Chester opposite the year 1634 states that "for

these two or three years divers children died of small-pox"—as if that were a novel thing. There are other fragments of evidence tending to show that in some country parishes small-pox had never been seen at all before the middle of the seventeenth century, and that it was a disease, as Willis says, "seldom epidemical." It seems to have begun to be really formidable in London in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. Lord Dorchester, in a letter to the Earl of Carlisle on 30th August, 1628, calls it "the popular disease": "Your dear lady hath suffered by the popular disease, but without danger, as I understand from her doctor, either of death or deformity." In that summer the weekly deaths from small-pox in London were as high as fifty-eight. It was then a trouble of the rich as well as of the poor, and an occasion of special solicitude to the fair sex from the risk that attended it of marring the beauty of the face.

MARY BATESON. Social Life.

THE social, like the political and religious, history of the first half of the seventeenth century is the history of a forty years' preparation for civil war. In the lives of the leisured classes during the reign of James I., the signs of an age of decadence are plainly visible, and tend to obscure the signs of an approaching regeneration. During the reign of Charles I. it grows clear that the sway will be held by the forces striving to fill society with new life.

Public Morals.

What had been gaiety in Elizabethan society became heartless frivolity in the reign of James I. Elizabethan society had found cohesion in a national purpose, and dignity and sobriety in the consciousness of grave national danger, but in the reign of James only one section of society perceived the dangers now threatening England from within, not from without; but of that section there were no representatives at Court. Elizabeth's Court had not been free from faction and intrigue, but she did not choose as her sole confidants greedy, unscrupulous adventurers, whose goodwill had to be gained by all who hoped for worldly advantage. Amid the plots and counter-plots of James's reign no one felt safe; and the sudden fall of men occupying the highest position—of the Lord Treasurer for peculation, of the Lord Keeper for bribery, of the Lord

Chamberlain and the Lord Privy Seal for suspected complicity in murder—served to render the atmosphere of mutual suspicion denser, not to clear it. The few who, like Archbishop Abbot, tried to reconcile their duty as men of integrity with

ANNE OF DENMARK. (*Trinity House.*)
(*By permission of the Elder Brethren.*)

their duty as courtiers found their influence gone and their lives clouded.

The Court of James I.

In the Court of James the number of open and notorious evil livers was great, and the best that can be said is that it was not so bad as the Court of Charles II.[1] Most of the old nobility and peers of the best type avoided the Court, and

[1] *Cf.*, Gardiner, ii., 167, *note.*

spent their time in travel or in the retirement of their country houses.[1] So far as their own married life was concerned, James and his queen set a good example; so too in the bringing up of their children; but the force of their example was destroyed by the countenance they gave to the worst offenders. The story of the Somerset marriage is an illustration. To heal a Court feud, James brought about a marriage between the Earl of Essex, aged fourteen, and Lady Frances Howard, aged thirteen. After the wedding the Earl was sent to travel for a few years, and returned to find that his wife would not live

JAMES I., PRINCE HENRY, AND A YEOMAN OF THE GUARD (MS. Egerton 1269).

with him, and that the king's favourite, Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester, was her lover. James, to please Carr, was now as eager to procure a divorce as he had been to make the match, and he appointed commissioners to try the case. After proceedings of a revolting nature, he secured a verdict which implied that it lay in the king's power to dissolve the marriage tie whenever he saw fit. The divorce proceedings were nominally secret; but their nature was well known in the fashionable world, and Chamberlain's letters show that they were town-talk. The shameless wickedness of Lady Essex—or Frances Howard, as she chose to call herself—was notorious. Yet when she was married to her lover, who had been created

[1] Brydges, "Memoirs," Preface, p. xviii.

Earl of Somerset that his rank might equal hers, men of wealth and fashion vied to do the young couple honour. The conduct of such men cannot be defended on the ground that they did not know what we know now.[1] All that they did not know was the fact that the Countess was actually, and not merely in intention,[2] a murderess. Her character they knew, but they did not know that her victim was Overbury, Rochester's favourite (p. 123). Overbury had helped Rochester to write his love-letters to the Countess, but opposed his marriage. The wretched agents of the Countess, who administered the poisons at her direction, were hanged; she was declared to have been led astray by these "base persons," and James pardoned her, together with her husband, who was at the time believed to be as guilty as his wife.

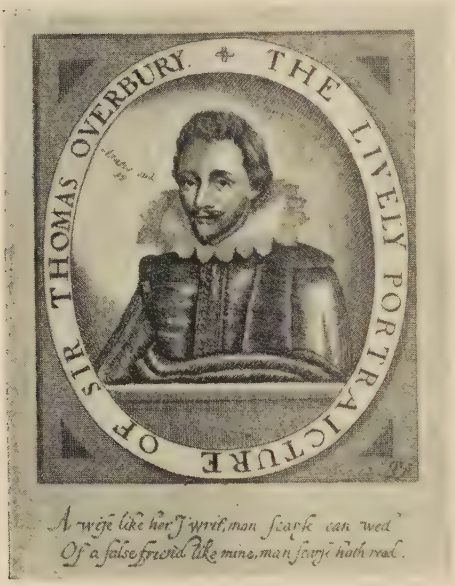
THE EARL OF SOMERSET AND LADY ESSEX.
("*The Connexion*," 1672.)

James chose another favourite more profligate than Somerset, and busied himself with more match-making. Only the touching fidelity of the wife, whose affections he never succeeded in alienating, saved Buckingham from the probable consequences of his faithless conduct. Amongst the shameful matches made by his mother for her children and poor relations, the marriage of the unhappy Frances Coke to Buckingham's half-witted brother

[1] *Cf.* Spedding, "Life and Letters of Bacon," iv., 392.
[2] Winwood, "Memorials," iii. 453; and State Papers—Domestic, lxxii., 120.

John may be named as comparing with that of Lady Essex in its tragic consequences.

Charles I. Under Charles I. the tone of the Court greatly improved. He was "temperate, chaste, and serious" himself; and Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson adds that "the nobility and courtiers, who did not quite abandon their debaucheries, yet so reverenced the king as to retire into corners to practise them." Intemperance, incessant swearing, gambling, and dicing were no longer countenanced by the king's personal example; and a serious effort was made to put a stop to duelling, which James I. had discouraged by proclamation, but without result.[1]


SIR THOMAS OVERBURY. THE LIVELY PORTRAICTURE OF
A wife like her I wish, man seark can wed
Of a false friend like mine, man scarse hath read.

SIR THOMAS OVERBURY.
("*The Connexion*," 1672.)

Unfortunately, the queen was not of opinion that moral offenders should be banished from her Court, provided they were, like Henry Jermyn, gay and entertaining. Nor had she any eye for genuine merit. Hence it was that prudent women, like Habington's beloved wife, avoided the Court:—

> "She sails by that rock, the Court,
> Where oft honour splits her mast,
> And retir'dness thinks the port
> Where her fame may anchor cast.
> Virtue safely cannot sit
> Where vice sits enthron'd for wit.[2]

There is nothing to show that the improvement in Charles I.'s

[1] A. W. Ward, ii., 227, 402; Gardiner, ii., 212; Ellis, "Letters," 1st Series, iii., 107; 2nd Series, iii., 233. [2] "Castara" (Arber), 1635.

CHILDREN OF CHARLES I., BY VANDYCK.

(National Portrait Gallery.)

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

Court was due to Puritanical influences. The Puritan party did not seize the opportunities afforded for an attack on Court immorality which events like the Essex divorce and Overbury murder gave, but left the Court to go its own way to destruction. Nevertheless the Puritans were acting as a party of social reform, but it was religion that bound them together as a party. It was with them a religious doctrine that Christians as individuals should strive to conform their daily lives to certain Scriptural commands, should practise a real, and not merely profess a formal religion; hence they could not fail, consciously or unconsciously, to make the regeneration of society an object. Even their opponents identified with them all who attacked social abuses in a serious spirit. Thus Colonel Hutchinson's widow writes:

Puritan Influence.

"If any were grieved at the dishonour of the kingdom, or the griping of the poor, or the unjust oppressions of the subject, . . . he was a Puritan; if any, out of mere morality and civil honesty, discountenanced the abominations of those days, he was a Puritan; . . . in short, all that crossed the views of the needy courtiers, . . . the lewd nobility and gentry—whoever was zealous for God's glory, . . . could not endure blasphemous oaths, ribald conversation, profane scoffs, Sabbath-breaking—whoever could endure a sermon, modest habit or conversation, or anything good, all these were Puritans; and if Puritans, then enemies to the king and his government. . . . Such false logic did the children of darkness use to argue with against the hated children of light."

A LADY OF THE COURT OF ENGLAND.
(*By W. Hollar.*)

In this false logic lay the strength of the "children of light." They were able to persuade themselves and others that men like Herbert, Nicholas Ferrar (p. 46), and Crashaw, the devout

Romanist son of a devout Puritan father, who aimed at purity as sincerely and were as passionately religious as any Puritan, were exceptions proving the rule. Children of darkness, like Charles I. and Strafford, were leading happy, unstained married lives; it was not only Cromwell who could hear from his wife, "My life is but half a life in your absence, did not the Lord make it up in Himself"—or could write to her, as he does from the field of Dunbar, "Thou art dearer to me than any creature—let that suffice." On the other hand, there were Puritans as well as Cavaliers in whose hearts Milton's arguments in favour of divorce, where there is "indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind," would awaken response. Puritans and Cavaliers alike were ready to advise their children, "Let not your fancy overrule your necessity," "Where passion and affection sway, that man is deprived of sense and understanding,"[1] though perhaps no Puritan had the candour to say, "I mean to marry my daughter to £2,000 a year."[2]

Intemperance at Court.

Religious doctrine may not help men to secure domestic peace, but it helped the Puritans to resist social vice. Intemperance had, in the reign of James I., reached such a point that men of Elizabeth's Court, where there had been indecorum enough, were shocked to see the ladies and gentlemen of James I.'s Court rolling about in a state of intoxication.[3] The secretary of the Venetian ambassador observes that after a royal entertainment such a rush was made for the supper-table that it was upset and all the food was scattered.[4]

The Puritans and Drunkenness.

The prevalence of intemperance was a favourite subject with Puritan writers, and, without directly attacking the Court for encouraging it, their animosity to the fashionable vice was made clear. James's fine of five shillings for drunkenness was not calculated to do much good. In 1628 Prynne dedicated his "Healthes: Sicknesse," a tract against the drinking of healths, to King Charles, and urged him to forbid his "health" to be made "the daily table-compliment, grace, and first salute of every jovial courtier." He asks, "Is it not an affront to his

[1] Gardiner, ii., 91, quoting Sir W. Monson's advice to his eldest son.

[2] "Memoirs of the Verney Family," ii., 349.

[3] Harrington, "Nugae Antiquae," i., 348, on the visit of Christian IV. of Denmark, the queen's brother.

[4] Busino, quoted in Furnivall's "Harrison," p. 59*.

Majesty to have his name profaned in every taphouse, unhallowed places, unworthy of so holy a name?" Temperance, he says, is vilified under opprobrious names, as Puritanism, preciseness, singularity, clownishness; the sober are sad and discontented persons, branded as Puritans, hypocrites, precisians, stoics, humorists; the last a fashionable slang word, with a variety of meanings.[1]

Court Extravagance.

Nor was it intemperance in drink alone that gave the Puritans ground for an attack on Court abuses. It was often the pressing necessity for money to keep up the many extravagant entertainments and other aristocratic excesses[2] that led men of otherwise innocent life astray. To procure money, the king, the queen, and their courtiers used every device. James himself anxiously pressed his queen to make a will,[3] lest her favourite attendants should seize her jewels on her death; and the event proved the soundness of the advice, which she did not follow. While courtiers were reduced to pilfering,[4] the king and queen ran deeply into debt. The entertainments which Elizabeth had made her courtiers provide for her, they were generous enough to provide for their courtiers at the expense of their creditors. James and Anne, accustomed to Scotch penury, were delighted with the masque Lord Spencer provided for them at Althorp on their journey south, and from that time Anne began to make Court theatricals the object of her existence.[5]

Masques

As it was not so much acting that she cared for as fancy-dress and dancing, the form of entertainment known as the "masque" was developed to its utmost possibilities. Music, dancing, and transformation scenes were its principal features; and the masque resembled the modern opera in several respects, differing from it mainly in the absence of plot. A "masque" was generally given to celebrate a particular event: a marriage, a birthday, the visit of an ambassador, or other festive occasion; and in that case some representation of the Court in allegorical form served instead of a connected story. Daniel, Jonson, and Campion were the most prolific writers of the masque *libretti*.

[1] Jonson, "Works," ed. Cunningham, i., 67.

[2] *Cf.* Birch, "Memoirs of the Court of Charles I.," i., 35; Winwood, "Memorials," iii., 434.

[3] Halliwell-Phillips, "Letters of the Kings," ii., 122.

[4] *Cf.* Ellis, "Original Letters," 1st Series, iii., 130.

[5] *Cf.* Bentivoglio, quoted in Aikin, "Court of James I.," i., 334.

MORRIS DANCER.

Inigo Jones was far the most famous scene-painter and machinist; and in his hands the transformation scene developed to a perfection then thought very astonishing. The inventor of dances Giles, the lutanist Ferrabosco, and, in Charles I.'s reign, the musician Henry Lawes were not less important collaborators. Even learned antiquaries like Selden were consulted for costumes.[1]

The first of Ben Jonson's masques, in which the queen herself acted, was the "Masque of Blackness," played on Twelfth Night, in the banqueting-hall, Whitehall, 1606. The queen and the Court ladies and gentlemen blacked their faces and arms, and appeared as Ethiopians. Jonson thus describes the scenic adjuncts:—

BALLAD SINGER.

"First, for the scene was drawn a 'landschap,' consisting of small woods and here and there a void place filled with huntings; which falling, an artificial sea was seen to shoot forth . . . with waves that seemed to move, and in some places the billows to brake. In front . . . were placed six tritons. . . . (From their backs were borne out [on wires] certain light pieces of taffeta, as if carried by the wind.)"

Oceanus and Niger rode on sea-horses behind, and introduced the chief performers seated in a shell of mother-of-pearl, moving up and down on the waves, the whole shell being brilliantly lit. All this was "of Master Inigo Jones: his design and act." Sir Dudley Carleton writes concerning this scene in a carping spirit:—

"There was a great engine at the lower end of the room, which had motion, and in it were the images of sea-horses, with other terrible fishes. . . . The indecorum was that there was all fish and no water."

HARLEQUIN.
(*After Inigo Jones.*)

The appearance of the queen and the Countess of Bedford, Ladies Suffolk, Rich,

[1] Masson's "Life of Milton," i., 544.

and others, he describes as "rich, but too light and courtesan-like for such great ones."[1]

After songs from mermaids, and classical verse from the river-gods, "the moon was discovered in the upper part of the house," on a silver throne, in a heaven of blue silk set with stars of silver. The scallop-shell drew to land, and the ladies, led by the queen, danced on shore, each couple presenting their fans. Joined by the gentlemen, they danced several "measures and corantos," then back into the shell, and, with a full chorus, went out.

In the "Masque of Beauty," the scene was an island floating on calm water, and suitable dresses were invented for the embodiment of "Splendor, Serenitas, Germinatio, Lætitia," and so forth. The masque was remarkable for its elaborate dances, and for the "machine of the spectacle," representing a globe—

KETT THE REBEL,
(*After Inigo Jones.*)

"Filled with countries, and those gilded; where the sea was expressed, heightened with silver waves. This stood, or rather hung (for no axle was seen to support it), and, turning softly, discovered the first masque, which was of the men, sitting in fair composition, within a mine of several metals: to which the lights were so placed as no one was seen, but seemed as if only Reason with the splendour of her crown illumined the whole grot."

To the invention of marvels of this kind the aristocratic world devoted its most serious attention.[2] Bacon made the masque the subject of an essay, wherein he names the colours that show best by candle-light, and observes that—

"Oes or spangs, as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory. As for rich embroidery, it is lost, and not discerned. . . . Let anti-masques (generally comic and satirical) not be long; they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild men, antics, beasts, sprites, witches, ethiops, pigmies, turquets, nymphs, rustics, cupids, statues moving, and the like. As for angels, it is not comical enough to put them in anti-masques; and anything that is hideous, as devils, giants, is on the other side as unfit."

Sometimes it was arranged to fill the scene "with sweet odours suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling; in

[1] Winwood's "Memorials," ii., 44. [2] "*Cf.* Donne's "Letters," xxxvi.

such a company, as there is steam and heat, things of great pleasure and refreshment."[1] Bacon got the Inns of Court to give a masque for the Somerset wedding at his expense, and he spent £2,000 upon it, without, however, giving great satisfaction to his audience.

Dancing.

"Turning dances into figure," Bacon held to be "a childish curiosity"; but such dances were greatly admired. The dances of all countries found acceptance; brawls, pavins, measures, the canary dance, the coranto, the lavolto, jigs, galliards, fancies,[2] were all favourites. Busino, chaplain to the Venetian ambassador, records that, in a masque got up by Prince Charles (1617–18), the dancers began to flag, and the king shouted in anger, "Why don't you dance? What did you make me come here for? Devil take you all—dance!" All the cavaliers were worn out; but, on hearing this, Buckingham sprang forward, and "cut a score of lofty and very minute capers with so much grace and agility that the king was delighted, and honoured the marquis by a display of extraordinary affection, patting his face." The Prince of Wales, owing to his youth, "has not much wind as yet, but he cut a few capers very gracefully."

Henrietta Maria was not, like Anne, content with merely dressing up and dancing; she committed a long part in a pastoral play to memory in order to perfect herself in the English tongue,[3] and acted on the Court stage. In 1629 French women had acted on the public stage, and on the three occasions of their appearance were hissed off. Tom Coryat, in his "Crudities" (1611), says he heard of women acting in public in London, but never saw them do so before he went to Italy.

Puritanism and the Stage.

Almost immediately after the queen's appearance, Prynne published "Histriomastix," the fruit of seven years' labour, a work which embodied the prevalent Puritan opinion on dramatic performances. In the days of Elizabeth the Puritan Stubbes held that some plays were "very honest and commendable exercises," and "may be used in time and place convenient as conducible to example of life and reformation of manners"; but the gross corruption of the seventeenth-

[1] Bacon's Essay No. 37. [2] Drake, "Shakespeare and his Times," ii., 173.
[3] Strickland, "Queens of England," viii., 69.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

(By permission, from the collection of the Rev. F. W. Galpin.)

century stage drove Prynne and the majority of the Puritan party to extremer views. Prynne, grieved to hear that the 40,000 play-books printed in the last two years are "more vendible than the choicest sermons," set to work to amass evidence from the early Fathers, Canon Law, and Christian and pagan writers of all times, to show that all actors, playwrights, and theatre-goers were "sinful, heathenish, lewd, and ungodly." The tone of pedantry which runs through Prynne's volume is not a little characteristic of Stuart as compared with Elizabethan Puritanism. It was his remarks on women-actors that made his work famous; while he condemned to perdition men who wear women's clothes,[1] women acting women's parts were to him infinitely more offensive. The information which summoned him before the Star Chamber says that—

"Though the author knew that the Queen and the Lords of the Council were frequently present at those diversions, yet he had railed against plays, masques, dancing, Maypoles, Christmas-keeping, dressing houses with ivy, festivals, etc., and [that] he had aspersed the Queen and commended factious persons."[2]

In consequence he was sentenced to lose his ears, and the sentence was executed in 1634 without any marked popular demonstration. Three years later, when he and Bastwick and Burton were sentenced with further severity for works on Church government, the populace treated them as martyrs. The immediate result of Prynne's work was to infuse the Court with new enthusiasm for plays and masques. The queen acted again, in Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*, and the four Inns of Court united to give a masque which cost £21,000.[3] Though Prynne had singled out Lincoln's Inn for special commendation because the Benchers forbade public dice-play in their halls, and did not keep Bacchanalian Christmases and Grand Days on Sundays, Lincoln's Inn joined with the others.

Comus." Two years after the publication of "Histriomastix," Milton wrote "Comus, a Masque," which, whether it was deliberately so intended or not, was both an answer to Prynne and a con-

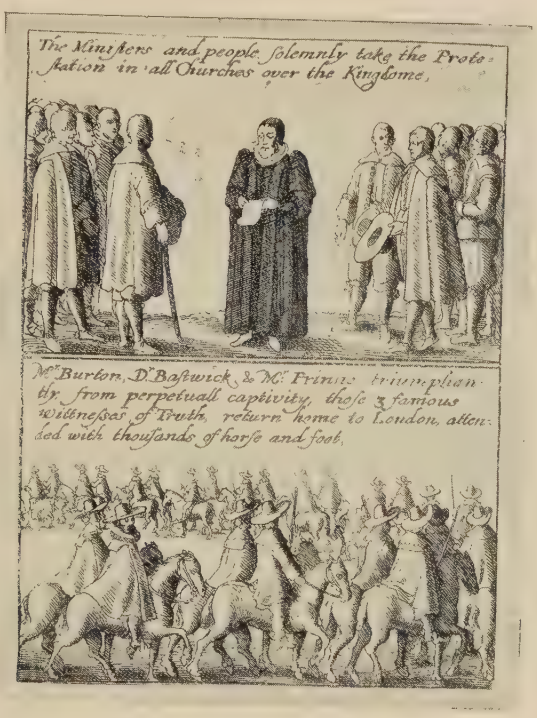
[1] It was only with great difficulty that Cambridge undergraduates could be induced to wear female dress on the stage. Jonson's "Works," ed. Cunningham, ii., 207.

[2] Neal, "History of the Puritans," ii., 262.

[3] Whitelocke, "Memorials," *sub anno* 1633.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

demnation of the fashionable theatre. Written for the Egerton family, intellectual, accomplished Royalists of the best type —the part of the Lady played by Lady Alice Egerton—it bears witness to the great possibilities that underlay the Puritanism which was above party, and shows what force lay in the hands of the Puritan who could retain his intellectual


The Ministers and people solemnly take the Protestation in all Churches over the Kingdome,
Mr Burton, Dr Bastwick & Mr Prinne triumphantly from perpetuall captivity, these 3 famous Witnesses of Truth, return home to London, attended with thousands of horse and foot,

A PROMISE AND A TRIUMPH.

(From an engraving by W. Hollar.)

freedom and his moral magnanimity. But the Puritan party remembered that the Court had thrown in its lot with a corrupt dramatic literature, that Prynne had lost his ears for "Histriomastix," and only the death of the drama could avenge him. By an ordinance of September 2nd, 1642, all theatres were closed. Puritan weaknesses had been lashed too severely on the stage for Puritans to remember that the stage, polluted as it was, had never spared the follies of the courtiers. The

dramatists had not used the weapon of banter without effect, but in the eyes of the Puritans that counted for little against the corrupting moral influence undoubtedly exercised by many of the popular plays.[1]

Sports.

The excessive bitterness shown in the Puritan attack on the drama was characteristic also of their attack on dancing, dicing, and card-playing. Stubbes believed these amusements to be capable of a legitimate use; the Puritans of New England held

THE HALL, LUDLOW CASTLE.

(*In which "Comus" was first performed.*)

it impossible that they could ever be innocent recreations, and forbade them by law.[2] Whatever amusement or sport James I. specially enjoyed incurred Puritan dislike. He was absurdly fond of hunting[3] (with dogs, not with guns and bows, for that he held "a thievish kind of sport"[4]), so much so that even his courtiers wearied of it. Cock-fighting he also patronised, and

[1] A. W. Ward, "Hist. Eng. Dramatic Poetry"; also Gardiner, vii., 327.
[2] Palfrey, "History of New England," i., 299.
[3] Rye, "England as Seen by Foreigners," 244.
[4] "Basilicon Doron" (Roxburghe Club).

bear- and bull-baitings,[1] and all these sports were opposed by Puritans.[2]

Many sports which as sports they did not condemn[3] have ceased to exist because the Puritans condemned their use on Sundays, the only day on which working people could practise them regularly. The question of Sabbatarianism was the first occasion of open conflict between the Court and the Puritans on a social question. The Puritans triumphed when, in 1618, the Declaration of Sports was withdrawn, after the refusal of Puritan clergy such as William Gouge, to read it from the pulpit as directed. Reissued by Charles in 1633, it was burned

Sabbatarianism.

THE BURNING OF THE BOOK OF SPORTS.

(*From an engraving by W. Hollar.*)

publicly in May, 1643, and all persons were forbidden, under heavy penalties, to be present on the Lord's Day at any wrestling, shooting, bowling, ringing of bells for pleasure, masques, wakes, church-ale games, dancing, or other pastime.

Just as religion drove the Puritans to social reform, it drove them to dress reform. The Puritan doctrine on the vestment controversy had its application to lay costume. Pride in apparel is condemned by many Scriptural texts, and opposition to the excessive extravagance which characterised the Court party, especially under James I., made the Puritan strictly utilitarian in his dress. The abrupt change from the ridiculous bombasted

Dress.

[1] Rye, 123–4. [2] *Cf. The Alchemist*, III., ii. ; acted 1610.
[3] *Cf.* Col. Hutchinson's "Life," ed. Firth, i., 32, etc.

breeches and wheel farthingales of James I.'s reign to the simple but rich and elegant dress which we associate with the portraits of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria was probably due rather to one of those sudden reactions which rule fashion than to the influence of Puritan feeling, and perhaps also to Charles I.'s refined taste, which contrasted strongly with his father's carelessness. Henrietta, too, had taste in dress, whereas Anne had none. In James's reign it was found necessary to forbid ladies, and even gentlemen, to come in "vardingales"[1] to masques, when the audience had to be tightly packed, and this may have led to their permanent abolition. The "bravery" of a Jacobean gallant did not differ in its main features from that of an Elizabethan; it was chiefly in accessories that he showed his ingenuity. Colours were now more carefully chosen; white satin embroidered with silver,[2] pearl and peach colour, flame and orange-tawny were among the favourites. Ruffs were starched with coloured starch, and the yellow starch, invented by Mrs. Anne Turner, the agent of the Countess of Somerset's plots, was held in much esteem, till it was ordered that she should be hanged in a cobweb-lawn ruff of her own dyeing. The length and pattern of garters, shoe-roses, boot-fringes, the jewel and feathers and band in the hat, were crucial points in male costume. A gentleman's love-lock or locks, their frizzling and powdering, the ribbons with which they were tied, and their position on the shoulder, a lady's frontlet and side curls, were anxious matters, and when Nature refused to provide the needful means, perfumed perukes and periwigs were worn. Perfume was held in high esteem, partly as a preventive of the plague. No lady or gentleman's dress was complete without "pomander-chains" of civet and musk, or the "casting-bottle" of perfume, nor without a mirror in the hat or elsewhere on the person.

Masks. The mask, always an important item in a dissolute Court, was an essential for ladies upon all public occasions, even for hunting. Unmasked ladies were "barefaced" and immodest, unless, like the Countess of Bedford, they could afford to defy fashion. Chamberlain writes that in 1613 that lady, one of the best in Anne's Court, "forbears painting, which, they say, makes her look somewhat strangely among so many vizards, which,

[1] Birch, "Court and Times of James I.," i., 228. [2] Rye, cxxviii.

English Gentlewoman.

Lady of the Court of England.

Country Woman.

Merchant's Wife.

WOMEN'S DRESS UNDER CHARLES I.: BY W. HOLLAR.

together with their frizzled, powdered hair makes them [the ladies] look all alike." Besides masking and painting, patching with stars of mastic or black taffety was fashionable. Busino tells how he went to the theatre, and was "scarcely seated ere a very elegant dame, but in a mask, came and placed herself beside him." She tried to enter into conversation, and showed him "some fine diamonds on her fingers, repeatedly taking off no fewer than three gloves, which were worn one over the other."

A LADY MASKED.
(*By W. Hollar.*)

"This lady's bodice was of yellow satin richly embroidered, her petticoat of gold tissue with stripes, her robe of red velvet with a raised pile, lined with yellow muslin with broad stripes of pure gold. She wore an apron of point lace of various patterns: her head-tire was highly perfumed, and the collar of white satin beneath the delicately wrought ruff, struck me as extremely pretty."[1]

In excess of jewellery and extravagantly rich dress, Buckingham rivalled Elizabeth herself:—

"It was common with him at any ordinary dancing to have his clothes trimmed with great diamond buttons, and to have diamond hat-bands, cockades, and ear-rings; to be yoked with great and manifold knots of pearl. . . . At his going over to Paris in 1625 he had twenty-seven suits of clothes made, the richest that embroidery, lace, silk, velvet, gold, and gems could contribute, one of which was a white, uncut velvet, set all over, both suit and cloak, with diamonds, valued at £14,000, besides a great feather, stuck all over with diamonds, as were also his sword, girdle, hat-band and spurs."[2]

Whatever was in fashion was what a Puritan would not

[1] Furnivall's "Harrison," p. 56*.
[2] Halliwell-Phillips, "Letters," ii., 204, *note*.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

wear. When ruffs were in vogue, he wore a large falling band; when "pickadillies" (ruffs) were out of request (1638), and wide falling bands of delicate lawn edged with fine lace came in, he wore a very small band. Fashionable shoes were wide at the toe; his were sharp.[1] Fashionable stockings were, as a rule, of any colour except black; his were black. His garters were short, and, before all, his hair was short. Even at the end of Elizabeth's reign, short hair was a mark of "Round heads."

GLOVES *TEMP.* JAMES I.

(*Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*)

Puritanism. In 1599 Jonson speaks in *Every Man Out of His Humour* of Puritans having—

> "Religion in their garments, and their hair
> Cut shorter than their eyebrows."

When "love-locks" were worn, no form of hair-dressing was to the Puritan mind more unlovely; in Prynne's eyes it was "that bush of vanity whereby the Devil leads and holds men captive." In 1641 the term "Roundhead" came in,[2] after the

[1] Fairholt, ed. Dillon, i., 308, quoting Rump songs.
[2] Clarendon, "History of the Rebellion," iv., 121.

first conflict between the Puritans and the mounted force of the Court party, who henceforth were "Cavaliers."

> "What creature's this, with his short hairs,
> His little band and huge long ears?"—

a Roundhead, whose unfashionable exposure of his ears made them seem preternaturally large. Sir P. Warwick, describing Cromwell's appearance in 1640, says:—

> "His linen was plain, and not very clean; there were specks of blood on his little band, not much larger than his collar; his hat had no hat-band, and his sword stuck close to his side,"

instead of swinging in the fashionable sash. Cromwell's hair, however, was not close-cropped.

Though the Puritans did not approve of delicate or starched linen, they allowed their shirts to be embroidered with texts—

> "She is a Puritan at her needle too;
> She works religious petticoats."

The dramatists were never tired of making fun of the Puritan women, whose trades were often those created by the very fashions they condemned. They were feather-makers, tire-women and starchers, bugle-makers, French-fashioners, and confect-makers. Randolph makes a member of the "sanctified fraternity," Mrs. Flowerdale, appear on the stage carrying feathers, pins, and looking-glasses to sell in the play-house, and the words put into her mouth are—

> "See, brother, how the wicked throng and crowd
> To works of vanity! Not a nook or corner
> In all this house of sin, this cave of filthiness,
> This den of spiritual thieves, but it is stuffed,
> Stuffed, and stuffed full, as is a cushion,
> Of the lewd reprobate!"

Royalists and Puritans.

Though the strength of the Puritan party lay chiefly in the middle classes, it included men and women of all ranks; and the eccentricities of dress and manners adopted by zealots, though strictly characteristic of the party attitude, were not adopted by all its members. Men like Francis, Duke of Bedford; his son-in-law, Greville, Lord Brooke; the Earl of Essex; the Earl of Warwick—all members of the Puritan party;

and moderates like Lord and Lady Falkland, were less concerned with those accessory opinions which Puritanism drew to itself by a kind of elective affinity than with Puritanism as a political creed. The moderates of both parties lived generally in the country, in retirement, and did not attempt to influence any but the family circle. If Puritan, they were not all

COSTUME OF A LADY AND A CHILD (MS. Add. 32,496).

"Scandalised at toys,
As babies, hobby-horses, puppet-plays";[1]

if Royalist, they did not all dress like Buckingham, or behave like the George Gorings, father and son. It was, however, the conduct of people of that type that drove a girl like Arabella Stuart to call herself a Puritan.[2]

[1] Ben Jonson, "Bartholomew Fair," 1614.
[2] E. T. Bradley, "Arabella Stuart," i., 137.

More truly typical of the leading men among the courtiers was such a man as William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, husband of Mary Sidney—cultivated, accomplished, possessed of the tact which comes of good breeding, rich enough to live without the favour of favourites, willing to serve the Court, but under no obligations to it, a patron of letters not merely for fashion's sake; but withal "not without some alloy of vice," over indulgent in pleasure, and wanting in moral dignity.[1]

To speak only of the attitude of extremists in a social struggle is to caricature the history of social life. Nevertheless, it is true that the social, like the political, history of the reigns of James I. and Charles I. is the history of a struggle between opposing parties, a struggle so deadly that there could be no compromise. There was no hope that the one party could slowly influence the other, each taking of the other's best; it was war to the knife. The non-combatants no doubt exceeded the combatants, as is usual in all times of strife; but it is the nature of the combat that gives the social life of the early Stuarts its peculiar character.

From the time of James's accession the struggle had got beyond mere literary warfare. No spirited indictment of the times such as Harrison and Stubbes penned under Elizabeth came from the Stuart Puritans. The work of Prynne and of George Wither cannot compare with theirs in human interest.

That "illiterate, morose, melancholy, discontented, crazed sort of men," the precisians or Puritans, against whom "every drunkard belched forth profane scoffs, as finding it the most gameful way of fooling," could no longer find vent for their feelings in speech or writing. They took refuge in sullen silence; and in this silence lay a portent ominous of the approach of civil war.

JAMES COLVILLE. Scotland, 1584-1642.

All the world has heard of the Five Members, Hampden and the Pilgrim Fathers, whereas few but the well informed are familiar with the long-suffering and the resolution of Knox, Andrew Melville, and the Covenanters, or appreciate the struggle they maintained. Yet Macaulay has told us that the great constitutional victory of the seventeenth century was first

[1] *See* Clarendon, "History," i., 123.

Brass of R. Glanfield and Wife, 1637, Hadleigh, Suffolk.

Brasses of R. Gadburye, his Daughter, and his Wife, 1624, Eyworth, Beds.

MIDDLE-CLASS COSTUME UNDER CHARLES I.

The Church Question, 1584–1625.

assured in Scotland. The attempt of the Stuart kings to thwart the religious sentiment of the nation was maintained over four reigns. It began with the manhood of James VI. The favourite Arran, humouring to the full the young king's views as to the royal prerogative, was astute enough to see that the power of the Kirk must be humbled. Andrew Melville, the intrepid successor of Knox, was the first object of attack; but he escaped to Berwick; and under the influence of this blow the Black Acts were passed (1584). Events changed complexion rapidly, however; and, with the fall of Arran the Kirk regained lost ground. The Second Book of Discipline, the charter of Presbyterianism, was ratified by Parliament in 1592. The reformers maintained a watchful attitude, and protested against a new attempt to introduce Prelacy. A speaker reminded the Dundee Assembly (1598), *à propos* of this attempt, how Ulysses craftily introduced the wooden horse. "Busk him as bonnily as ye can, we see the horns o' his mitre," exclaimed a protesting voice, and the proposal was dropped. The premature disclosure of the "Basilicon Doron" (1600), the king's lessons to his son on the mystery of kingcraft according to Divine right, showed the set of the current.

Church and King.

The accession of James VI. to the English throne gave a new and powerful development to the royal prerogative in Scotland. There was nothing equivalent to the House of Commons, for the old feudal Parliament was rarely called. The king governed through his favourite, the Chancellor Dunbar, the minuteness and firmness of whose rule are conspicuous in the Privy Council Registers for the period. The upholder of popular rights was the Kirk. Based on the democratic system of Geneva, it was governed through its General Assembly, whose members included not only clergymen, but also lay representatives of the burgher and landlord classes. The king never had any love for this stiff-necked body, for here civil and spiritual came into conflict, and the independence claimed for the one was held to limit the prerogative of the other. The obsequious Parliament of 1606 declared the royal prerogative paramount, and restored the bishops. The nobles, indeed, looked askance on these proud rivals, but in spite of that they secured Consistory and High Commission Courts as well as genuine Apostolic ordination. The dauntless Andrew

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

Melville was summoned to London, imprisoned for four years in the Tower, and then exiled to France, where he died a professor at Sedan. Finally the Parliament of 1612 repealed the charter of 1592. The king now called an Assembly when and where he pleased.

The Church service was, in spite of these changes in Church polity, but little affected. A new force now intervenes in the person of Laud. As the king fought for the prerogative, **Laud.**

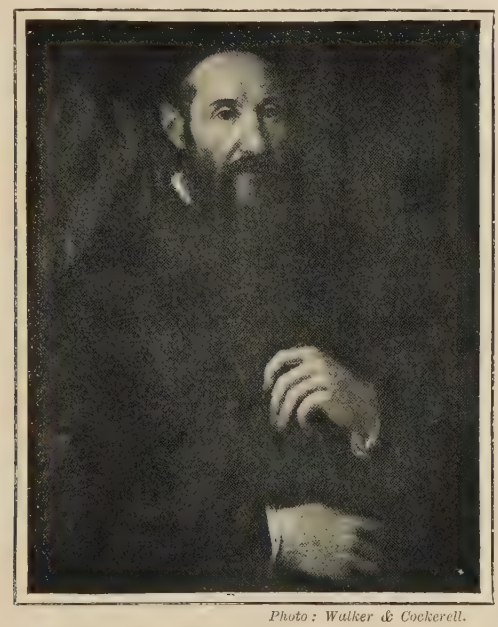


Photo: Walker & Cockerell.
JOHN KNOX.
(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

supported by Prelacy, the archbishop panted after the phantom of uniformity enlightened by patristic theology and "the beauty of holiness." He had early fastened his gaze on the Kirk of the Scots, with its—to him—bald and unseemly ritual; but the king warned him, telling him how "he little kenned the stomach of that people." To no purpose; he began a course destined to culminate in St. Giles's Riots, the National Covenant, the Bishops' War, and ultimately the ruin of himself and his master, Charles I.

The King's Visit, 1617.

Laud set himself at once to revive the festivals as the first instalment of a Church service. The antipathy to these was but a phase of the deep-rooted aversion to Romanism; and with this was conjoined a horror of witchcraft. The clergy, to divert them from the main attack, were indulged to the top of their bent in a crusade against "papistry" and witches. The old faith yet lingered in the fastnesses of feudalism—Galloway in the south-west and the Gordon country in Aberdeenshire. Aberdeen was fast becoming the Oxford of Scotland in the struggle. Its doctors were famous Latinists and upholders of "passive obedience." Here an Assembly had met in 1616, ostensibly to root out "papistry," but in reality to pave the way for a liturgy and the king's visit. Though he had parted from his loving people (1603) with tears in his eyes and protestations of an affection that would bring him back at least once a year, the king had been compelled, from chronic impecuniosity, to resist the salmon-instinct till now (1617). The king's ideal of "a grave, settled, well-ordered Kirk, in obedience of God and the king," was, however, slow in being realised. Still hoping to render his measures popular, the king sanctioned an Assembly to be held at Perth (1618). Here the famous Five Articles were drawn up. Forty-five clergymen protested against this introduction of ritualism. Three years later a Parliament was called, which ratified the obnoxious articles. Ominously impressive was the close of this eventful Parliament. A fearful thunderstorm burst over the Tolbooth. As the Royal Commissioner touched the Acts with the sceptre for confirmation, vivid flashes of lightning illuminated the solemn scene; the meeting broke up in terror and confusion; huge hailstones and torrents of rain cleared the streets; great floods and widespread scarcity followed. The day was long remembered as "Black Saturday."

The Five Articles of Perth.

The Church Question, 1625–1642.

Laud's untiring efforts to effect uniformity between the two kingdoms, while running counter to sentiments that had so long kept them apart, were yet destined to effect a union of heart and purpose in forcing on the constitutional crisis. The story has the unity and varied interest of a romance. The dramatic contrasts of the situation are marked by the two visits of the king, first in 1633, when he was glorying in the pride of assured success, and again in 1641, amid a growing sense of humiliation

and ultimate defeat. The interval is filled with such stirring *coups* as the St. Giles's Riots (1637), the National Covenant (1638), and the triumph of "the little old crooked soldier" on Duns Law (1639). Laud was the notable figure in the king's train. He left with the conviction that he had at last humbled

THE DOOR OF THE OLD TOLBOOTH.

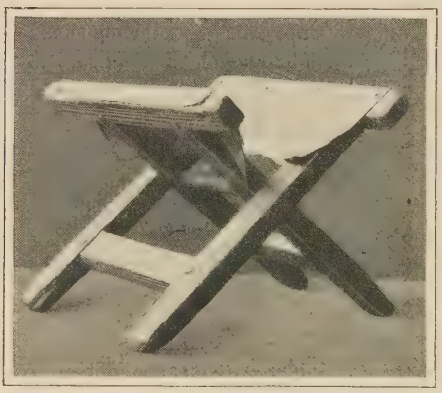
(*At Abbotsford. By permission of the Hon. Mrs. Maxwell Scott.*)

the stomach of the people. "There needed only a liturgy to erect a well-ordered Church on the grave of Presbytery." But prelacy after Laud's visit developed on intolerable lines. "The Moderators [bishops in all but name] and the Consistory Courts," writes Baillie, "are able for a few words to put the brethren from their ministry, yea, cast them in the straitest prisons." The nonconforming remnant were cowed, while hirelings were flocking

to follow the new order. The colleges and schools were being filled up with teachers favourable to Laud.

The Great Upheaval.

Two of the bishops prepared a Service Book, which was revised by Laud so as to make it approach near to Romish practice, even restoring the confessional and prayers for the dead. A Book of Canons (1636) was issued, enjoining obedience to a liturgy not yet seen, and all this merely by a missive letter from the king to the Council, "as if," says Baillie, "Scotland were a pendicle of the diocese of York." At length came the scene at the reading of the new book in the transept of St. Giles', July 23, 1637. The magistrates were in terror of Laud. The functions of government were suspended, for the officers of State were powerless. The bishops fled, and the king had no resources available but arrogance and obstinacy. The Tables, a standing Committee of Safety, assumed a watchful attitude under such leaders as the Lords Loudoun, Rothes, and Balmerino, the clergyman Alexander Henderson, and the lawyer Johnstone of Warriston. These were the Eliots, Seldens, and Pyms of the time. Their master-stroke was one hard night's work in reviving the Covenant of 1580. The fervid eloquence of Loudoun, the Mirabeau of the situation, set agoing the wholesale signing of the precious document. Well might Archbishop Spottiswood exclaim, "Now all we have been doing these thirty years by past is at once thrown down." November came, and with it the memorable General Assembly at Glasgow (1638), so anxiously looked forward to by both parties. The vast nave of the cathedral must have been a moving sight during that session of a month's duration, so vividly sketched by Baillie in all its varying moods of high-strung feeling. Prelacy is tried on grounds of policy, doctrine, and morals, and on all three con-



JENNY GEDDES'S STOOL.
(*National Museum of Scottish Antiquities, Edinburgh.*)

demned. "As for the Primate" [Spottiswood], writes Baillie, "his train and house have ever been naughty exceedingly. Orkney has been a curler on the ice on Sabbath. Forrester at Melrose made a peat-wagon of the old communion-table. *This monster was justly condemned.* The last day the nail was called (driven) to the head." More romantic is the story of the Bishops' War that followed (p. 20), culminating in the triumph of the Covenanting army on the banks of the Tweed. An English soldier is reported to have said, "The bishops are discharged, not by canon law, nor by civil law, but by Duns Law" (1639). Then swiftly followed a free Assembly, a reforming Parliament, the march of the Blue Bonnets over the Border (1640), and the visit of the humbled king (1641), brought to a hurried close by the ominous report of rebellion in Ireland.

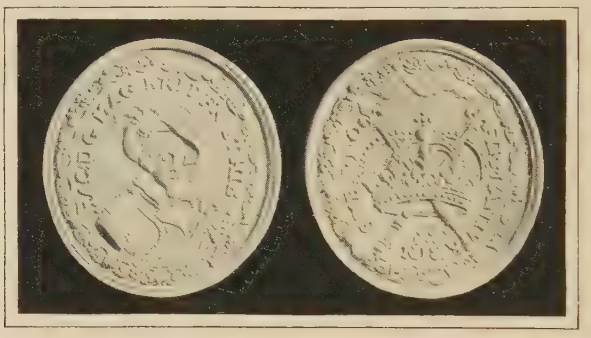
The Union.

King James had not been without an honest desire to benefit his native country by the Union. His scheme of an "Incorporating Union" would have anticipated that of 1707. But the Scots saw in it the threat of organic changes in the Church system that had been nursed amid so much toil and trial. Equally distasteful was it to the English, to whom it portended a levelling up between the two kingdoms at their expense. Englishmen troubled themselves as little as did Imperial Romans to understand strange neighbours. Satirists in plays and pasquils gave warning of an influx from the North of what was deemed only a beggarly, thieving race. "Bonny Scot, England hath made thee a gentleman," said a popular pasquil, going on to note his rise in fortune. All that came of James's proposal was his use of the title "King of Great Britain," and the combination of the St. George and St. Andrew flags in the Union Jack. Pleasing to him must have been the verbal pleasantry that discovered in the name Albion *all-be-one*. But for long the change affected only the greater nobles, who lost lustre at home, and incurred heavier expenses by their greater distance from the Court.

Social Order

The effects of the Union on law and order were slow in declaring themselves. The king, indeed, in a speech at Whitehall (1607), boasted of the contrast between the troublesome Commons and his submissive Scottish Parliament. "Here I sit," said he, "and govern Scotland with my pen. I write and it is done, and by a clerk of the Council I govern Scotland now, which others could not do by the sword. There they must not speak without

the Chancellor's leave; seditious and uncomely speeches are straight silenced by him. No man can speak of any matter not first allowed by me. If in any law there be anything I dislike they rase it out." But this did not cover the distribution of even-handed justice. Blood feuds still disgraced the streets of the capital as well as the Border dales. The "backing of parties" at the bar was forbidden, but to little purpose. A judge was kidnapped and kept out of sight while a cause was pending. In the Court of Session the bench of fifteen judges in their velvet robes was imposing, but in the inferior courts Brereton, an English visitor, observed the greatest rudeness and disorder, two or three pleading together. Parliament House was a place of as



MEDAL OF THE UNION OF THE ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH CROWNS.

much resort and traffic as old Westminster Hall. Serious crime, however, apart from private revenge, was rare, according to Brereton who says: "Travelling out of the Borders and towards the north-east is safer than in England, and much civiller be they, and plainer English, yea, better than at Edinburgh." [1]

The Country.

To this age belong the fine houses that still adorn the best settled districts, begirt with gardens, parks, and noble trees, such as Seton, in East Lothian, "Wintoun's dainty seat on the sea," as Brereton calls it, where the third earl entertained James I. and

[1] Hector Boece remarked this peculiarity of the primitive Celts. "They that spekis with auld toung of that cuntre [the Highlands] hes thair asperation, diptongis and pronunciation better than any other pepill." The superior English of Gaelic-speaking people is notable to this day among the educated. Dr. Johnson observed it at Inverness, and was credulous enough to repeat the old fiction of its having been due to the presence of Cromwell's soldiers, save the mark!

SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

Pitreavie Castle, Fifeshire.

Wintoun House, Haddingtonshire.

Craigston Castle, Aberdeenshire. *Photo: G. Milne, Turriff.*

Glamis Castle, Forfarshire. *Photo: W. Mayor, Forfar.*

TYPICAL SCOTTISH CASTLES.

Charles I. In its gardens were apple, walnut, sycamore, and other fruit trees, all growing well. The Earl of Lauderdale, not far off, writes to the Laird of Glenorchy (1637) begging a gift of fir-seed that he may cause his "awin gardiners winn it." In 1629 one of the Lowther family was travelling in Scotland, and his journal has lately been published (1893) among the Lonsdale Papers by the Historical MSS. Commission. He was entertained at the house of a borderer, Sir James Pringle of Galashiels, "one of the best *husbands* and planters. He hath a very pretty park with many natural walks; ponds and arbours are now making, with neat gardens and orchards. He has abundance of trees bearing a black cherry (geans), sycamores, and firs." Brereton (1636), travelling between Edinburgh and Glasgow, finds near Kirkintilloch a stately wood belonging to the great house of Fleming (Earls of Wigton). But there is little or no timber in the south and west, much less than in England. The country is poor and barren, "save where *helped by lime and seaweed* [note of an early improving husbandry]. A barren poor country extends from Glasgow to Irvine, much punished with drought." The fame of the Ulster plantations (1608) was still keeping up quite a mania for emigrating. Brereton was told that, in the last two years, ten thousand had shipped at Irvine for Ireland, chiefly from the country between Aberdeen and Inverness.

Town Life. Edinburgh in the war with Prelacy played the part of Puritan London in the great contemporary struggle. Brereton found the paving of the High Street worthy of praise, the kennels on both sides good, the pavement the fairest and largest to go on, though the usual promenade was the causeway, and crowded like a fair. But baxters and brewsters still kept stacks of furze and heather in the very heart of the city, while many of the side alleys were blocked with the goods of butchers and candlemakers. No one dared to walk after dark without his sword and lantern in the gloomy burrows leading off the main street. Here, as in provincial towns, the drummer announced the hours of rising and retiring (4 a.m. and 8 p.m.). The Canongate was now the place for fine mansions, "fairer," says Taylor, the Water Poet, "than the buildings in the High Street, for there the traders and merchants dwell." Brereton also admires "the houses of squared stone faced with boards. There are few or no glass windows, but the lining of boards has round holes shaped to men's heads.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

These timber fronts encroach about two yards into the street." Provincial burghs are still small. Perth has a population of 9,000, Aberdeen and Paisley under 3,000. Greenock was but a single row of fishermen's huts. Dunfermline in 1624 had 120 houses and 287 families. Glasgow was already well built and prosperous, but not so large as Perth. Baillie felt proud of the part it played when the famous General Assembly was held here (1638), being glad to see such order and large provision above all men's expectations. Brereton admired its Tolbooth at the Cross,

MORAY HOUSE, EDINBURGH.

very fair and lofty, with a leaded flat roof affording a fine view. Its annual revenues reached £1,000. Lowther gives an interesting account of Selkirk, with the Tolbooth as handsomely tiled as the London Royal Exchange, and its church, where the great Buccleuch sat highest in his own private gallery.

Church Life.

Scotland, all through the seventeenth century, was so thoroughly permeated by religious ideas, and questions of faith and practice so entirely controlled public and private opinion, that one obtains through the study of Church life the best insight into the social condition of the people. The striking revulsion

of feeling that marked the parting with the past at the Reformation affected, in the first instance, the sanctity of the church building and precincts, and contributed to that decline of ecclesiastical architecture, and that contempt for consecrated places and things which so shocked Laud during his visit (1633).

THE TRON STEEPLE, GLASGOW.

When the Book of Canons (1636) enjoined that the house of God be in no ways profaned, nay, nor the churchyard, "Ergo," concluded the historian, Row, "the bishops would have the place held holy"—a doctrine evidently considered monstrous. The barons, who had seized the temporalities of the old Church, were well content with this state of feeling, and left the upkeep of sacred fabrics to the ministers and people. The Kirk has been blamed for the vandalism that allowed the sacred edifices to go to ruin—among the worst vandals Scotland ever saw were the English Hertford and Oliver Cromwell—but the means to maintain them had passed out of the Kirk's keeping. They were practically useless, too, as not falling in with reformed practice. Some burghs had a genuine desire for ecclesiastical decency. Perth Kirk Session instructed (1586) the minister to leave his *ordinary* text (p. 251) and treat some portion of Scripture meet to move the hearts of the people, and especially the magistrates, to the reparation of the Church in all decent and honest form.

Church Precincts.

The neglect of graveyards was still a reproach. The want of taste characteristic of the age was nowhere more conspicuous than in the treatment of the dead. Churchyards were not only as a rule unfenced, but they were the village greens. Kirk and market were close together. The blame lies at the door of the

system of land tenure. Few village-greens, commons, or open spaces are of old date, for the landowners were ungenerous, and the mass of householders mere tenants-at-will. The church shared in the treatment of the churchyard, for the chancel or holy of holies was used as the village schoolroom. Thus the landlords were saved the expense both of schoolroom and playground. In the fine old church of Leuchars, where Alexander Henderson, joint-author of the National Covenant, was minister, the chancel was used merely as a tool-house, and its lovely Norman arch built up and completely hid from view till recent years. As if to make the people forget the Creed, the pulpit was placed against the south wall. Where the rough stone slates of the district were used for roofing, they were laid over a layer of moss. Rural churches were usually long, narrow, and dimly lighted, so that each worshipper was wont to bring his candle to winter service. Such windows as existed seldom had glass, for glazed houses were a rarity everywhere. The area of the church was generally left unseated. Folding stools and cushions were used by many weak or ostentatious members. Among the expenses of the great Montrose when a student at Glasgow is an item for a velvet cushion for church. When pews were put in, they were let for behoof of the poor. In early days they were reserved for the great. In 1603 an attempt of the town-clerk of Stirling to put up a movable desk for his wife before the Countess of Argyll's seat was forbidden as presumptuous. Every big laird built an aisle for himself in the form of a gallery, with the family vault beneath, and having a separate entrance. In burghs the craftsmen formed galleries for themselves, as of old they endowed altars for the patron saint. Women sat by themselves on folding stools, generally in front of the men. They greatly exercised the pastors. Many forbade them to sit in time of sermon with plaids drawn over the head, this being a cloak to their sleeping.

Church Interiors.

The policy of James, and still more that of Charles, under the guidance of Laud, drove Scotland as far as possible from Romanist and Lutheran practice alike. Originally the Reformers were more busied with polity than ritual. For long a liturgy had been used and a psalm-book with the order therein for prayers, marriages, and communion. This, known as Knox's Liturgy, continued in more or less general use till 1637. There

Church Services.

gradually grew up, however, a fanatical dread of *papistry* and the like idolatrous practices. Brereton describes the order of worship in Edinburgh churches very fully (1636). The reader continued to be employed till 1645, when the order was sup-

LAIRD'S GALLERY FROM OLD PITSLIGO CHURCH, ABERDEENSHIRE.

pressed. He had often to appear in his desk as early as seven o'clock; and again, he had to do duty from the close of afternoon service till six. The minister entered the pulpit at ten. In rural districts the reader was often clergyman, school-master, clerk and leader of psalmody. The strong point of the service was

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

the preaching. This was called the Ordinary, the reader's part the Exercise. Skipping or *divagation* from place to place of Scripture was not approved of by authority, so that the same text lasted for months. Baillie, in London at the Westminster Assembly, was pleased to hear two English preachers adopt the Scotch style, "laying well about them and charging public and parliamentary sins strictly on the backs of the guilty." The preacher would give one turn during his sermon to his half-hour sand-glass on a week-day, but two on the Sabbath. Spalding speaks of the Covenanting agents in Aberdeen (1642) giving four hours' doctrine to "ilk sermon, and the gryte God luikin down upon their hypocritical humiliations, be all appearans not well plesit nor deulie worshippit." But Aberdeen was hostile to the Covenant.

PAINTED PANEL FROM THE SAILORS' GALLERY, CRAIL CHURCH, FIFESHIRE.

The great service of the year was the Communion. Here Laud's innovation consisted in his approach to the Mass by converting the table into an altar, and substituting kneeling for sitting, all which was extremely unpopular. The reformers in using a table had simply treated the open area of the church as a baronial hall, and introduced, for the common meal, boards on trestles. Not till 1775 was it general to communicate in fixed pews as is the custom now. Sometimes the table was literally *fenced*, as at Edinburgh in 1562, when a

PANEL AT BURNTISLAND CHURCH.

wooden pailing or *travess* [Lat. *trabes*, beams] was used "for holding furth of ye non-communicants." For Communion took the place of both Confessional and Mass, serving not only as a religious exercise but as an instrument of discipline.

Church Manners.

The demeanour of worshippers displayed an ungraceful departure from ancient ritual, showing that confusion between independence and boorishness which democratic feeling is apt to engender. The congregation sat with hats on, and eschewed kneeling and other attitudes of reverence. Latterly hats or bonnets were drawn aside or removed during prayers. Sitting throughout the service was usual. In Bishop Cowper's days (1600–25) some had the politeness to uncover, and people were allowed, even by the bishops and episcopal clergy, to do in this matter as they pleased. The beadle was charged with the regulation of behaviour, and with red staff in hand like a verger, wakened sleepers when flat book-boards were introduced. Boys sometimes ran about in sermon time, clattering and fighting. In 1621 a merchant was abused by a set of young professed knaves who cast their bonnets at him in service. Aberdeen Session wisely (1616) ordered that "bairns not of sic age that they can take themselves to a seat, but *vaig* through the kirk in sermon time, should be kept at home." An Act of Parliament (1651) went further and directed that such should be *leished* [lashed]. It was difficult in some cases to secure attendance on ordinances. Officers were ordained at Aberdeen (1603) to stand at the door and hold in or bring back "sic as removis befoir their blessing be endit except they be seik and may not endure sa lang." Andrew Cant debarred from Communion all ordinary sleepers in time of sermon, if they were strong and healthy. An Act of

PANEL SHOWING TRADE SIGNS, BURNTISLAND CHURCH.

1640 prohibited snuffing in time of sermon. Upon the whole, however, eighteenth-century writers all say that there was much greater appearance of decorous behaviour in Scotch than in English churches.

Church Discipline.

In no particular has the Kirk been so severely censured as in its rigid discipline, likened to that of the Spanish Inquisition. This arises from exaggeration or a misreading of the spirit of the times. The Kirk merely tried to render the effete discipline of the Romish Church effective, not only for edification, but for regulating morals and preserving order. In those days there was no poor-law and no police, while justice was weak and corrupt. The effect of the Presbyterian *régime* on public morals was marked. Lyndsay's "Satire" (Vol. III., p. 147) could not have been exhibited under the rule of the Kirk, for its shocking licentiousness and profanity would not have been tolerated. Kirton, perhaps, too favourably puts the case for the Kirk: "No scandalous person could live, no scandal could be concealed in all Scotland, so strict a correspondence there was betwixt ministers and congregations" (1650). A common punishment was the pillar of repentance or the *high place*, because originally in a prominent position. A delinquent once, by reason of a distemper in his head, craved permission to stand *laich* [low]. Penitents wore sackcloth. In extreme cases the punishment had to be repeated in neighbouring parishes, and this was called "circular satisfaction." It was the duty of the elders to visit in the district and keep up a correspondence, so as to checkmate habitual offenders. An hour or two in the *jougs*, or iron collar fixed to the church wall, was the punishment for brawling

SACKCLOTH GOWN OF REPENTANCE.
(*National Museum of Scottish Antiquities, Edinburgh.*)

women and slanderers. The severest punishment was exclusion from communion. The active police were the elders, and their efforts to check slander, drunkenness, and immorality—themselves, mayhap, not clean-handed—must have tended to develop in them hypocrisy and petty persecution. As far back as 1640 "two elders were ordained to go through the hamlet of Galston (Ayrshire) at ten o'clock at night, so as to advertise the minister that the hour was keipit by the taverners." Hence the expression, "elders' hours." These men were called *civilisers*.

Manners and Furniture.

It is possible to imagine these Scots of the reigns of James VI. and Charles I. in habit as they lived—dress, furniture, *plenishing*, and the refinement all these imply—from the inventories which accompany their wills. That of Lady Fairlie, for example, from North Ayrshire, shows her to have been a good specimen of the thrifty housewife of the olden time. She left a goodly store of feather and nap beds, cods and codwaris (pillow-slips), sheets and blankets, arras work, curtains with sewit ribbons, buird (table) cloths, serviettes, towels, pots (iron and brass), a dozen plates (pewter), trenchers, *a broken candlestick*, cooking and brewing utensils, a meikil auld kist, and a large stock of cattle and victuals. The spouse of Mure of Rowallan was a grand dame, leaving (1613) gorgeous articles in velvet, satin, and taffeta, riding cloaks, women saddles, silver spoons (5), two gold rings, and gold necklace. The well-to-do laird of Portincross, now a picturesque ruin perched on the rocks that overlook the Cumbraes, had (1621) a bewildering list, from tidy kye, plough naigis, queys, stirks, boats and ploughs to napery and kitchen stuff. A burgess of Dunfermline has an inventory still more curious, containing such interesting articles as a silver pyke-tooth, a pik-lug (for the ear), a timber washstand, a stretching-goose (flat-iron), a bullet for breaking coals, a hanging flowered chandelier for the hall, a broth plate, and a dozen tin plates. These inventories show an absence of furniture in the form of chairs, bedsteads, tables, and the like, as well as of earthenware, not to speak of much now deemed not only useful but necessary. Money is bequeathed generally only in the form of outstanding debts. But there is evidence of comfort and even luxury according to the standard of the time. Fortunately we have the economy of a country gentleman's household sketched to the

Wooden Cup and Ale Cup.

Sand-glass and Stand.

Tailors' Candlesticks in the shape of Roman Altars.

Spoons.

RELICS OF DAILY LIFE.

(National Museum of Scottish Antiquities, Edinburgh.)

life in the journal of young Lowther (1629). There we see Sir James Pringle's servitors, with hats on, serving the dinner, the basin before each guest to wash hands, the hosts' grace before sitting down, the *menu* of soups, meats, game, cheese, and fruit; the decorous array, after dinner, of serviettes for the beer-cup and the strong waters, the three singing-boys for the Thanks and Paternoster, and lastly the *caup of ale* as collation before bed. Beautiful, too, is the morning stirrup-cup at parting. Even at a humble bailiff's, near Langham, he finds good cheer —mutton and fowls, girdle-cakes, wheatbread and ale. No wonder Mark Napier, after showing at length, from family papers, the domestic life of the great Montrose, in his youth, is severe on Macaulay's statement that the Scottish gentlemen of the Union dressed, fed, and were housed in the manner of the Icelanders in his day.

Discussion was carried on amid coarse, bitter, and vulgar words. The rabble of the towns must have been schooled into rough manners by the sights of the time, the jougs and the cuk-stool, the ducking of scolds, the branding and burning of witches. The case of Stercorius, a Pole, was a hard one. After a visit to Scotland, where he appeared in national costume, and met with a rough reception, he published a "Legend of Reproaches" against the nation. It was declared to be an infamous book, and the king, hearing of it, took pains to have the author prosecuted and beheaded in Danzig for the insult. James was relentless towards satirists. Even good Robert Baillie was moved to adverse criticism of native manners by the behaviour of the crowds that blocked the way all up the High Street of Glasgow, even to the door of the Cathedral, when the Assembly sat there in 1638. Brereton's description of the Edinburgh populace is not unfavourable, considering the time. "The people," he says, "are slothful. They fetch water only every second day; at best it is bad enough. (The city not long afterwards brought in the first instalment of a gravitation supply.) . . . The nobler sort are brave, well bred, and much reformed of late. The greatest part of the people are very honest and zealously religious, few drink or swear. Their sluttishness and nastiness, however, are very bad. Their pewter vessels are never scoured for fear of wearing the metal." The sanitation was horrifying.

Travellers found little that was peculiar to note in the dress,

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

A SCOTCHWOMAN.
(*By W. Hollar.*)

Dress

at least, of the better classes. The attire of peasants was distinctive, down to the age of Burns. They wore a vest of *plaiden* [coarse woollen], close-buttoned, and having skirts falling upon the thighs and secured at the waist by a belt of leather, for braces only came in with the nineteenth century. The breeches buttoned at the knee over hose of grey plaiden. Over all was a capacious coat of black and white wool, having large buttons coarsely formed on wooden moulds and covered with cloth. The necktie or overlay was a square *twilling* of coarse yarn, carried twice round the neck and then buttoned to the vest. The bonnet was of wool, and generally blue in colour. The better class of peasants wore linen shirts; in upland districts they were of coarse wool, and changed not oftener than four times a year. In the Highlands gentlemen had no such distinctive dress as they are now credited with; for family tartans, plumed bonnets, philabegs, and brooches, are all comparatively modern creations. In the Cawdor Papers tartan plaids occur, but they mean blankets for night coverings. Tartan was made and worn all over the country, but style and pattern were not objects of interest. Taylor, at a great hunting on the Braes of Mar (1618), witnessed all the rough dress, equipment, and manners of a fast vanishing feudalism.

THE BONNIE SCOT IN ENGLAND.
(*Roxburghe Ballad.*)

The Kirk laid a heavy hand on popular merriment in the matter of Holy days, frowning down all but the Sabbath and

Sports.

the week-day preachings. James VI. tried to counteract this by publishing the "Book of Sports" (1618). It was part of the episcopal policy to encourage such diversions, to the great scandal of their rivals; hence Calderwood, the historian, tells how, when Bishop Cowper was near his end (1619), he was on Leith Links at his pastime of golf, and was terrified with a vision. *Shortly after he died.* Cards and dice brought an indelible stain on the players, who were abhorred and shunned for using the devil's prayer-book and beads. Horse-racing was too old a favourite for the clergy to stamp out, and it held its ground all through on Leith Links and at Paisley. The household expenses of the great Montrose, when a student at St. Andrews, depict the gay life of a baron's son. He is constantly careering up and down the country on horseback, incurring liberal charges for shoeing horses, for setting them up with ale after fatigue, for sport at the butts, and especially for golf clubs and balls to play with at Leith or St. Andrews or Montrose. His father seems to have been an inveterate smoker. His expenditure on pipes and tobacco is excessive. Hawking was also a favourite with the young marquis, and most dainty attentions do his hawks receive. A characteristic letter of the king's, dictated by his love of falconry, is that to Fraser of Philorth. James has heard that Fraser has the best hawk in all the country, and, "seeing hawks are but giftin gear, and nae otherwise to be accounted betwix us and you, being sae well acquainted," he asks that the bearer be allowed to bring away the bird with him.

Superstition.

The raid upon those poor crazy creatures, or designing quacks, the witches and wizards, was ever popular. Their trials form a gloomy but characteristic page in the darker annals of superstition in Scotland. At this time these were in full swing, and the hunt for papists and witches was always encouraged by the Government so as to divert attention from the insidious setting-up of Prelacy. But not only did such medieval superstitions survive; even relics of paganism were not unknown, such as the "Goodman's Croft" (a euphemism for the Evil One). This was a breadth of land at the end of the field that was left untilled, and even for a century later was known in Buchan as the "Heclie Man's Rig." "The Flyting" of Montgomerie is rich in such relics with its wraiths [spectral

appearances to the *fey* or doomed to die], bogles [freakish goblins], brownies [kindly spirits], kelpies [water-sprites], gyr-carlins [witches], and hell-hounds.

Culture.

While the age was of infinite importance in shaping national character, it was not favourable to culture. The Kirk unconsciously seconded the efforts of King James as "schoolmaster of the nation" in his peculiar fashion. In pure literature the period was barren, save for such mediocrities as Aytoun, Alexander, Montgomerie, and even Drummond, though he has secured a wider reputation. With the exception of Montgomerie, a second-rate Dunbar, these all avoided the vernacular, and buried their art in a feeble endeavour to imitate the Southrons. In prose the Church historians worthily follow in the steps of Buchanan, Knox, and Melville. If we may judge by Baillie, the rural clergy took a keen interest in public news. From his cousin Spang, in Campvere, he receives *Courants*, and the *Mercurie François* of Amsterdam and Paris. He wishes the books sent to him, too, to be in leather, and failing that, in parchment, "rather than be fashed [bothered] and extortioned with James Sanders in Glasgow," whose binding had been displeasing.

The Universities.

The Universities suffered from the noisy polemics of the time and the intriguing churchmen. No wonder Boyd, Principal at Glasgow, longed (1623) to retire to a country charge, wearied of being "angreit wi bairns." Brereton found an attempt being made to go on with the new Pedagogium, and give the College of Glasgow at last a local habitation. This building was not erected till 1656. "The library," says Brereton, as he saw it, "is not twice so long as my old closet. They have four regents, a principal, and 120 students." In Aberdeen the doctors were Latinists of European repute, but hopelessly prelatic. A visitation in 1618 had found its affairs verging on ruin through neglect or dishonesty, but Bishop Patrick Forbes effected a sweeping reform. Here we have the first hint that it is the age of Harvey and his great discovery. In 1636 Gordon, Professor of Anatomy, hitherto compelled to illustrate his lectures by dissecting beasts, secures from the Privy Council a warrant allowing him the corpses of a couple of malefactors, or, failing that, of friendless poor. Another note of progress is Robert Gordon's aid in producing and contributing to Blaeu's

Atlas (1637–54). His son, of Rothiemay, did good topographical work, and was among the first to study drawing.

Schools.

This period witnessed an attempt (1616) to set up country schools, and make Knox's much-belauded plan more than the paper scheme it ever was. But little or nothing was really done, and the parochial school system remained till the present century a starved and imperfect sham. A few burgh schools formed the only institutions worthy of the name, and of one of these (Montrose) James Melville has given a very interesting account. Baillie tells how he was engaged (1614) to be assistant to the aged and decayed schoolmaster of Glasgow, who had under him above three hundred children. Baillie graduated that year, and after two sessions as usher he was made a regent in the college. At Kilwinning he did his best to get the laird (Eglinton) to support a school, but the master's pittance of twenty marks was allowed to remain three years unpaid. Catechising by the reader was still almost the only form of rural education. The barons' sons had tutors, who, as in the case of Montrose, accompanied them to the university town and there guided their studies. Thereafter they generally went abroad for a time. To this liberal provision of tutoring, and not to school or university training, did the learned Scots of old owe the greatness they were able to achieve. The Cawdor Papers show what was done for female education. The girls of the family went to Mistress Campbell's school at Edinburgh. Mistress Margaret (unmarried ladies would then have scorned to be called Miss) learned the viol da gamba, the virginals, and the harpsichord. She worked a cabinet for her father with the needle, and learned to make pastry. Music, French, and dancing were taught by masters. Her ladyship of Cawdor concerned herself with housekeeping, read devotional books of the Puritan type, and followed the old custom of signing her letters with her maiden name, H. Stewart. Baillie addresses his wife as "My Heart," and uses the homely *thou*.

Wealth and Poverty.

From the frequent allusion to broken men we see that capital was limited and credit hampered. The treatment of the *dyvour* (debtor) must have been dictated by the traditions of the old Church. Beside the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh stood the Dyvours' Stane, where, under pain of three months' imprisonment, they had to appear from ten o'clock till an hour

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

after dinner, clad in the hated colour of the medieval Jew—a yellow bonnet, and a coat one half yellow and the other half brown. Beggars abounded, and in the absence of a poor-law,

SECTION OF A MAP OF SCOTLAND FROM BLAEU'S ATLAS.

lunatic asylums, hospitals, and habitable jails, the loathsome sights and rude importunities must have made the streets intensely disagreeable. The poor congregated at every church door and appealed to the charitable. A beautiful picture of

benevolence is that of the testament of Robert Boyd of Cumbernauld, a cadet of the great house of Kilmarnock, who died in 1611. He requests his executors, the Earl of Abercorn and the Principal of Glasgow University, "to protect his poor tenants and servitors untroublit, to keep them in thair richt, and get them it that pertains to them." He directs that he be buried in the old fashion. "Friends that come to my convoy are to be honestly treated as becomes." His special servants are to get suits of *duill* [Fr. *deuil*] gowns, and twelve poor followers the same with hose and shoes. He would die at peace, so he orders to be reponed to a neighbour what he got from him "wrongful quhilk my conscience is burdenit with," and to another a sum owing for "rang that I thocht I did to him." Other charitable provisions follow, all kindly and thoughtful, and socially of great interest. The king's bedesmen, in number as the years of his age, wore a blue cloak with pewter badge. Cloaks and wallets, containing Scotch shillings, were given out to them on the king's birthday beside the Lucken-booths in Edinburgh. One merchant — Sir William Dick—was quite a prince among burgesses. He began his successful career by farming the Orkney Crown rents, traded to the Baltic and Mediterranean, and was among the first to negotiate bills of exchange with Holland. It was at his door, in High Street, opposite the main entrance to St. Giles', that Davie Deans' father saw the sacks of dollars carried off to pay the Covenanting army at Duns Law.

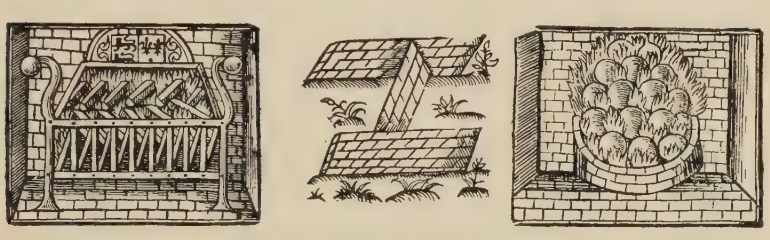
Trade and Commerce.

Neither the Union of 1603 nor that of 1707 proved so favourable to the commerce of the Scots as they ought to have done, owing to the jealousy of English trades and the fiscal regulations of Parliament. At first it was enacted that the English trade should be carried only in English vessels, which was a great blow to the growing commerce of the Scots, specially as they shared largely in the carrying trade of France. The small coast burghs were now slowly developing. James Melville tells how his parishioners of Anstruther and Kilrenny, having suffered much from pirates, fitted out (1584) a retaliatory expedition which pursued and overtook the pirate craft on the Sussex coast, whence they returned with flying colours. The Forth sailors went so far afield as to fall sometimes into the hands of the Barbary pirates. It was also one of the grievances

SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

of the Covenanters that their ships were detained over sea and their cargoes confiscated by the king's Government. As evidence that the Forth ports were now alive to the needs of navigation, a Fife laird obtained authority (1635) to erect a tower forty feet high on May Island. On this a coal fire burned all the year round over night. Berwick soon fell into decay after the Union. Brereton found (1636) in its narrow shallow harbour but one little *pink* of forty tons and a few fishing boats. The chief port was Leith, owing to the growth of the capital and the extension of the coal and salt trades. Lowther saw here (1629) one hundred and fifty sail of about two hundred tons each, which sounds like exaggeration. He thought the town fairer

Ports.



THE DEMAND FOR SCOTTISH COAL.

("*Artificial Fire*," 1644.)

than Carlisle, and admired its churches, almshouses, and new stone bridge. The oysters dredged off the port went to Newcastle and Carlisle. Taylor, the Water Poet, reports (1618) a large export trade here in grain, and import of wine. Brereton's account (1636) is less favourable: "Port not large; two neat wooden piers run up into the river, but not one ship saw I betwixt them."

Customs and Exports.

A tariff of dues was drawn up in 1612 for the guidance of the farmer of the Crown revenues at the port. In 1609 the king let for a yearly rent of 115,000 merks the whole customs, inward and outward. This tariff is of extreme interest, showing in its list of materials for manufacture, tools, and implements of husbandry and women's work, the growth of native industry, as well as evidencing, in such luxuries as drugs, surgical instruments, and even children's toys and warming-pans, a standard of living refined for the time. The export of food materials is permitted only under licence, and the restriction applies also to wool, yarn, gold, and silver. After this date there

Coal and Salt.

is evidence of an increasing export of linen-yarn, coal, salt, hides, and oats. London and Flanders fairly divide the trade. But the staples are coal and salt. Brereton found salt-pans, some larger than he saw at Shields, all along both sides of the Forth almost to Stirling. At Culross Sir George Bruce was showing uncommon enterprise in coal-working. He had sunk a unique shaft that was one of the wonders of the day. His pits were visited by the king (1617) and by Taylor (1618). The average weekly earnings of a collier and his family was five merks (5s. 6d.).

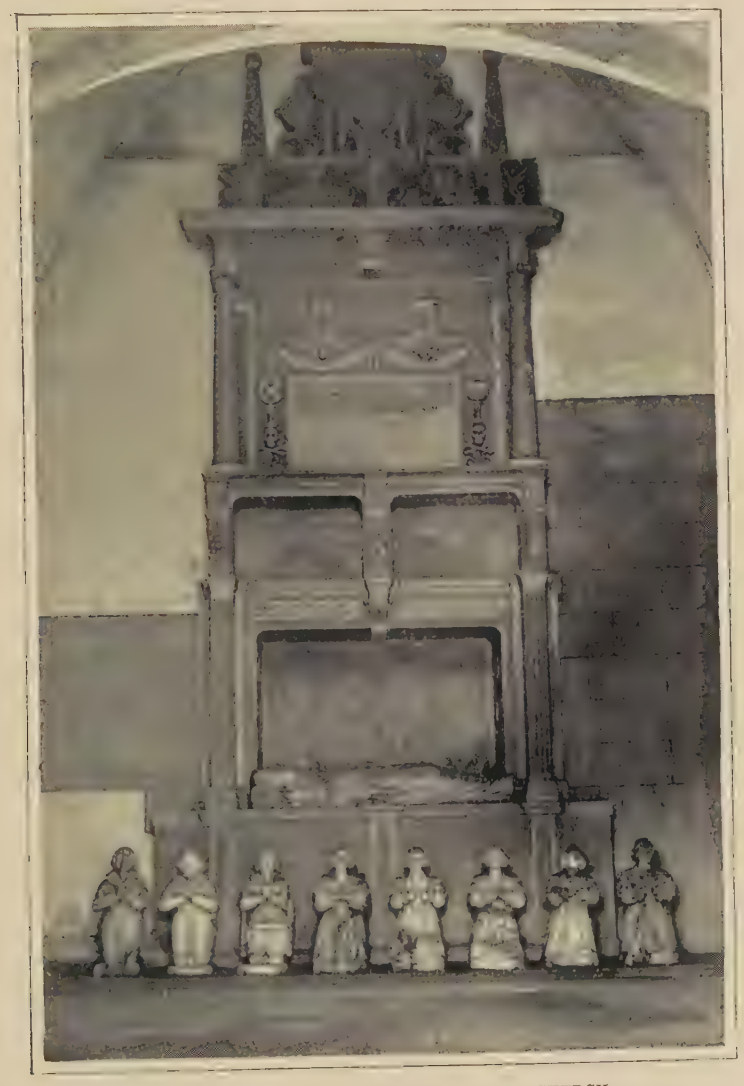
Manufacture.

The merchant guilds seriously hampered the growth of manufactures, and thwarted attempts to settle colonies of Flemings in the Canongate (1609), and of Dutch in Leith Wynd, Edinburgh (1619). Brewing on a large scale was now successfully introduced by Englishmen in the Pleasance, outside of Edinburgh, where Brereton found the vastest leads, keeves [tubs], cisterns, and combs [vats] he ever saw. A quaint illustration of the views of the Privy Council on new industries is a proclamation (1615) anent the unlawful and pernicious trade of exporting eggs. In similar terms the export of tallow is denounced. The story of the rise of glass-making (1610) at Wemyss in Fife, of chemicals by a Fleming at Musselburgh (1612), and of herring-curing and soap-making (1619), are all of much interest. The testament of a *walker* (dyer and bleacher) in Stewarton, Ayrshire (1610), gives the earliest hint of what in time became the great cloth trade of the West. The cattle trade was one of the first to be developed between the two kingdoms, mainly because transit was easy. Ultimately it reached enormous proportions, but at first was confined to Galloway and Annandale. Baillie tells of the complications caused by the Mayor of Newcastle arresting the horses bought at Maton Fair for the Scotch dealers, for it hindered all the drovers from going through England with their cattle. His own account of the trains of packhorses he passed on going up to London, of the roads, and the inns, is highly instructive.

Travel.

Visitors found a great lack of inns, and had to content themselves with lodgings in private houses. Interesting details of expenses and accommodation are furnished by Lowther and Brereton. The dangers of travelling were many from the paucity of bridges, and the frequency of dangerous fords, and

wide and stormy ferries. The Tweed at Berwick had a new bridge of fifteen arches in 1611, and this is still used; but there



TOMB OF SIR GEORGE BRUCE, CULROSS CHURCH.

was no other till Peebles was reached. Taylor, on the western road, forded the Esk and Annan on foot, while the horses were

ridden across by the boy who usually trudged along ahead, pike-staff in hand. He took the horses always back to the hirer for the stage. The Tay at Perth had a wooden bridge at a very early date, but this had long been swept off, and till the present bridge was opened (1771) the fierce river was crossed by boats. At Dumfries, Ayr, Glasgow, and Aberdeen were fine old stone bridges, and they are all in use still, except Bishop Rae's over the Clyde, removed within living memory. The arrangements at the important ferry of Portpatrick were long most rude and primitive. Horses and cattle were simply thrown into the sea and made to swim to the shore, which is here particularly wild and rocky.

Though there was abundance of material at hand, it was long before roads were made fit for wheels. Queen Anne and the young prince, left behind in 1603 at Stirling, came on to Edinburgh some time after, arriving at St. Giles' Church "weel convoyit wi' coaches, the queen and prince in her awn coach whilk cam wi her out of Denmark." They heard a good sermon and thereafter rode to Holyrood. When Laud went to Dunblane (1638), his travelling experiences perturbed the little man. He calls it "a very dangerous and cruel journey, crossing part of the Highlands by coach, *which was a wonder there.*" The new bridge at Leith (1619) had a long list of tolls, but no wheeled vehicle is mentioned. The first attempt at a public conveyance was made (1610) between Edinburgh and its port of Leith, but it did not come to much. State business during the troubles (1638) led to the establishing of a line of post-horses between the capitals. News in general came very seldom, and only by special bearer or friendly hand. Baillie writes to Spang at Campvere, the Scottish merchants' settlement in Holland, in 1637: "It was above six weeks after the coming home of our Glasgow merchants that your letters, promised with them, came to hand. It is marvellous that in all our country we should have no word from over sea, more than we have in America." Through the same channel foreign newspapers reached him.

P. W. JOYCE. Ireland and England.

JAMES I. was the first English king whom the Irish spontaneously and universally acknowledged as their lawful sovereign; for in one of his lines of descent he had come from their own ancient race of kings. They believed, too, that he was a Catholic, and that he would restore the Catholic religion, as Queen Mary

BERWICK OLD BRIDGE.

Photo: Bara, Ayr.

TWA BRIGS O' AYR.

Photo: E. Geering, Aberdeen.

BRIG O' BALGOWNIE, ABERDEEN.

SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

had done. But when they began to resume possession of their churches and celebrate Mass in them, Mountjoy—who was still deputy—promptly stopped the movement and restored the churches to the Protestant clergy. Soon afterwards the two Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity were revived; and again fines were frequently inflicted on "Recusants," as those Catholics were called who refused to attend Protestant worship.

Soon after the Battle of Kinsale, Red Hugh O'Donnell died in Spain. His brother Rory succeeded him, and was created Earl of Tirconnell by King James I., who at the same time confirmed O'Neill in his title of Earl of Tyrone. The two earls settled down on their estates as loyal subjects; but they were not permitted to live in peace. They were dogged by spies, harassed with litigation, and subjected to all sorts of annoyance and humiliation by officials and others who coveted their lands and longed for more confiscation. At last a false story of a new conspiracy was concocted, and their arrest appeared imminent. Finding it impossible to live at home in peace and safety, they took ship by night from Donegal, in 1607, and left their native country for ever, with their families and a few followers. They took up their residence in Rome, where O'Donnell died in 1608 and O'Neill in 1616.

The O'Doherty Rising.

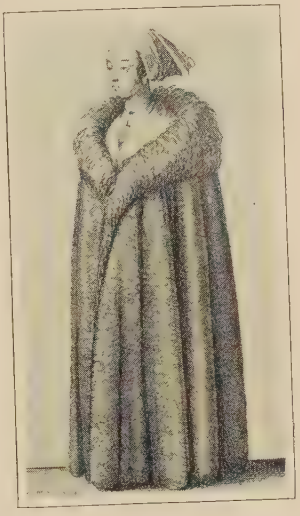
The hasty and reckless rising, in 1608, of Sir Cahir O'Doherty, the young chief of Innishowen in Donegal, was a mere outburst of private revenge. He had been on the side of the Government; but having been grossly insulted by Sir George Paulett, Governor of Derry, he suddenly rose up with his followers, took Culmore Fort by treachery and Derry by surprise, massacred the garrisons of both, and slew Paulett. Two months afterwards he was shot dead in a skirmish, and the rising at once collapsed.

Though the two Earls of Tyrone and Tirconnell had committed no unlawful act by flying from Ireland, yet nearly all the arable land of six counties of Ulster—Donegal, Derry, Tyrone, Armagh, Fermanagh, and Cavan—about three-quarters of a million English acres—was confiscated, including not only the estates of the earls, but also those of hundreds of others who had never committed any offence against the State. Immediately afterwards, in 1608, King James entered on his

1642]

favourite project of the Plantation of Ulster. A large part of the confiscated land was divided into "lots" of three different sizes —2,000, 1,500, and 1,000 acres. The 2,000-acre lots were granted to English and Scotch undertakers, who were to people them with English and Scotch Protestant tenants—no Irish. The 1,500-acre lots were given to "servitors"—those who had served the Crown in Ireland—who might take English, Scotch, or Irish tenants: undertakers and tenants to be all Protestants. The undertakers and tenants of the 1,000-acre lots might be English, Irish, or Scotch, of any religion, and the Catholics were not to be called on to take the oath of supremacy. Besides the ordinary "lots," great districts were given to London companies of merchants or tradesmen, and to certain high officials. The Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, who had the entire management of the Plantations, received for his share the whole of Innishowen, Sir Cahir O'Doherty's territory; and large tracts were set apart for religious and educational purposes—all Protestant. Only 286 of the old proprietors were provided for, who got just one-ninth of the whole escheated territory. All the rest—the great body of the native people, guiltless of any offence — were ordered to depart and provide for themselves wherever they could. But most clung to their native place and took refuge among the sterile uplands surrounding their own comfortable homes, to brood over their wrongs and supply vengeful material for the first rebellion. This was by far the most successful of all the Plantations; and in a few years a great part of the richest land of Ulster was peopled by English and Scotch settlers. To help to pay the expenses the king created the new order of "baronet." Each recipient of this honour had to pay, in instalments, altogether about £1,095, which went to the support of the soldiers in Ulster.

The Plantation of Ulster.



AN IRISHWOMAN.
(*By W. Hollar.*)

Photo: A. Ayton, Londonderry.

GREENCASTLE, CO. DONEGAL.

The Parliament of 1613.

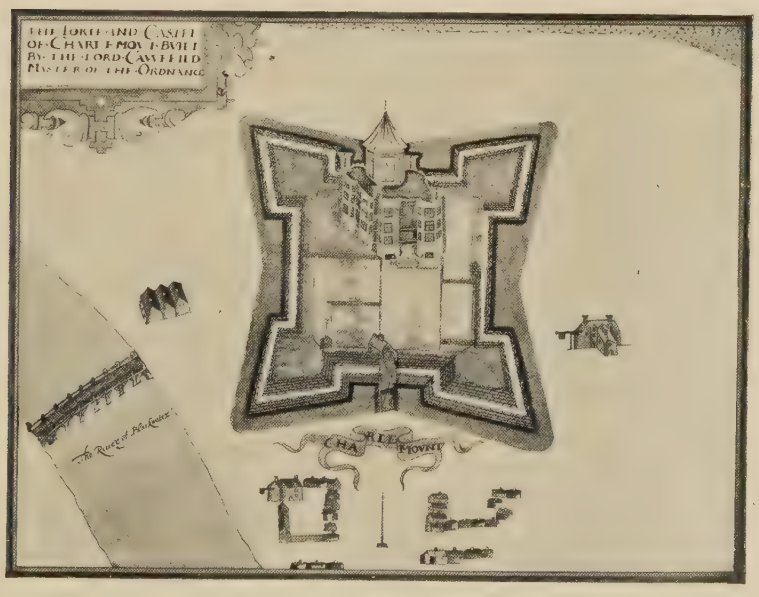
Sir Arthur Chichester now resolved to summon a Parliament —the first for twenty-seven years. But he first took steps—under the king's authority — to secure a Protestant majority by creating forty new boroughs, each to send two members, and nearly all among the Ulster settlers. Most of these were spurious—mere hamlets with a dozen electors, or less. This unconstitutional proceeding had serious ultimate consequences. The plan was in the first instance projected for use against the Catholics; but in subsequent times, long after the whole Catholic representation had been swept away by the penal laws, these sham boroughs remained, an unreformed aid to corruption; for so long as they continued to exist, the Government, by cheap bribery, could—and often did—make use of them to secure a majority. They were extinguished at the Union in 1800. When Parliament met, in 1613, scenes of great violence occurred; for though the "recusant" or Catholic party were in a minority, they were still very strong, and vehemently insisted on their rights. After they had forced the Government to correct some of the grossest of the election abuses, matters went on quietly. Large sums were voted to the king, who was always in money difficulties; the Earls of Tyrone and Tirconnell were most unjustly attainted (in this case the confiscation had come first; attainder after); some old penal statutes against natives

of Irish blood were repealed; and English law was extended to all the Irish people.

Confiscations in Leinster.

King James was so well pleased with his first experiment that he resolved to continue the plantations; and with this object he appointed a commission to inquire into the validity of land titles. As tempting rewards were offered, the country now swarmed with persons called "discoverers," who made it their business to find flaws, or pretended flaws, in titles, and who themselves got either the estates they unsettled or part of the money the owners had to pay for immunity. In every case where a title was unsettled the king made money. This was perhaps worse than the plantation of Ulster, which was open and undisguised; whereas here the iniquitous proceedings were carried on under the guise of law and equity. Through these means a great part of Leinster was confiscated and given to English undertakers. The knavish proceedings of the discoverers unsettled property everywhere, and the whole country was in a miserable state of uncertainty, for no man was sure of his property for a day.

Charles I. from the day of his accession found himself in



CHARLEMONT FORT (MS. Add. 24,200).

pecuniary straits; and he reaped a rich harvest from the crooked ingenuity of the discoverers. Besides the money made in the several title cases as they occurred, the general body of the Catholics and Protestants agreed to pay large sums through the Deputy (Lord Falkland) for certain concessions or "Graces," of which there were altogether fifty-one. The most important of these were:—Relaxation of the penal laws against Catholics; security of title; and repression of the violence and exactions of the soldiery—of which the two last affected Protestants and Catholics alike. But, though the money was paid, the king, through the instrumentality of Falkland, dishonestly evaded the graces. There was now, however, a short period of quietness; and no one seems to have entertained, as yet, any suspicion of the king's duplicity.

Strafford. After another short but severe persecution of the Catholics, King Charles sent over, in 1633, as lord-deputy, the strongest and most despotic ruler Ireland had yet experienced—Lord Wentworth, subsequently Earl of Strafford (p. 16.) He had two chief aims—to make the king's rule absolute, and to obtain money for him; and in the pursuit of these he trampled on all—Catholics and Protestants alike. But he persecuted no man merely for religion. He obtained vast sums under promise of certain concessions from the Crown, known as "the Graces"; but he tricked and bullied the Parliament—whose consent to the Graces was necessary—and they were never passed, the king being fully cognisant of the discreditable proceedings. Next, turning to land-titles, the old and sure source of money supply, he broke titles everywhere by undisguised illegality and violence; forcing verdicts for the king by threatening, fining, imprisoning, or otherwise punishing sheriffs, judges, lawyers, and juries; and out of each individual case he made money for the king. He confiscated nearly all Connaught, and a large part of Munster; and nothing prevented a wholesale clearance of these vast districts but the want of settlers in sufficient numbers. He crushed and ruined, without adequate cause, many of the highest people in the land, among them several old and deserving officers. Friends who began to see dark clouds ahead warned him; but he disregarded them and persisted in his outrageous course. Yet outside these proceedings his government of the country was straight and vigorous. Except where it interfered

with his designs, justice was well administered; and, on the whole, trade prospered. But in one direction he dealt the country a heavy blow by taking measures to repress the flourishing Irish wool trade (p. 177), lest it might injure that of England. On the other hand, he created the great linen trade of Ulster, which could not injure England. When, at last, he was impeached (p. 21), some of his bitterest accusers and some of the most damaging of the charges that sent him to execution in 1641 came from Ireland. The rebellion of that year will be more conveniently treated of in the next chapter (p. 466).

Interference with Irish Trade.

Notwithstanding the almost perpetual social disturbance, Ireland shows a creditable literary record for the half-century or so ending in 1642. The foundation of Trinity College in Dublin, in 1592, by Queen Elizabeth, is an important landmark in the later history of learning in Ireland. Several of the great schools spoken of in an earlier chapter (Vol. III., p. 398) still subsisted in various parts of the country. Campion, an English writer on Ireland, notices those for law and medicine as he saw them in 1571. In 1615 certain commissioners sent by King James, of whom Ussher (subsequently archbishop) was one, notice a most flourishing school in Galway kept by a learned Roman Catholic priest, Dr. John Lynch, "who had great numbers of schollers, not only out of that province but also out of the Pale and other parts resorting to him." But as Dr. Lynch refused to conform, they ordered this fine school to be closed.

Anglo-Irish Writers.

Two distinct literatures grew up in Ireland side by side—English among the Anglo-Irish of the Pale, and Irish (*i.e.* in the Irish language) among the native race and the descendants of the old settlers. The first Irishman who wrote any important work in English was Richard Stanyhurst, son of the recorder of Dublin. He wrote much in, and translated much from, Latin; but he is best remembered by his detailed description of Ireland (written in English, 1584: published in Holinshed's Chronicles), which is still of value. This work was, however, preceded by Hanmer's "Chronicle of Ireland," and by Campion's "Historie of Ireland," both published in 1571 by these two Englishmen, then resident in Ireland.

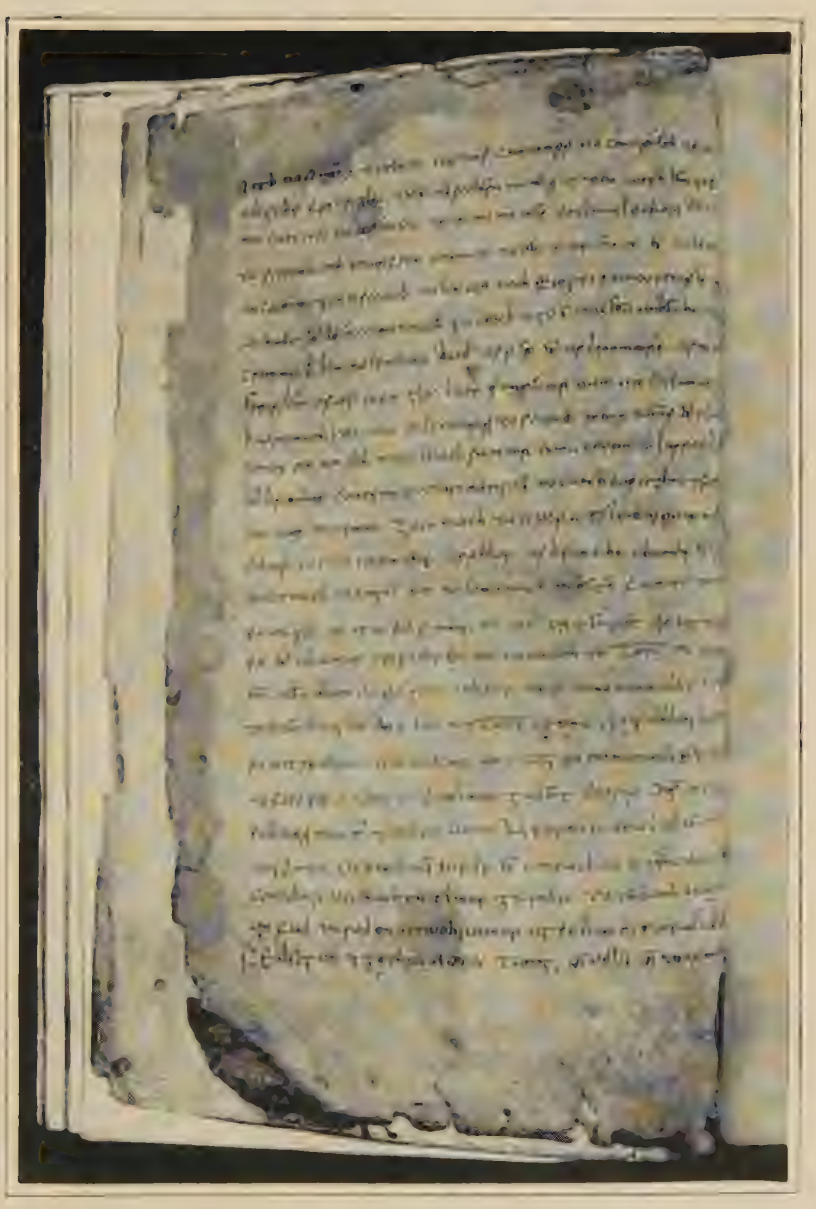
James Ussher (1580–1656), Archbishop of Armagh, the

most learned man of the Irish Protestant Church, was born in Dublin, a descendant of one of the settlers of the time of King John: his mother was Stanyhurst's sister. His works —ecclesiastical, historical, and antiquarian—written in Latin and English, are all distinguished for great depth and solidity (p. 402). Sir James Ware (1594–1666), a native of Dublin, wrote "The Antiquities of Ireland," "The Annals of Ireland," and "The Lives of the Irish Bishops from the Earliest Times," all in Latin: but they were afterwards translated, with numerous valuable additions, by his grand-nephew, Walter Harris. These works are to this day studied and quoted as among the chief authorities on Irish history and antiquities. Two Englishmen, who resided in Ireland during this period, wrote two treatises: Edmund Spenser, "A View of the State of Ireland," and Sir John Davies (James the First's Irish Attorney-General), "A Discoverie of the true Causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued till the Beginning of the Reign of James I." Both are written from a purely English standpoint; but though in many respects showing a very hostile spirit towards the Irish, and not infrequently incorrect, they are solid and sensible, and are valuable aids to students of Irish history. Spenser's poetical works cannot be dissociated from Ireland. He wrote a considerable part of the "Faerie Queene" while residing in Kilcolman Castle in Cork (Vol. III., p. 580); and certain portions of this, as well as of others of his poems, abound in Irish allusion, simile, mythology, and topography.

The Native Literature

During the whole of this period, as well, indeed, as from the beginning, there was a continued succession of writers in the native tongue, both in poetry and prose, whose productions, though still preserved in manuscripts, mostly remain untranslated and unedited. A large proportion of the Irish historical poems of this time are contained in a collection commonly known as the "Contention of the Bards": the contention being a friendly disputation carried on in verse between the chief learned men of Ulster and Munster regarding the respective merits of the ancient kings and heroes of these two provinces. Dr. William Bedell, Protestant bishop of Kilmore, assisted by native scholars, had the Bible translated into Irish immediately before the Rebellion of 1641. Dr. Geoffrey Keating, a Roman Catholic priest of Tipperary

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA



PAGE FROM THE ANNALS OF THE FOUR MASTERS.

(By permission of the Council of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.)

(1570–1644), wrote, while living in concealment in the Glen of Aherlow during one of the outbursts of the early penal code, a History of Ireland—a work which, though uncritical and containing much mere legend, is of great value and interest, on account of its numerous quotations from lost authorities, and its quaint descriptions of ancient Irish life and manners. Translations of this have been published, but not the original text.

Photo: R. Welch, Belfast.
HIBERNO-ROMANESQUE DOORWAY OF KILMORE CATHEDRAL.

But the native literary work for which this period is specially distinguished is "The Annals of Ireland" by the Four Masters, the most valuable of all the collections of Irish annals. These "Four Masters" were three of the O'Clerys of Donegal (one of them a lay Franciscan brother; the other two laymen), and a lay historian named O'Mulconry. Having first made a vast collection of ancient Irish historical manuscripts, they completed their work in four years (1632–36) in the Franciscan monastery of Donegal, the community supplying food and lodging, and a native chief, Fergall O'Gara, defraying all other necessary expenses. In the original preface, Michael O'Clery, their chief, expressed his fear that if the work were not then done the materials might never be brought together again: a fear that turned out prophetic, for nearly all the manuscripts were scattered and lost in the troubles of 1641 and subsequent years.

AUTHORITIES. 1603–1642.

GENERAL HISTORY.

Burton, *History of Scotland;* Spedding, *Letters and Life of Bacon;* Gardiner, *History of England* 1603–1642 and *What the Gunpowder Plot Was;* L. von Ranke, *History of England Principally in the Seventeenth Century;* Hallam, *History of England;* Clarendon, *History of the Great Rebellion;* Martin, *History of France;* Gindeley, *History of the Thirty Years' War;* and the series of State Papers (in MS.), Domestic and Foreign, preserved at the Record Office. [Some of these have been calendered.]

SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

Church History.—S. R. Gardiner, *History of England* 1603–1642; Ranke (*see* above); Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion;* Heylin, *Cyprianus Anglicus; Lives* of the chief ecclesiastics of the time; a great mass of pamphlet literature; the works of Andrewes and Laud, in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology;* W. H. Hutton, *William Laud;* W. E. Collins, *Lectures on Archbishop Laud.* The materials are so copious that no complete list can be given.

Nonconformity.—S. R. Gardiner, *History of England;* R. Barclay, *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth;* Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops;* State Papers, James I.; Waddington, *Congregational History* 1567–1700; Laud's *Diary;* Heylin, *Life of Archbishop Laud.*

The Transformation of the Army.—The histories above cited of Gardiner and Hallam; Dicey, *Law of the Constitution;* Anson, *Law and Custom of the Constitution;* Prothero, *Select Statutes and other Constitutional Documents illustrative of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.*

The Navy.—Monson's *Tracts* in Churchill, *Voyages;* MSS. in the Pepysian Library; Charnock, *Marine Architecture;* Reports, etc., of the Commission of 1618; Lives of Raleigh by Cayley, Napier, Edwards, and M. S. Hume; Selden, *Mare Clausum;* the Naval Histories of Burchett and Lediard (1735).

Exploration.—Purchas, *Pilgrims;* Asher, *Henry Hudson;* Baffin, *Voyages,* ed. C. Markham (Hakluyt Society); Captain John Smith's *Works* (Arber); Elphinstone, *Rise of British Power in the East,* c. ii.; Raleigh, *Guiana;* Harris, *Voyages;* Bruce, *Annals* of the East India Company (1810); Bancroft, *America,* Vol. I.; Articles in *Dictionary of National Biography* on Hudson, Baffin, Fox, and other explorers of the time; publications of Naval Records Society; Oppenheim, *History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and of Merchant Shipping in relation to the Navy;* Laird Clowes, *History of the Royal Navy.*

Architecture and Art.—Ferguson, *History of Architecture,* Vol. III.; Loftie, *Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren;* articles in the *Portfolio,* 1888; by R. Blomfield, on the work of Inigo Jones; Woltmann and Woermann, *History of Painting;* Waagen, *Handbook;* Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painters* (ed. Wornum); Wornum, *Epochs of Painting;* Propert, *History of Miniature Art. Coins.*—Ruding, *Annals;* Kenyon, *Gold Coins of England;* Hawkins, *Silver Coins of England;* Akerman, *Manual.*

Science.—Whewell's two works on the *History* and *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences* deal with the subject generally; *see* also Prof. Fowler's introduction to the *Novum Organum,* and the biographies in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and *Dictionary of National Biography.* But for the most part the history must be got from the original treatises.

Literature.—The chapters on Elizabethan Literature in the works of Craik, Taine, Arnold, Minto, and Chambers; Saintsbury, *Elizabethan Literature;* A. W. Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature;* Gosse, *Jacobean Poets;* the notices in Macmillan's *English Poets* (ed. by T. Humphry Ward), and *English Prose Writers* (ed. by Craik). Chalmers' *Poets* begins to be full at this period (though there are some

striking omissions), and until very recently has supplied the most accessible editions of many of the poets mentioned. The same may be said of Dodsley's *Old Plays*. Literary biography, though still very defective, almost dates from this period. The jottings of Jonson's conversations with Drummond, and some notes in his *Discoveries;* divers references of Clarendon; Howell's *Letters* (a source to be drawn on with caution); Walton's *Lives*, and some other books supply us with a body of information to which we have earlier no parallel.

Agriculture.—Gervase Markham was a voluminous writer on agricultural subjects. His *English Husbandman* (1614), *Countrey Contentments* (1615), *Cheape and Good Husbandry* (1616), *Farewell to Husbandry* (1625), *Way to get Wealth* (1638), *Compleat Farriar* (1639), contain the farming science of the day. Walter Blith, in *The English Improver*, was the first critic on drainage, and Samuel Hartlib, who embodied in a literary form the experience of Sir R. Weston (*Discourse of Husbandrie used in Brabant and Flanders*), first attempted to explain the advantages of the field cultivation of turnips. Both these writers flourished in the Civil War period. The first book on grazing is Leonard Mascall's *Government of Cattel* (1605). *Modern Books.*—Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, and *Six Centuries of Work and Wages;* Sir F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor;* Drake, *Shakespeare and His Times;* Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce;* R. H. Garnier, *History of the English Landed Interest;* R. E. Prothero, *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming*.

Manufactures.—The story of English manufactures can best be read in the Statute Book and Royal proclamations. Rymer's *Foedera* gives a full account of the Commission of 1622. Some information may be gathered from county histories, *e.g.* from Hunter's *Hallamshire*, as to Sheffield and the hardware trade; Westcote's *Devonshire*, referred to in the text, contains some curious particulars. Strafford's *Letters* are the principal authority on the Irish linen manufacture. Lewis Roberts' pamphlets say something of the Manchester cotton trade, and Smith's *Memoirs of Wool* is a source of useful information. A curious anonymous pamphlet, *The Woodmongers' Remonstrance*, gives some account of the coal trade in London. Much that is of value may be found in Cunningham's *Industry and Commerce* (2nd Ed.).

Commerce and Currency.—Statutes of the Realm; State Papers; Rogers, *Agriculture and Prices*, Vol. V.; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce;* Hall, *Customs and Revenue of England;* Dowell, *History of Taxes and Taxation;* Macleod, *Theory and Practice of Banking;* Hewins, *English Trade and Finance chiefly in the Seventeenth Century*. Of the mass of contemporary authors the following may be mentioned: N. Barbon, *Discourse of Trade* (1690); Sir J. Child, *A New Discourse of Trade* (1690); J. Haythorpe, *England's Exchequer* (1625); C. de Malynes, *Centre of Circle of Commerce* (1623); E. Musselden, *Free Trade, or the Means to Make Trade Flourish* (1622); Sir T. Mun, *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade* (1664), and *Discourse of Trade from England to the East Indies* (1621); L. Roberts, *The Treasure of Trafficke* (1641); H. Robinson, *England's Safety in Trades' Increase* (1641).

Pauperism.—Burn, *History of the Poor Laws;* Eden, *State of the Poor;* Nicholls, *History of the English Poor Law;* Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*. E. M. Leonard, *The Early History of the English Poor Law*. Other authorities for this period are referred to in the notes.

Social Life.—Various family papers, *e.g.* Memoirs of the Verneys, the Egertons (Camden Society), the Stanleys, ed. Heywood (Chetham Society); Mrs. Hutchinson, *Life* of Colonel Hutchinson; Satires, *e.g.* Prynne, *Histriomastix*, *Healthes, Sicknesse*, *The Unloveliness of Lovelocks;* tracts in the Roxburghe Library (ed. Hazlitt), and in the Harleian Miscellany. *The Court.*—L. Aikin, *Courts of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.* (1819–33); Birch, *Memoirs of the Reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.;* Nichols, *Progresses* of Elizabeth and James I.; *Secret History of the Court of James I.* (ed. Sir Walter Scott); M. A. E. Green, *Lives of the Princesses;* Bradley, *Arabella Stuart;* Halliwell-Phillips, *Letters of the Kings*. *The Stage.*—J. P. Collier,

English Dramatic Poetry and Annals of the Stage; A. W. Ward, *English Dramatic Literature;* Halliwell-Phillips, *Illustrations of the Life of Shakespeare;* Harrison, *Description of England*, Appendix I. by Rendle; Hazlitt, *English Drama and the Stage* 1543–1664 (Roxburghe Library); Gädertz, *Zur Kenntniss der Altenglischen Bühne*, 1888; Simpson, *School of Shakspere;* Fleay, *Chronicle-History of the London Stage* and *Life of Shakespeare. Masques:* Ben Jonson, *Works* (ed. P. Cunningham); *Accounts of the Revels* temp. Eliz. and James I., ed. P. Cunningham (Shakespeare Society, 1842); P. Cunningham, *Life of Inigo Jones;* Bacon, *Essay on Masques and Triumphs.*

Scotland.—General (*a*) *Contemporary.* Malcolm Laing, *History of Scotland* 1603–1707; the Church histories of Row 1558–1639; Calderwood, to 1625; Baillie, *Letters* from 1636; Spottiswood's *History* and Spalding's *Memorialls of the Troubles*, 1624–45, give anti-Covenanting views. Sir Thomas Hope's *Diary*, 1635–45; *Registers* of the Privy Council (Vol. XI. comes down to 1619, and gives a most complete account of the king's visit, 1617); Hist. MSS. Commission, Lonsdale Papers, Lowther, *Journal unto Scotland*, 1629. (*b*) *Modern.*—Professor Masson gives a powerful sketch of the politico-ecclesiastical situation in his *Life of Milton*, Vol. I. *See* also the general histories of Taylor and Burton. On special topics · Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland*, and *Scotland before* 1700; Mark Napier's *Memoirs of Montrose.* Edgar's *Old Church Life* is (from its own standpoint) the best picture of the life and manners of the time. *Topography:* Chambers' *Caledonia*, Timothy Pont, Cunningham. For Edinburgh, the histories by Maitland and Arnot; Chambers, *Traditions;* Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh.* For Aberdeen, the histories by Gordon and Kennedy, the *Records* published by the Spalding Club (1900), and various county histories.

Ireland.—Annals of the Four Masters, ed. O'Donovan; the *Carew Papers;* Hamilton, *Calendar;* *Annals* of Camden and Ware; Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tirconnell: Papers* and *Life* of Strafford; histories of Ireland by Macgeoghan (1831), Cox (1689), Leland (1773), McGee, and Joyce (1893).

Photo: R. Welch, Belfast.

CLOUGHOUGHTER CASTLE, CAVAN.

(*Where Bishop Bedell was confined.*)

CHAPTER XIV.

CIVIL WARFARE AND REPUBLICAN RULE. 1642-1660.

A. L. SMITH. The Course of the Civil War.

A CIVIL WAR means the clash of two hostile principles, whether of politics, or religion, or social life. What makes it inevitable is that the two principles have each a real and deep root, and that there is no way to decide between them except by letting them fight out their rivalry. Still more impossible is compromise if the representatives of one set of ideas can put no trust in the others. Such was the condition of things which was rapidly manifesting itself in England before the Long Parliament had sat a year. For eleven years Charles had been governing without a Parliament—keeping within the letter of the laws, resting always on decisions of the judges, but, in fact, overthrowing successively all the old landmarks alike in Church and in State, and preparing a day of bitter reckoning for his two ablest ministers, Strafford and Laud. With Laud's attempt to introduce the new Prayer Book into Scotland in 1637 the troubles began (p. 242). All Scotland rushed to sign the National Covenant, and a well-ordered army made the Scotch claim to religious freedom an irresistible one. Charles had to accept their terms. To get himself out of this humiliation, he submitted to call a Parliament in England. The Short Parliament, however, sided with the Scots, and the king dissolved it before it had sat a month (May, 1640). But the Scots now invaded England, crossed the Tyne, drove the royal forces before them, and forced Charles to terms which comprised his paying them £850 a day. To get the money he must needs call another Parliament, and this (the Long Parliament) saw in the Scots its best friends. After a struggle of six months, it brought Strafford to the block. It passed a Triennial Bill, secured itself against dissolution, abolished ship-money and Star Chamber; and then, proceeding to "the root of all grievances," it attacked Episcopacy. Around this "Root and Branch Bill," a new division of parties into Puritans and Royalists

The Long Parliament.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

began, as it were, to crystallise itself. But in the meantime occurred the mysterious plot called "the Incident" in Scotland, and the appalling outbreak of Irish and Catholic fury in the Ulster massacres: both were, in the popular belief justly, laid at Charles's door. The Puritans drew up the Grand Remonstrance —an appeal to the nation, and an indictment of Charles's whole career. After scenes unprecedented in the House, it was passed by a majority of eleven on November 20. Even now Charles failed to read the handwriting on the wall. He made his worst blunder in his vain attempt to seize the Five Members in the

The Grand Remonstrance.

THE LAST OF THE STAR CHAMBER.
(From an engraving by W. Hollar.)

Commons, January 4, 1642. This at once rallied the City to the side of Parliament. When Charles left Whitehall on January 10, both sides saw that the final issue must be war. For the next six months the struggle was for control of the militia; though it was still a struggle waged on the constitutional ground and by lengthy constitutional declarations. The crisis had come when, on April 23, Sir John Hotham refused to admit the king into Hull. As late as June 15 a protest was signed by thirty-five peers that his Majesty "abhorred all designs of making war upon his Parliament," but the very next day his Majesty began to put in force the commissions of array in the Midlands and the

North; and early in July the Parliament appointed the Earl of Essex its commander-in-chief; the king proclaimed him and his officers as traitors, and determined to set up his great Standard at Nottingham. The war was now formally begun. The ultimate question involved can hardly be better expressed than in the protestation of Lords and Commons on May 26th—"this erroneous maxim being infused into princes that their kingdoms are their own, and that they may do with them what they will, as if their kingdoms were for them, and not they for their kingdoms."

The War Begins.

It was on August 22, 1642, that Charles formally raised the royal standard at Nottingham, but not till the 12th of September had he a real army with him; and then he had to retreat westwards to avoid Essex's overwhelming forces now at Coventry, and also to pick up contingents at Chester and to detach Rupert to secure Worcester. Rupert met and routed a body of the enemy's horse at Powyck Bridge on September 23 (p. 324). This was the first open fight of the war, and an omen of its course. The dashing Prince had won a cavalry skirmish, but could not save the city.

Edgehill.

In October, however, Charles was strong enough to make a bold thrust straight for London. He had to turn about at Edgehill, October 23, to face his pursuer Essex, and was so far successful in the battle that he was able to secure Oxford and resume his march. On November 12 Rupert stormed Brentford, but Essex' men were reinforced by the Londoners; an army of 24,000, drawn up on Turnham Green, confronted the baffled Royalists. London could not be taken by a *coup de main;* from its Royalist party nothing serious was to be expected; and its traders were willing to share with Parliament the burden and the responsibility of war-taxation. These were important results to come from two months only of actual warfare. But there was still another result. At Edgehill and at Brentford the Puritan spirit had shown there was in it the stuff of which soldiers are made. Cromwell's prescient words to Hampden were already being justified; the men of religion began to show that they might "go on as far as" men of honour; it was already raised above a conflict between "gentlemen" on the one side, and on the other "old decayed serving-men, tapsters, and such fellows" (p. 323).

Charles's Progress.

The winter of 1642 saw Charles growing stronger, despite the superiority of Fairfax over Newcastle, the Royalist general in Yorkshire. Gloucestershire was won over to his side, and Hopton held Devon and Cornwall. There was also a cry for peace in London, Bedfordshire, Essex, and other places. To set against this was the establishment of the Eastern Association,

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

PRINCE RUPERT, BY SIR PETER LELY.

(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

the soul of which was Cromwell. The Midland Association was formed a little earlier.

The Campaign of 1643.

The king at Oxford was surrounded by a ring of Parliamentary districts; this, again, was girdled by an outer ring of Royalist districts. "The campaign of 1643 consisted of the efforts of the Royalists to break through this intermediate zone." Waller, indeed, took Hereford, and Essex took Reading, but these generals had no concerted plan; while Charles's strategic idea of moving up his two wings from Yorkshire and Cornwall seemed to be succeeding. Fairfax's defeat at Adwalton Moor, on

June 30, and expulsion from the West Riding, enabled the Queen to reach Oxford. The rout of Waller at Roundway Down was followed by the surrender of Bristol. Then came Newcastle's capture of Gainsborough, a threatening outlook for the Eastern shires. It has often been said that Charles might now (August, 1643) have ended the war by marching on London. But this view forgets that he could not march on London unsupported, leaving Maurice's army detained before Exeter, Newcastle's army before Hull. Already Cromwell was forcing his way up through Lincolnshire, and showing, in the skirmishes at Grantham and Gainsborough, that Puritanism could raise cavalry as dashing as

The Rise of Cromwell.

Photo: C. W. Clarke, Devizes.

BATTLEFIELD OF ROUNDWAY DOWN, WILTS.

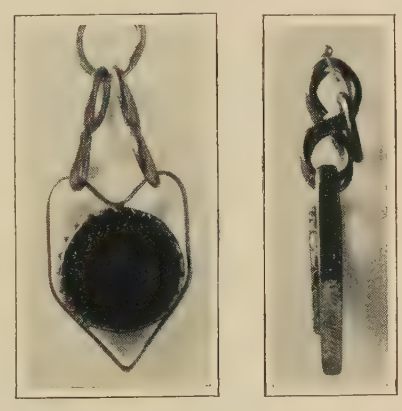
Rupert's and more reliable. The rise of Cromwell counterbalanced the great loss by Hampden's death at Chalgrove Field; and it has been well said that potentially Gainsborough was the turning-point of the war.

In London, in the meantime, detected Royalist plots had utterly discredited the peace party; while Charles's Irish intrigues called forth the Parliamentary invitation to the Scots, for which the City submitted to the new burden of an excise, and joined in the plans for appointing Manchester general of the Eastern Association, attacking Wales and relieving Gloucester. Gloucester was relieved; but Essex, narrowly escaping a disaster like

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

Waller's, was pursued by Charles to Newbury, where an indecisive battle took place, which left him free to reach London safely. The autumn of 1643 measures the high-water mark of Royalist success. Newcastle failed to take Hull; a South-Eastern Association was formed; troops from Ireland had been brought into England, and native Irish were to follow. The mere rumour of this was to prove fatal to the Royal cause. It had become clear that Charles's utmost strength was not enough to overpower London, and the field of Newbury demonstrated that the king's infantry were essentially inferior. Royalism failed just where Puritanism succeeded, in getting hold of the middle class. The one thing now required for victory was that Puritanism should rise to its true self, should show its essential unity and its organising power, and should shake off the trammels of that narrow local spirit, that petty county patriotism, which had hitherto so hampered it. Royalist Yorkshire, Wales, Cornwall would not let their levies cross their own borders as long as Hull, Gloucester, Plymouth were in the enemies' hands. Was there always to be the same half-heartedness on the Parliamentary side also? The London train-bands had deserted after Newbury; again, in July, 1644, Waller writes:—"They are come to their old song of 'home, home' . . . the men of Essex and Herts attacked their own captain . . . such men are fit only for the gallows here and Hell hereafter. . . . Above 2,000 Londoners ran away from their colours." In a similar spirit Manchester refused to cross the Thames; he would not "leave those counties which have paid us." The king was getting over this difficulty; his infantry was coming to be composed of men who enlisted for the pay and plunder—men of a low grade and with little depth in their loyalty, but at least professional soldiers. Could the Parliament get over the difficulty in a better way by creating

The Royalist Climax, 1643.



THE HAMPDEN JEWEL.
(*Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

Puritan Weakness

a professional soldiery out of men of principle? Could they so utilise local Puritan feeling as to retain its fighting powers while eliminating its local selfishness, and have an army Puritan in character, but withal, a paid and standing army—a real national force, "an army merely your own," as Waller put it?

The campaign of 1644 opened disastrously for the king in the North; the Scots effected a junction with Fairfax at

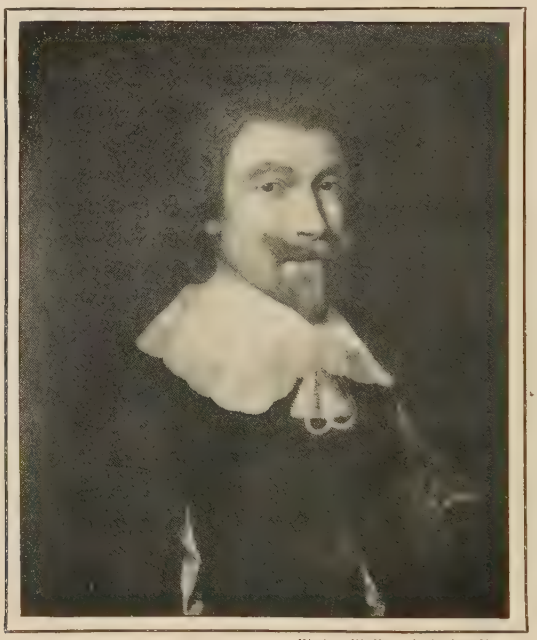


Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

SIR WILLIAM WALLER.

(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

The Campaign of 1644.

Tadcaster, Newcastle being too weak to oppose them. In the South Waller repulsed the forces of Generals Forth and Hopton at Cheriton, and put an end to the long-talked-of invasion of Kent and Sussex. Waller and Essex ought to have been able, by uniting, to crush Charles at Oxford, while Manchester, having taken Lincoln, was joining the Fairfaxes and the Scots in besieging York; and, indeed, Charles had to quit Oxford hurriedly for Worcester. But Essex persisted in separating from Waller and marching off to secure the West. Thus

Charles was able to hurry back towards Oxford and inflict a severe check on Waller at Cropredy Bridge, June 29. By this time Rupert was marching through the North-West, gathering recruits and relieving the Countess of Derby at Lathom House, and hastening to York, which he reached on July 7. On Marston Moor, six miles from York, he was met next day by Manchester's, Fairfax's, and Leven's armies. For the first time his cavalry found their match in Cromwell's troopers, who not only drove Rupert before them ("God made them as stubble

Marston Moor.

BATTLEFIELD OF MARSTON MOOR, YORKSHIRE.

to our swords"), but wheeled and returned to save their own right wing, which had been driven into rout by Goring. But for this decisive manœuvre and the stubborn courage of three regiments of Scots infantry in the centre, the battle had gone the other way. Messengers had, indeed, ridden off to report a Royalist victory, and bonfires were lighted in Oxford at the first false news. It was a fatal blow to the Royal cause: 4,000 were slain; Rupert could only gather 5,000 fugitives to escape North; Newcastle and many others fled over seas; and, above all, it brought forward the new party—the "godly" party—and their general, who might well claim (as he did) that it was the Lord's blessing shown especially to them, and who

now stepped forward to take the foremost place in politics as on the field.

Parliamentarian Dissensions.

But for a time the Parliamentary cause seemed, despite the recent victory, to be on the point of ruin from disunion and dissension. The Scottish force went off to besiege Newcastle; Fairfax stayed to clear Yorkshire; Manchester's army moved slowly to its own Eastern Counties, paralysed by the struggle for supremacy between a forward policy and one of temporising, between Independents and Presbyterians, between Cromwell and Crawford. The two southern armies, which were to have overwhelmed the king by mere weight of numbers, could not be brought to act together. There was some jealousy between the two generals, and more disparity in temperament and views; there was the usual mutinous refusal of the train-bands of London, Kent, Hants, to go farther afield than they chose to think necessary. Essex had started off on his cherished project of reducing Oxford by first subduing Cornwall and Devon, while Waller was to back him up and threaten the king's rear. But Waller's force collapsed; they were tired of being "the longest-winded army in England." Essex attributed to this desertion, as he deemed it, a result that was in fact only the natural issue to his precious project; he was surrounded at Lostwithiel, and his infantry forced to an abject surrender. One of Manchester's officers declares that this news was received with open joy by many at Huntingdon, where the regiments of Cromwell and his friends Ireton, Fleetwood, Russell, Montague, Pickering, Rainsborough, were already beginning to feel that if there were to be any peace "such as might not stand with the ends honest men should aim at, this army should prevent such a mischief." Hearing of all this dissension, the Royalists were exultant, and talked of wintering in Norfolk this year. As they marched from the west Waller fell back before them; Essex and Manchester could not, and would not, help him. When there was an opportunity of annihilating Charles's army at the second battle of Newbury, October 27, it failed by reason of Manchester's irresolution. When Walter and Cromwell urged him to follow up the pursuit next day, he spoke of returning to the eastern counties, "and much for peace." No wonder that Cromwell, as soon as he returned to his place in the

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

House, made a vehement attack on Manchester's conduct; but finding arrayed against him the Lords, the Scots, the peace-party, and the whole Presbyterian interest, he turned aside to a proposal very characteristic of his practical mind. He pointed out that members of the two Houses had both "interest of Parliament and power in the army"; that men were weary of the war, but said these "grandees" would not let it end; and that there was urgent need of a Self-Denying Ordinance.

The Self-Denying Ordinances and the New Model.

When there was a prospect that both this would be carried, and a New Model for the army, he willingly dropped his attack on Manchester, just as he was willing to give up his military command. It was the resistance of the Peers to the first Self-Denying Ordinance, and a series of unforeseen junctures, that cast the second Self-Denying Ordinance into such a form that while Essex and Manchester lost their posts, Cromwell was raised to the place of general of the cavalry in the New Model army, beside Skippon as general of the infantry, and beneath Sir Thomas Fairfax as commander-in-chief. At last the weary days were over of mutinous train-bands, niggardly county payments, mutually jealous generals, battles without results, and campaigns without a plan. There was now under one command an army of 21,000 men; not all volunteers, indeed, for impressment was freely resorted to, nor at all overpaid at 8d. a day; but all under tried officers, and imbued with the true Independent spirit of religious freedom and democratic instinct, and all resolved to bring the war to an end (p. 332). The idea was that the Scots should meet Charles and Rupert about Nottingham, while the New Model, under Fairfax, should take Oxford, and then cut off Goring in the West. But the Scots, alarmed by Montrose's successes, refused to leave the North, the king stormed Leicester, and the civilians at Westminster were for once scared into giving Fairfax a free hand, and acceding to the petition of the army officers to reappoint Cromwell to lead the cavalry. Once set free, Fairfax marched straight N.N.E. from Oxford, and in six days was driving the Royal army before him from Daventry. On June 14 was the crushing defeat of Naseby. The king lost 1,000 slain, 5,000 prisoners, nearly all his officers, all his artillery and arms. Decisive as the day was, it had long hung in the

Naseby.

balance. Ireton's cavalry on the left wing had been broken by Rupert, and himself taken prisoner; Skippon, in the centre, was severely wounded, and his infantry driven back upon the reserves; Cromwell alone on the right wing overpowered Langdale, then wheeled upon the Royalist foot in the centre. Rupert returned from his usual headlong pursuit to find that his hour was gone by. The contrast was characteristic not only of the two men, but of the two armies, and, indeed, of the whole war.

The rest of the year was occupied in beating down resistance in the West, and South-west, which still held out for the king, and defeating his remaining forces in detail. Goring was routed by Fairfax at Langport, and Langdale by Poyntz at Rowton Heath. Leicester, Bridgewater, Pontefract, Scarborough, Sherborne, successively surrendered. Bristol was stormed on September 10, Basing House ("Loyalty House") a month later. Before November, Rupert, incensed by Charles's mistrust, left his service. All was over, though the last battle in the field was not till March, 1646 (Astley's defeat at Stow), nor had Fairfax completed his work in Devon and Cornwall till Exeter fell in April. Oxford surrendered on June 24, and with the submission of the garrison of Harlech—March 13, 1647—no place was left over which Charles's banner waved.

The King Defeated: His Intrigues.

Defeated thus in the field, Charles now turned to a war of intrigue. He would set Presbyterians and Independents by the ears, and make them destroy each other. On May 5, 1646, he put himself in the hands of the Scots army at Newark. But the cabinet of his private letters, captured at Naseby, had taught all clear-sighted men the folly of negotiating with him. Thus, although the Lords, by fifteen votes to fourteen, were at this time in favour of attempting an accommodation, and the City in its longing for peace went with them, yet in the Commons the proposal to receive overtures from the king was rejected by one hundred and forty-five votes to one hundred and three, and the disclosure of Charles's expectations from an Irish army and from French aid only strengthened the hold of the Independents, and identified their party with the cause of patriotic resistance to interference, whether by Scotch, or Irish, or French. Nor could Charles himself be brought by any pressure to consent to the Scots' essential condition, the establishment of Presby-

ACCOUTREMENTS OF CHARLES I. AND PRINCE RUPERT AT WISTOW HALL.

(By permission of Mark Firth, Esq., and the Hon. F. F. Fremantle.)

terianism in England: "How can we expect God's blessing," he said, "if we relinquish His Church?" Just as little would he listen to the one essential condition of the Independents—the grant of liberty of conscience. Thus, alike by the points on which he would not give way, and by his inconsistent intrigues with all parties at once (Irish Catholics and English-Irish, Scotch Covenanters and Scotch Royalists, English Presbyterians and Independents), he effected only this, that he brought all his enemies to forego their differences and close their ranks. The Scots agreed to give up the king; the Parliament agreed to pay them £400,000 for their expenses. In January the first instalment of £100,000 was paid; by February 11 the Scots army had recrossed the Tweed; already Charles had been removed to Holmby House as the Parliament's prisoner. Once more fortune seemed to give him an opportunity. The Presbyterian leaders, now that the Scotch crisis was over, had regained their supremacy in Parliament. They at once set about breaking up the army. But they set about it in so stupid a way that the army united as one man against them. On the questions of their arrears of pay, the terms of service in Ireland, the legal indemnity for acts done in the war, Fairfax and Skippon, Presbyterians as they were, must needs be at one with Cromwell and Ireton; and Cromwell himself, whom the soldiers had accused of deserting them for "the silken Independents of Westminster," and who had felt and said that to resist Parliament was to invite anarchy, was forced to adopt and father the bold principles

CORNET JOYCE.
(*Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

The Presbyterians and the Army.

of Sexby and Joyce, the agitators. On June 4 Charles was removed by Cornet Joyce from Holmby House to Newmarket, the army headquarters. This was the soldiers' answer to the Presbyterian intrigue to crush the army by a Scots force marching into England with Charles in their midst. "They must sink us or we must sink them," said one of the chief agents in this intrigue. The rest of the year 1647 was to be one long demonstration that the cause destined to sink would be the one which had the misfortune to ally itself with Charles. After

Photo: C. Law, Northampton.

HOLMBY HOUSE, NORTHANTS.

assiduous attempts to befriend and advise the captive king, the French ambassador sums him up as one "who cannot keep a secret, and has shown nothing but inconsistency hitherto." Similar to these were the blunt words of Ireton to the king: "Sir, you have an intention to be the arbitrator between the Parliament and us; we mean to be it between your Majesty and the Parliament." His best chance with the army was at the end of July, when they offered to reinstate him if he would submit to religious toleration and constitutional monarchy; and when an armed conflict with Parliament and the City appeared imminent. By August 20 they had entered London

Charles's Intrigues with the Army.

in force, and frightened away the Eleven Members and many other Presbyterians, and so secured an Independent majority in the House. They were, however, still in need of him, for, to the constitutionalism of Cromwell and Ireton, to continue the rule of the sword was abhorrent; if the Parliament had failed to yield a permanent settlement, recourse must be had to the king. But, hard as Cromwell worked for this, he could not carry his party with him. Both in the House and among the troops he was accused of time-serving hypocrisy and personal ambition. When, however, on November 11, Charles made his escape from Hampton Court to Carisbrooke, and when an intercepted letter gave full proof of his duplicity, Cromwell at last abandoned his cause, and on January 3 it was moved and carried that no more addresses should be made to the king. In the next three months it became clear that there was to be a new civil war. A Scotch army was to invade England, and risings were simultaneously to take place in the North-west and West, in the Midlands, in Essex, and in Kent. Already, on April 9 and 10, there were riots by Royalist mobs in London. Then came news of the actual rising in South Wales. In a great three days' meeting the army resolved "to go out and fight against those potent enemies . . . and then to call Charles Stuart—that man of blood—to account for the blood he had shed." Cromwell was sent to Wales with 8,000 men. In one evening's fighting at Maidstone Fairfax dispersed the Kentishmen. The Earl of Norwich, their commander, fled to join the rising in Essex, and was besieged by Fairfax in Colchester. Holland's abortive dash through Surrey and Herts had ended in his capture. Cromwell, by the taking of Pembroke, July 4, completed his work in Wales and set himself free to march North. The Scots had come too late, not reaching Kendal till August 2. A fortnight later Cromwell fell upon them as they were crossing the Ribble at Preston, drove in Langdale's isolated corps of 5,000 Englishmen, and then chased them South through Wigan, Winwick, Warrington, taking prisoners all the way, and so to Uttoxeter, where the miserable remnant—starved, drenched, and worn out—surrendered to Lambert. Colchester soon fell, and the Prince of Wales's little fleet, which had been threatening the South coast, retired to Holland. By the end of September

The Second Civil War.

1660]

Cromwell had hunted back over the border the remainder of the invading force under Monro, and had recovered Berwick and Carlisle. The Second Civil War was over. It had lasted just five months, and had shown the widespread Royalist feeling in the country, the incongruous elements which made it up, and the irresistible strength of the New Model Army, and of the group of steadfast men at its head; who had stamped out a rising that at one time seemed almost universal, held down the discontent of London and the fleet, and crushed the great

Photo: Chester Vaughan, Acton, W.

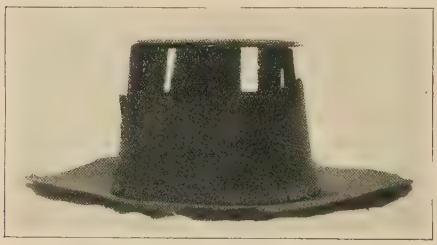
CARISBROOKE CASTLE.

army of the Scots in so short a time. Once more a desperate effort was made by the Presbyterians to establish their own system, and frustrate religious toleration. Once more they entered on a negotiation with the king—the "Treaty of Newport." It was futile from the outset, since, as Charles said in confidence to a friend, all his concessions were made "merely in order to my escape . . . to make them less careful of their guards," and he hoped by next spring "to have as fair a game to play over again as in the last summer." No wonder the Independents grew impatient of watching such a farce. The army peremptorily demanded of Charles to give up the militia

The Treaty of Newport.

and appointment of officials. On his refusal, they presented the Remonstrance of the Army, demanding "justice on all offenders without respect of persons," removed the king from Carisbrooke to Hurst Castle, and subjected the Commons to "Pride's Purge." A final effort was made under Cromwell's influence during the week before Christmas to save the king's life, but he would not even receive the envoy. Cromwell knew that there would be many even among Puritans unwilling to have the king executed—many even among the Independent section of the Puritans. He knew this, and no man could have worked harder to the same end. But he also saw now that there was no other way, and it was by his unflinching resoluteness that the short-sighted, the timid, and the waverers were drilled, shamed, and, perhaps, intimidated into decisive action and a decent show of unanimity, as events marched on to their inevitable goal in the sentence passed January 27th upon Charles as a "tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy," and his beheading at Whitehall on the 30th.

The King's Execution.



BRADSHAW'S BULLET-PROOF HAT.
(*Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*)

It was the only logical ending to the war. But that which is most logical is often that which has the least chance of practical success; and the stern deed which was to have been the end of the war and of troubles proved only to be the letting out of fresh waters of strife. Charles's death restored the cause which he had ruined in his life, and the final triumph of the "Great Rebellion" was not till the "Glorious Revolution" of 1689.

A. L. SMITH. The Constitutional Struggle.

THE great Civil War was at least as remarkable for the vigour and the variety of its constitutional activity as it was for its display of individual character, for the interest of its military history, or even for its development of sharply contrasted religious ideals. So multitudinous, and, it may be added, so voluminous, are the constitutional documents of these eventful

EXECUTION OF CHARLES I.

(From a nearly contemporary Dutch engraving by Sebastian Furck.)

years—so changeful were the points of view which suggested the various constitutional programmes—that at first sight it all seems a bewildering maze. Yet a clue may be found by following out the different relations proposed between the executive and the legislature; and it is in this that the constitutional importance of the period actually lies, since the other points—such as the new forms of taxation, the decline of the House of Lords, and the beginnings of a ministerial cabinet system—belong rather to the next period, that of the Commonwealth.

There is, then, in this aspect, a certain regularity of growth in all this confusion; certain definite principles emerge more and more clearly; and one after another the political ideas appear, some of which the Restoration itself could not venture to tamper with, some which reached their triumph at the Revolution of 1689 or in the next century, some which have only been worked out in our own day, and some which are still immature, and must be left to the present century to settle.

Its Phases: The Reforms of the Long Parliament.

Between November, 1640, and January, 1649, the constitutional position of the Crown and its relation to Parliament passed through startling phases. What began as an absolutist monarchy ended by becoming a republic under a written constitution. The first of these phases comprises the action of the Long Parliament up to September, 1641. In this period even its severest critics have had little to say but in praise of its measures. So far the Parliament had been unanimous, and the work done in those months was, with the exception of one clause in one Act, left untouched at the Restoration. For the work consisted in the abolition of the exceptional powers conferred on the Tudors to tide over an exceptional crisis: the Star Chamber's and High Commission's power to sentence without a jury, and the power by extra customs duties to raise a revenue without Parliament. With them fell ship-money, knighthood fines, and the attempt to extend the forests.

Parliament to be Supreme.

In the next phase, with the burning question of religion, there came a demand for transference of the ultimate sovereign power from the hands of the king to the hands of Parliament. In the Grand Remonstrance the king was asked to employ

"such ministers as Parliament could confide in," and to allow a synod of divines to draw up a scheme of church reform for Parliament's approval. And in the Nineteen Propositions (June 1, 1642), the king was to accept "that course that the Lords and Commons have appointed for ordering of the militia," and to create Peers only with the consent of both Houses.

The War Period.

The third phase covers the war period—August, 1642, to July, 1646. The war had, at one and the same time, created a longing for peace and accentuated the religious quarrel. Thus, the Oxford Propositions required the immediate abolition of Episcopacy, but did not claim to appoint the judges or ministers. In the negotiations at Uxbridge (January and February, 1645), this last requirement was again inserted; Parliament was to make peace and war, and the king himself to take the Covenant. These points were repeated in the Newcastle terms (July, 1646, when the king was now a prisoner), and he was also to give up control of the militia for twenty years.

The Presbyterian Reaction.

Then comes a somewhat reactionary phase, representing the desperate attempts of the Presbyterians to join the king in an alliance with themselves and Scots against the dreaded Independents. They would restore him to the position of August, 1641, if he would merely grant Presbyterianism for three years. But before this alliance could be completed, there came the rupture with the army. And this led to another attempted solution of the constitutional deadlock. The solution aimed at by the Independents was contained in the "Heads of the Proposals." The idea in this scheme was, while maintaining the supremacy of Parliament, to reform it by making it more representative of the people, and to raise religious liberty beyond that Parliamentary control which meant Presbyterian bigotry. The royal powers over the militia, the appointment of ministers, and the making of peace and war were also to be curtailed for the next five to ten years. But a scheme which anticipated the Toleration Act of 1689, the Reform movement of 1745–1832, the Triennial Act and the Acts against placemen, and much of the Cabinet system, was decidedly premature. It was at once too tolerant, too democratic, and too balanced for an age of religious hatreds, of

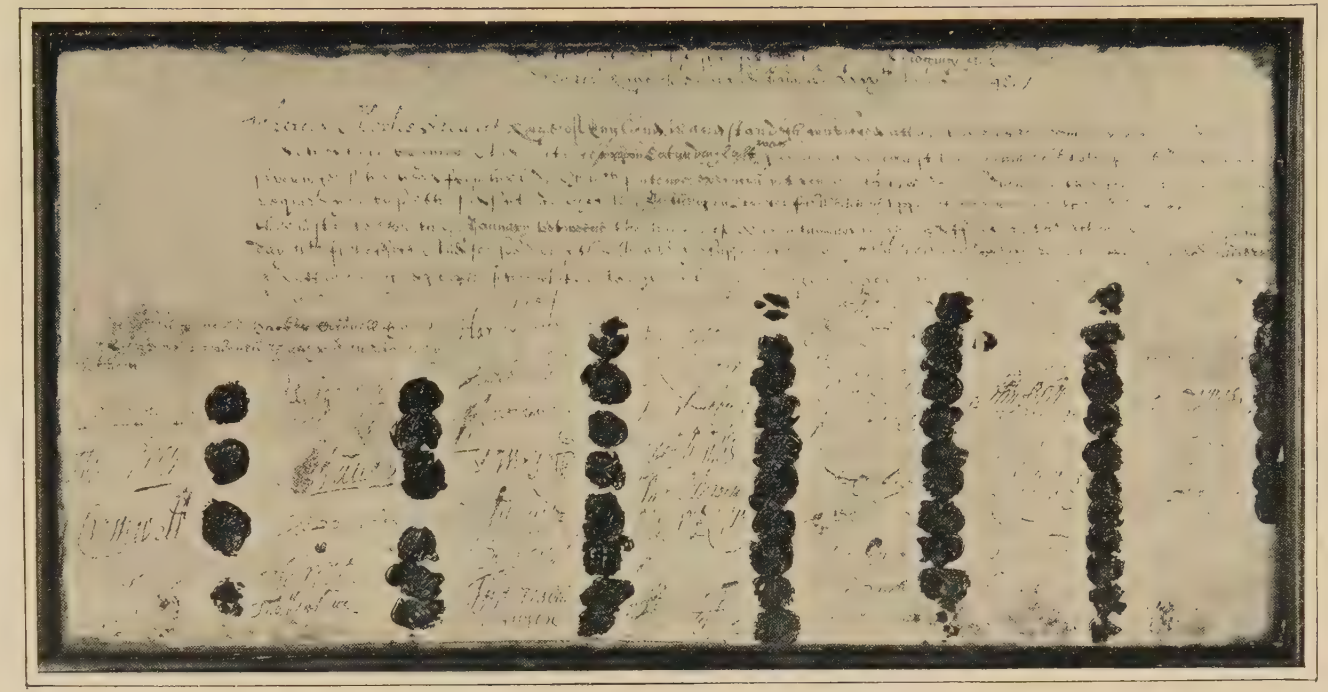
aristocratic and bourgeois prejudices, and of unfitness for delicate political mechanism. If Charles himself dallied with the scheme, it was only on the homely maxim of grasping at any stick that would serve to beat the Presbyterian dog.

Every party had now tried its hand at a settlement, and all had failed. The abortive negotiations of the winter of 1647, and Charles's shifting intrigues ending in the secret engagement with the Scots, in which they purchased the

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.
GENERAL HENRY IRETON, BY ROBERT WALKER.
(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

amplest religious tyranny by restoring to the king his veto, his ministers, and his militia—these tedious futilities could not delay the inevitable end. By the vote of No Addresses (January, 1648) we reach the final stage in the elimination of the monarchical principle from the constitution; since, as soon as the Second Civil War was over, the soldiery hardly waited for the so-called "Treaty of Newport" to break down, before they stirred up Ireton (October, 1648) to compose the manifesto of republicanism known as the "Remonstrance of the Army."

The Republic Reached.



DEATH-WARRANT OF CHARLES I.

(By permission of the Librarian to the House of Lords.)

This was based on the "Case of the Army," which the agitators had laid before Fairfax just a year earlier, and which had demanded, as "a law paramount," biennial Parliaments elected by manhood suffrage, with no king or Lords to check them, and had boldly taken the sovereignty of the people as its starting point. The final form in which these views were expressed was the "Agreement of the People" of January 15th, 1649, which proposed, besides the biennial House of Representatives, a redistribution of seats, a rating franchise, and a Council of State; and also reserved seven points as unalterable by the Representatives. The chief of these points was religious toleration, "not necessarily to extend to Popery or Prelacy." This constitution was to be regarded as "fundamental."

Democracy and a Written Constitution.

Here, then, is the first of the written constitutions with "fundamentals" reserved which are characteristic of modern states. Here, too, is the advent of democracy, the spirit which has done so much to transform the modern world, and will do so much more.

The "Agreement of the People" formed the basis of the later "Instrument of Government" (p. 337). Otherwise it had but little direct effect upon English institutions, and this for the pregnant reason suggested by Cromwell in his criticism of it at its first appearance: "Are the spirits and temper of this nation prepared to receive and go along with it? for it is not enough to propose things good in the end, but we are to consider also the probability of the ways and means to accomplish them." The English people were not prepared yet for avowed democracy, for the abolition of monarchy, for a written constitution, or for religious toleration. And not even an army with a Cromwell at its head could make them accept these. The constitutional history of the Commonwealth is one long demonstration of this impossibility.

A. L. SMITH. The Lines of Division.

WHAT was the dividing line between the two parties in the great Civil War? Was this line social, or geographical, or religious? That is to say, was it a war of classes, or of districts, or of sects? In seeking the answer to this question, we find we are laying hold of a clue to the innermost secrets of this time of great men and ideas still greater.

It is natural to look first to a class distinction, as the most likely to furnish a broad line of demarcation between Cavaliers and Roundheads. But this, of all the three explanations, is the most superficial, and would be the most misleading. The second explanation, that the party division was in the main a division of districts, is suggested by the analogy of the Wars

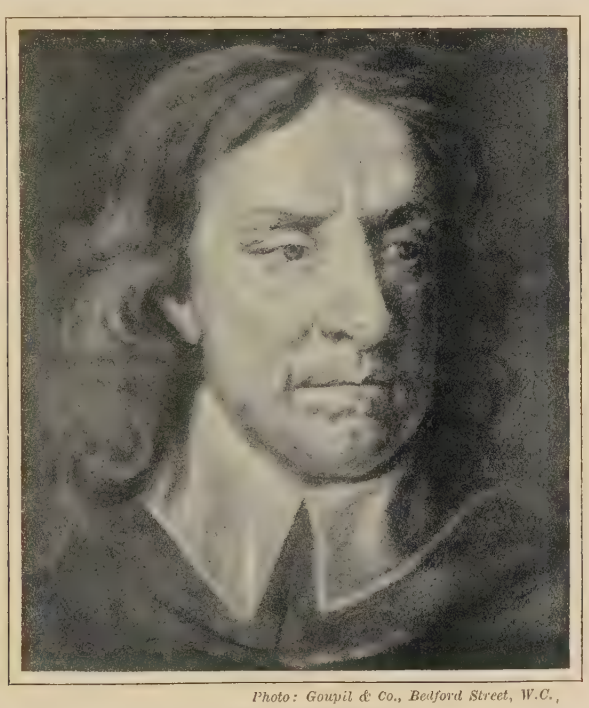


Photo: Goupil & Co., Bedford Street, W.C.,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

(By permission, from the portrait at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.)

of the Roses, and much could be said for it. But neither of these explanations, taken by itself, is adequate. Each has some truth in it: each requires the other to supplement it and to modify it. But, even then, recourse must be had to a third principle. It is the religious division which from the first underlay the others, and which emerges into more and more prominence as the struggle goes on (p. 344). It is the religious issues involved which give to the struggle its abiding

interest, and which elevated and dignified the local rivalries, the class antagonisms, and the battle for constitutional liberties.

A Royalist Party Formed.

In the first months, it is true, of the Long Parliament, the constitutional questions were so strongly and so universally felt that it seemed as if there would be but one voice in the two Houses, as in the country. The king's absolutism must be rendered impossible for the future. But when Strafford had fallen, the Root and Branch Bill furnished a clear dividing line. Hyde, Falkland, Culpepper drew apart from St. John, Haselrig, Vane, and Cromwell. Against the advanced views of the latter, there stood forth a group which became defined as a Royalist party in the debates on the Grand Remonstrance. When this was carried by 159 votes to 148, the practical insight of Cromwell recognised how critical had been the debate; had it ended the other way, he and his friends (he said) would have sold all and sailed for America. Thus it was the Puritan spirit which gave to the Parliamentary side all its energy and its single-minded devotion. On the other hand, this religious aspect alienated many of those who, on purely constitutional grounds, had at first been on that side. Thus, the two Hothams, who held Hull against the king in April, 1642, afterwards joined him; with Falkland, who had pressed for Strafford's attainder; Culpepper, who had impeached the judges; Hyde, who had denounced the Star Chamber. Even Sir Edmund Verney, who had belonged to the Parliamentary opposition, now became the king's standard-bearer. He writes: "I have no love for bishops . . . . but I have eaten the king's bread for thirty years, and will not desert him now." So it was with Sir Edward Dering, who had brought in the Root and Branch Bill; so with the nobles and gentlemen of Yorkshire who had begged the king to come to terms; so with many other peers and country squires, who could not resist the practical appeal of the raising of the king's standard at Nottingham, August 22, 1642. At this date his armed force consisted only of 800 horsemen. But on September 6 the Parliament rejected in the most uncompromising manner the overtures for peace, and proclaimed that all "delinquents" should suffer confiscation. This attitude on the part of his enemies brought in ten thousand recruits, Clarendon assures us, to the royal camp within the next week, chiefly from

Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Staffordshire. Clarendon is also right, no doubt, in speaking of the deep impression made by the king's solemn protestation before his new army that he would be faithful to the Church of England, and "observe inviolably the laws consented to by me this parliament." So far from "the vulgar opinion" being true, that the king was undone by his concessions, the fact was (as Burnet had noted) that but for his concessions he would have had no party at all. It was Hyde who had made this possible. His theory of constitutional royalty was, at any rate, a ground which constitutionalists could plausibly take up. It recalled Charles from those fatal courses into which he had seemed to be plunging when he attempted to bring the City into collision with the Houses, and to arrest his opponents by violating the privileges of Parliament. It was at bottom an utter delusion; the issues went too deep for mere political compromises, and no settlement could be permanent which assumed that Charles could be trusted to recognise the logic of facts.

Its Sections: The Squires.

But it enabled a motley host to rally round him, and gave them a common formula. Thus the Royalist party included many distinct sections, actuated by distinct ideals, and yet was a real party with a certain unity of feeling, at least in the earlier stages of the war. The core, so to speak, consisted of the country squires, with their deep-rooted traditions of loyalty, their habits of local leadership, their contempt for the interference of yeomen and artisans in politics. These feelings were bound up with one of the deepest forces in English history—that is, the individuality and independence of the shire. Cornwall or Yorkshire would scorn to be dictated to by London; even Essex and Cambridgeshire proved restive often enough. The Eastern Association, the Midland Association, of groups of neighbouring counties, were indeed a concession to this shire feeling; while on the other hand, in most of England, this local spirit was distinctly a force to be reckoned on the king's side. Along with the gentry and many of the noble families may be reckoned a small but influential group, in which the leading names (beside Falkland's) are those of Spencer, Southampton, Carnarvon, the constitutionalists of the party, moderate and able men, who were keenly alive to the fanatical side of Puritanism, who foresaw, as its

The Constitutionalists.

logical outcome, that every tinker and tailor would be setting up for a prophet, but who failed to do justice to its heroic side, or to realise that their own halting policy could never cut the knot. Most opposed to these men, and ready to call them faint-hearts or traitors, was the noisy clique of professed soldiers, who did much to discredit Charles's cause. It was to them the name Cavaliers was first applied with a sense of

The Cavaliers.

Photo. Walker & Cockerell.

THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY, EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON, K.G.
BY SIR PETER LELY.

(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

reprobation; from them the Royal armies got the reputation of "deboshed" men. The most famous of them was Prince Rupert; the most useful, had he been properly used, would have been the Earl of Lindsey, a veteran of the Dutch wars; the most notorious was Goring, a generous man and a fighting man, but a drunkard and a profligate. Not much less was the king discredited by his Catholic friends, chief among whom were the Herberts and the Catholic gentry of Lancashire and the North. Their presence seemed to give colour to the

The Catholics.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

prevalent rumours of Papist influence and Papist plots — rumours grossly exaggerated, but not without some excuse. But for the Herberts' munificent offering of £122,000 in the summer of 1642 Charles could hardly have taken the field at all; yet, for all this loyalty, his cause in the end lost more than it gained by such allies.

The Peasantry

It is clear that till after Marston Moor the peasantry in most of the counties leaned decidedly to the Royalist side. There were but few counties in which the Puritan movement had as

LUCIUS CAREY, VISCOUNT FALKLAND.

(By permission of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Bath.)

yet reached to them; and, till they were taught better by the wasteful and plundering habits of the Royalist forces, they would regard as tyranny the uncompromising orders issued by the Parliament, and its heavy organised taxation. Thus, in Yorkshire, they resented the suppression of the Council of the North, which had proved itself, like its prototype the Star Chamber, "a bridle on the stout nobles."

It has been well observed that the best and noblest section

of the Royalist party was the section which was most averse to the war; while in their enemies' camp all the elements that were most lofty and sincere were ranged on the side of war. Falkland fought and fell with the longing for peace on his lips; but Ireton and Harrison felt the work of the Lord was to bring, not peace, but a sword, till that work was done; and Waller, writing to his old comrade Hopton, now arrayed against him, protests that "the great God, who is the searcher of all hearts, knows with what perfect hate I detest a war without an enemy; but," he adds, "it is the work of the Lord, which is enough to silence all passion in me."

The Parliamentary Party.

There was, it is true, a feeling from the first among many of the men who were fighting against the king that they did not want to push things to extremes; the king must not be beaten too much, but only enough to render him ductile for negotiations. Certain constitutional abuses had required stern reform, a certain zeal in some of the more advanced clergy had required a sharp lesson: these points secured, all would be well. Indeed, to these "half-measures men" a Republican or an Anabaptist was a far more fearful monster than a too subservient judge or a too Arminian prelate. But men got tired of winning victories in summer, only to furnish fireside talk in winter; it was in the very nature of things that the war should fall under the control of a more whole-hearted party; and such a party there already was, with the lines ready laid on which to base its division from the other. Cromwell's despatch after Marston Moor shows us this "godly party," with its religious principle of independency and its military principle of no compromise, drawn up in sharp opposition both to the narrow Presbyterianism of Lord Manchester and his Scotch allies, and to their temporising strategy. But hitherto Independents and Presbyterians had been restrained by the needs of the situation; and in the first two years of the war they managed to unite on the question of defeating the king and accepting the Covenant, and so to present the show of a united Parliamentary party.

The Territorial Division.

As this party covered many irreconcilable sections (p. 343), so its nominal area contained districts of very diverse degrees of zeal. Its great stronghold was London, which, it was said, could at any moment put 30,000 men in the field; already, in May, 1642, at a review of the London train-bands, the actual muster

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

1660]

was 8,000. With London went Essex and Herts. These, with the shires of Northampton and Lincoln, "went solid" for the cause of liberty in the autumn of 1642. The shires where only a town here or there returned a Royalist were Surrey, Huntingdon, Leicester, Bedford, Cambridge, Norfolk, Gloucester. The shires which were Parliamentarian, though their boroughs were mostly Royalist, were Sussex, Hants, Berks, Bucks, Oxford, Derby, York, Worcester. On the other hand, the towns which, though surrounded by Royalist districts, were stanch for the Parliament, were many and important: in the North, Berwick, Newcastle, Carlisle, Appleby, Cockermouth, Scarborough, Knaresborough, Hull, Preston, Wigan, Liverpool; in the Midlands, Nottingham; in the West and South, Truro, St. Germains, Plymouth, Okehampton, Bath, Chippenham, Dorchester, Wareham, Lymington; even in Wales, Pembroke and Denbigh. There was the same spirit in Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and in others, doubtless, of the towns which were then without representatives. It would be possible to draw the party boundary as a line from Scarborough to Southampton. No doubt it is evident there was much cross division. Thus, in Royalist Somerset, the yeomen and the large class half-peasant, half-artisan, held firm for the other side; in Royalist Yorkshire, the gentry at first had agreed to stand neutral; in Kent, the grand jury's petition in favour of the Church was carried only by one vote. In London itself, to take the reverse side of the facts, there was, by October, 1642, a powerful Royalist party; and there was some belief the fleet would declare for the king, who claimed he had in his favour "the nobility, the gentry, and divers honest men" everywhere. But still, when all has been said, varying and superficial as such a party frontier may be, it is not without significance. For to the east of such a line lay two-thirds of the population and three-fourths of the wealth of the whole realm; there lay the most orderly, the best organised, the most thoughtful part of the population—the part which had held its lead through the Middle Ages, which had raised up the Yorkist dynasty to be champions of strong government, which was now Puritan because Puritanism seemed to be the one hope of freedom both political and religious.

Its Effect.

So impressive was the preponderance of strength against Charles that even his own supporters at first thought the struggle

would be a short one. The Parliamentary districts formed a far more compact block of territory than the Royalist. This fact, coupled with the immensely greater Parliamentary resources in finance, assured to that side the ultimate victory. Cornwall and Devon could not permanently combine with Wales or with the North. But this very dissension also gave the war its disconnected and lingering character. The conquerors had not only to win their ground, but to organise and to assimilate it. From the very first they had to clear away, one by one the strongholds which cut their lines of communication—such as Newark, whose Royalist garrison barred the way from the Eastern counties to Yorkshire, or Tickhill and Welbeck, which sent out raiding

PARLIAMENTARIAN HELMETS.

(*Maidstone Museum.*)

parties whenever unwatched. Thus the war was also a war of sieges and blockades. It repeated itself in miniature round many a castle or country-house (p. 436). Often the flame broke out again where it seemed to have been quenched, as in Kent and Wales in 1648. It is strange to find Essex itself the scene of Royalist plots in 1654. But it must be remembered that in no single district, in no single class, did the predominance of one faction mean the total disappearance of the other. Even Oxford, the Royal centre—military, political, ecclesiastical—was probably divided pretty equally. The townsmen were at first openly and then secretly Parliamentarians, as they showed in their rejoicings at the surrender to Fairfax in 1646; and yet many citizens suspected of disloyalty had been cleared out in 1642. What is still more surprising is to find that in the colleges, too, both sides were represented, and not so very unequally. Merton College,

ENGLAND
TO ILLUSTRATE
The Civil Wars
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 60
SCOTLAND
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
I. OF MAN
OF ANGLESEY
Cardigan Bay
BRISTOL CHANNEL
ENGLISH CHANNEL
CHANNEL ISLANDS
Strait of Dover
FRANCE
I. OF WIGHT
Berwick
Carlisle
Durham
Newcastle
Scarborough
Bridlington
York
Marston Moor
Tadcaster
Selby
Hull
Preston
Bradford
Leeds
Pontefract
Wigan
Wakefield
Manchester
Gainsborough
Warrington
Winnington Br.
Northwich
Bangor
Chester
Welbeck
Horncastle
Winceby
Newark
Nantwich
Chirk
Uttoxeter
Nottingham
Grantham
Harlech
Oswestry
Wem
Stafford
Shrewsbury
Lichfield
Norwich
Montgomery
Leicester
Birmingham
Coventry
Ludlow
Daventry
Huntingdon
Aberystwith
Warwick
Northampton
Worcester
Cropredy
Towcester
Cambridge
Hereford
Evesham
Newport
Pagnell
Tewkesbury
Stow
Banbury
Haverfordwest
Highnam
Aylesbury
Colchester
Chelmsford
Gloucester
Monmouth
Cirencester
Oxford
Brill
Chepstow
Tenby
Pembroke
Cardiff
Lansdowne
Wallingford
LONDON
Bristol
Bath
Uxbridge
Reading
Brentford
Kingston
Maidstone
Sandwich
Walmer
Devizes
Newbury
Farnham
Bridgewater
Winchester
Taunton
Cheriton
Dover
Sherborne
Chichester
Stratton
Exeter
Lyme Regis
Poole
Newport
Launceston
Dorchester
Weymouth
Tavistock
Plymouth
Falmouth
5 Longitude West 4 of Greenwich 3

the home of the Court, supplied three of the seven Presbyterians appointed to preach before the University in 1647, and three of the Visitors. Of the whole list (33) of members of the College, sixteen submitted at once to the Visitors' new terms, and several came in later. Clarendon declares that of the Heads and Fellows of the Colleges, "scarce one submitted." It is sufficient answer to observe that the most recent computation gives—of Fellows and Scholars, 374 expulsions, 404 submissions, and some 200 doubtful cases.

BRISTOL IN 1670.

Local Divisions.

Local records show a similar state of division in Bristol, in Hereford, in many other places. The very armies on either side were made up of most mixed elements. Fairfax said his best soldiers were men taken out of Royalist garrisons. The "New Model" itself was largely composed of pressed men—"the scum of the inhabitants, king's soldiers, prisoners, tinkers, pedlars, vagrants," says one of the colonels. No wonder that, in such a confused state of things, many felt their duty pull them both ways at once; like a certain John Langley, who complained that

there were "two armies . . . each challenging the Protestant religion for their standard . . . I desire to live at home in peace . . . I find, in my conscience, I have enough of this." But neither side could afford to allow neutrals; men must be either for God or for His enemies. Sir W. Waller had to proclaim in Sussex that those who took this "detestable way" should be counted enemies of the State. By a more politic method—that of cash payments—Fairfax and Cromwell won over the "clubmen" of the southern counties to feel that the right lay with those who fairly bought what they needed instead of "requisitioning" in the name of the king.

SIR JACOB ASTLEY.
(*Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

Four years of fighting brought out clearly one fact. The king's party contained elements too incongruous to work long together. They were disunited geographically and socially. Their enemies were not only better organised, better financed, and possessed a more positive ideal, but they were, moreover—until, at least, they saw victory assured to them — more united in aim. Then, and then only, did the fundamental split in their camp show itself effectively. Old Sir Jacob Astley summed up the situation exactly when, after the final fight at Stow, he said to his captors, as he sat resting upon a drum, "Gentlemen, you may now sit down and play, for you have done all your work, if you fall not out among yourselves."

C. W. C. OMAN. The Art of War.

It seems desirable at this point to take a brief retrospect of the progress of the military art under James I., in order that the subject may be treated for the entire period as a whole. The reign of James was a time of very little moment in military matters

on this side of the channel. That king and his minister Salisbury put an end to the long Spanish War, which had lingered on through the later years of Elizabeth, as soon as they found it possible. They committed themselves to no other struggle.

English Volunteers Abroad.

The peaceful king managed to avoid being dragged into the vortex of the Thirty Years' War, even though the nation loudly clamoured for leave to take part with the Protestant Union, and though James himself wished to do what he could for his unfortunate daughter the Queen of Bohemia. But though England never declared war on the Emperor or the Catholic League, thousands of English volunteers crossed the North Sea year by year to throw themselves into the fight, and to serve with the Dutch or the Reformed Princes of Germany. Sometimes they went forth in organised bands and with the full warrant of the king and Parliament, like the unfortunate expedition of 1622, which suffered such miseries in Holland, and the large force which was raised to serve under Mansfeldt in 1625. More often they went in smaller numbers and on their own responsibility. These wars gave England many veteran soldiers, but no army, for of the English and Scottish volunteers who shed their blood under Maurice and Frederick Henry of Nassau, or Mansfeldt and Christian of Brunswick, or Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, comparatively few returned to their native soil, and those who did found no occupation for themselves at home. Nor can the many gallant deeds which they accomplished over seas pass for a portion of the military history of England, though so much might be written of the achievements of the Veres' regiments in Flanders and Germany, or of the Scottish Brigade in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, whose doings were the staple of Monro's "Expedition."

"THE PIKEMAN STANDS ORDERED."
(*Neade's "Double-armed Man,"* 1625.)

As regards England itself, apart from the process of transformation of the military system dealt with earlier in this volume

SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

"THE PIKEMAN STANDS SLOAPT AND SHOOTING."

(*Neade's "Double-armed Man,"* 1625.)

The Decay of the Old English System.

(p. 57), nothing more is to be recorded than the fact that the train-bands were duly kept up, not without many grumblings as to their inefficiency, and especially as to the difficulty of inducing those who were bound to provide horsemen to keep efficient men in the ranks. The bow was finally gone, though it still possessed some belated advocates, and the militia were now all furnished with pike and musket. We need make no more than a short mention of William Neade's curious scheme for combining pike and bow in the soldier's hands, which he ventilated in his book of "The Double-armed Man." This was a visionary plan for the use of a composite weapon composed of a bow spliced to a pike, in a manner which, from Neade's diagrams, appears most uncomfortable and inconvenient. The bow had to be shortened and lose some of its projectile power for want of tension, while the pike must have completely lost its balance for the thrust because of the bow adhering to it. But Neade exhibited his device before the king, and got permission to teach it to such of the train-bands as might list. They all, very wisely, left it alone, moving Neade to grief and driving him into countless petitions to royalty. The scheme is only interesting as showing how soldiers were already seeking about for some means of combining weapons for close combat with projectiles, but the true solution of the musket and bayonet was yet sixty years off.

A Precursor of the Bayonet.

"THE PIKEMAN STANDS CROUCHED AND CHARGED FOR HORSE."

(*Neade's "Double-armed Man,"* 1625.)

The troops raised for service in the early years of Charles I. for

The Method of Recruiting.

the two unlucky and ill-managed expeditions to Rhé and Cadiz were levied, as had been the custom in the time of Elizabeth, by impressment from the shires (p. 57). They were hastily formed into regiments, and forwarded to the Continent without due time to gain cohesion among themselves, to learn subordination to their commanders, or to pick up their drill.

POSITIONS DURING THE SIEGE OF THE ILE DE RHÉ.

(*Isnard, "Arcis Sammartinæ Obsidio,"* 1625.)

Even had they been granted longer preparation, it is hardly likely that they would have come to respect the incompetent officers whom Buckingham set over them, or to gain any profit from them. Probably the men who went to Rhé (p. 14) were the most inefficient and helpless army that England ever sent out; no further explanation is required of the hideous disaster with which they met.

The regiments of the second quarter of the seventeenth

ARTILLERISTS AT WORK.

(*MS. Add. 15,726.*)

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

century ran somewhat lower in numbers than those of the reign of Elizabeth. Their nominal complement was now about 1,300 men, a figure decidedly lower than that of the preceding century, when the idea of the size of a regiment had been drawn from that of the old Spanish *tercio*, which often mustered 3,000 strong. In theory the pikes and musketeers should have been equal in numbers in each company, but as a matter of fact the men furnished with firearms were generally the more numerous of the two. The musketeers had now finally dropped all defensive armour, and wore only hat and jerkin, unlike their predecessors of Elizabeth's time, who had still protected themselves with morion and mailshirt. A treatise of 1619 —Davies' "Trainings of a Soldier" —gives the reason:—

The Regimental Strength.

> "Some, in a custom of too much curiositie in arming hargabusiers, besides a peece, flaske, tutch-box, rapier and dagger, loade them with a heavie shirt of male, and a steel burganet: so that by the time they have marched in the heate of sommer or deepe of the winter, ten or twelve English miles, they are more apt to rest than ready to fight, and their enterprise shall become frustrate by reason of the stay they make in refreshing themselves, or else they are in danger to be repulsed, for want of lustinesse, breath, and agilitie."

PIKEMAN OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY.

(Rotunda Museum, Woolwich. By permission of the General Officer commanding Woolwich District.)

The pikemen, on the other hand, less burdened by their comparatively portable weapon, still wore the steel cap, back- and breast-plates, and tassets covering the thighs.

Drill.

Elaborate drill-books exist for both pike and musket. The exercises for the former are comparatively simple, but those of the latter bear witness to the extremely inefficient condition

The Musket.

in which firearms still lay. The use of the musket was still much complicated by the employment of the "rest"—a pointed staff with a forked head, between three and four feet long. The musket-barrel was laid in the fork to secure steadiness of aim, for the weapon was still so heavy that, except in the hands of unusually powerful men, it was hard to aim, and swayed about helplessly. How the soldier should manage the rest while both hands were required for loading the musket was the chief puzzle of those who drew up drill-books. It had to be strung by a loop from the wrist, gripped with two fingers only, or grasped in the same hand that was holding the musket—all difficult operations. Cumbered already by his rest, the soldier was still more inconvenienced by his "match," the long, smouldering string with which he "touched off" his piece. It was held between the first and second finger of the left hand while he loaded, and in windy weather must have scorched the back of the unfortunate musketeer's knuckles in no small measure. Cartridges being not yet invented, the charges of powder were carried in "bandoleers"—small cases of wood or other material hung on a belt that crossed the body diagonally. The bullets were kept in a pouch, thence usually transferred to the mouth one by one, and rammed home with a wad of paper, hay, or rag, after the charge had been poured down the muzzle from the "bandoleer." We still find complaints that untrained troops in their hurry forgot the wad, and did not ram the bullet home, so that it would often fall out when the muzzle was depressed in taking aim. "'Tis to this," says a treatise of the seventeenth century, "that I attribute the little execution that we have often seen musketeers do in time of fight, though they fired at great battallions, and those also reasonable near."

The Formation.

The orthodox array for a company in the time of Charles I. was with its pikemen in a clump eight or ten deep in the centre, with the colour in their midst—for every company carried a flag. The musketeers were drawn up on the two flanks of the pikes six or eight deep; each rank was to give fire, and then fall back behind the rear to reload; by the time that the sixth or eighth rank had fired, the first rank was again ready to discharge. This secured a continuity of fire, but at the cost of continual running back and forward, from

MUSKETRY DRILL.

("*Directions for Musters*," 1638.)

which disorder and shirking to the rear easily resulted. When cavalry or hostile infantry pushed home an attack against the composite line of pikes and musketeers, the latter might have to retire to the direct rear of the former to protect themselves by the hedge of spears. But when once in safety they were perfectly useless for offensive purposes. From their helplessness in close combat the musketeers were always considered the more dangerous and less trustworthy arm, depending always, when matters came "to push of pike," entirely on the pluck and steadiness of their comrades of the "long weapon."

Arms and Armour.

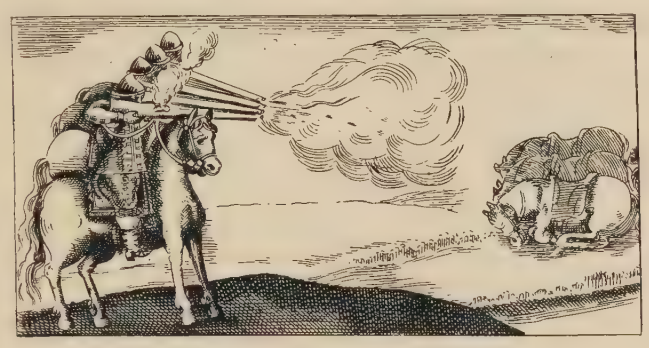
The fully armed horsemen of the first half of the seventeenth century usually wore steel caps — occasionally, however, the old helmet with movable vizor. They were protected by breast- and back-plate and tassets, but had nearly all discarded armour for the legs and arms. Superior officers only were generally found in the complete *cap-à-pie* suit. The lance had entirely disappeared in favour of sword and pistol. Often too much importance was given to the latter weapon. Cavalry were taught by one school of instructors to give fire and then wheel off to reload, instead of pressing a charge home with the sword. This deplorable perversion of an arm whose real force and effectiveness lay in the violence of its impact was lamentably prevalent in the early seventeenth century. Anyone who has studied the large battle pictures of the Thirty Years' War, or the Dutch-Spanish wars of Maurice and Frederick Henry, will remember numerous representations of squadrons of cavalry delivering their fire and then wheeling off to the rear, instead of pressing the charge home. Gustavus Adolphus is well remembered for his successful reform of this foolish form of tactics, which made the horsemen no more than "pistoleers." By the time of the English Civil War of 1642 his teaching had got abroad, and we find little complaint of the over-tendency of cavalry to rely on firearms. Cromwell and his contemporaries were quite aware of the all-importance of cohesion and impact, and relied on them alone.

Cavalry Tactics.

Dragoons.

While the ordinary cavalry soldier had been taught once more to rely on his sword and horse alone, a special form of horsemen, furnished with firearms, had come to the front in the "dragoon." He was a descendant of the horsed harque-

busier of the previous century, and a prototype of the mounted infantry of to-day. He was armed with a musketoon, fireable without any rest, and much smaller than the foot-soldier's musket. It was his task to precede the army, and take positions for covering its front, dismounting and acting as infantry. The dragoon horse was, therefore, smaller and less valuable than that of the ordinary trooper, since it was only required for purposes of transport, not for engagement in time of battle. Nevertheless, there existed, then as now, the temptation for mounted infantry to try to take the part of cavalry on occasion, and to join in charges. We not unfrequently find a dragoon regiment acting so in our own Civil Wars. Ultim-



DRAGOONS FIRING OVER HORSES.

(*N. Burt's "Militarie Instructions,"* 1644.)

ately, as is well known, they assimilated themselves more and more to heavy cavalry, and finally dropped the special purpose for which they had been invented. But in the days of Cromwell and Fairfax we still find the dragoons employed, as a rule, on foot, covering the front of the army with skirmishers, or pushing on ahead to seize points of vantage before the infantry could come up.

The Civil Wars.

At the outbreak of the Great Rebellion the king and the Parliament were in very much the same condition of unpreparedness in things military. On both sides there were officers who had had much warlike experience in the old wars of Germany; there must also have been many individuals in the ranks on both sides who had seen the same service. But while individual veterans could be found, there was no general organisation on

either side, except that of the militia. In the Eastern counties the Parliament laid hands on that machinery; in the Western, the king. Charles had also some slight help from the fact that many of his friends had learnt a few rudiments of soldiering in the unhappy army in the Northern shires that had been called out against the Scots in 1640, and had remained for some time under arms about York.

The Lack of Preparation.

But on neither side was the best of the service done by the militia. The trainbands disliked stirring outside their county boundary, and the volunteer regiments and squadrons raised by prominent individuals, under the sanction of king or Parliament, in the district where they each had local influence, were the backbone of the war. At the commencement of the struggle both Charles and his opponents could only put into the field levies very hastily prepared. Of the king's army at Edgehill, no single regiment had been nine weeks under arms. The nucleus of it was the retainers of the North-Midland gentry, who had flocked into Nottingham in August, when the king raised his standard. But the larger part had joined later, and the men were only enregimented at Shrewsbury early in October. Arms for the infantry had been very hard to procure. After collecting all sorts of firearms of different calibre, and confiscating the muskets of the distrusted train-bands of Nottinghamshire, there were still too few to provide for all the levies. Pikes were easy to make, and the horseman's sword was procurable enough, but firearms and defensive armour were both lacking. There was, of course, no attempt possible at uniform or at regular arming either in infantry or cavalry. The serving-man or tenant who rode after his landlord, or master, might be well armed in steel cap and back- and breast-plates, or furnished with a mere buff-leather jerkin, or serve "naked" in hat and doublet. The sole unity securable was that of putting all the men who followed the same chief into that chief's own troop or squadron. Hence came a completely parti-coloured set of regiments, whose only way of recognising each other was the red scarf which formed the Royalist badge. The Parliamentarians seem to have been somewhat better provided at the outset of the war, both in the matter of arms and in that of uniform. The chief arsenals and manufacturers of England

were in their hands, so that we hear of little delay in arming their levies. There seems also to have been time enough to put most of the regiments into uniform, but no common clothing for the whole army was adopted; the coats of the men were red, blue, green, or yellow, as the fancy of their colonel or the old local custom of the district dictated. Their only common sign was the orange scarf, which Lord

Photo: Goupil & Co.

NATHANIEL FIENNES.

(By permission of the Right Hon. Lord Saye and Sele.)

Essex had chosen, probably in memory of his old Dutch service. The introduction of a common colour for the coats of all regiments only began with the "New Model" in 1645. Red had been a favourite wear among the infantry of the Eastern Association for two years before, but it was not the only hue employed among them. Real uniformity came in with the "New Model," as Messrs. Firth and Fortescue have shown. A newspaper of May 7, 1645, speaks of Fairfax's

troops as "redcoats all, the whole army only distinguished by the several facings of their coats." There was no change made after this date, and (as Mr. Firth observes) in the literature of the Commonwealth and Protectorate "redcoat" and "soldier" are used as synonymous terms.

Unsuitable Recruits.

There was much weak stuff in both armies. Among the king's men were many who had been drawn to the field rather at their master's desire than their own. In the Parliament's forces were mixed enthusiastic volunteers and city loafers attracted by the high pay promised—the "old decayed tapsters and serving-men" against whom Cromwell thundered in his conversation with Hampden. The feeble element among the king's men was the infantry; his cavalry was full of fiery young squires and their personal retainers, and always erred from rashness, not from want of zeal. On the other hand, the king's enemies had found it hard to fill up the ranks of their hastily raised cavalry regiments with good material. Men who could sit a horse with skill were not too common among the city-bred volunteers who formed such a large portion of the Parliamentary army, and the early colonels seemed to have cared more to see that their recruits had a firm seat in the saddle than a zealous heart in the cause. The faults of the mercenary were to be found among them—a keen eye for plunder and pay, and a disinclination to fight out things to the end in the way that the "man of religion," whom Cromwell extolled, was prepared to do. It was this intermixture of the baser element that caused the disgraceful failure of the Parliamentary horsemen at Powyck Bridge (p. 282), and especially at Edgehill, where they rode off the field in wild flight when the first clash of battle went against them, although their comrades in the foot regiments stayed behind, fought the matter out, and turned a lost battle into a drawn one.

The Local Contests.

One of the main features to be noticed in the civil war is that, although the main armies on both sides were soon shaken down into some form of organisation, there was fighting going on all over the country between undisciplined bands raised on the spur of the moment by local magnates, and never regularly formed into companies or squadrons, much less into regiments. It was not easy to draw any save very loyal and enthusiastic partisans far from their own counties, but nearly

every landowner in the Midlands, North, and West seems to have tried to fortify his own manor, or to seize his neighbour's at the head of such men as he could raise among his tenants. All this fighting was full of incident and interest; as much courage was shown in petty skirmishes and sieges as on broader fields of battle, but so many men were absorbed in the local bickerings, that the main armies remained relatively small and ineffective. Every small castle or fortified manor was held by its 50 or 100 men, and as these little strongholds were reckoned by the

HOPTON CASTLE, HEREFORDSHIRE.

hundred rather than the score, they absorbed sufficient numbers to have doubled or trebled the armies in the field. While Edgehill, or Newbury, or Naseby were fought by hosts of 10,000 or 15,000 a side, the total of the forces obeying king or Parliament at the moment must have been six or eight times as numerous. Yet the general fortune of the war was undoubtedly settled by the great battles, not by the local fighting; the results of a dozen petty successes were promptly upset by one pitched battle. For when the field army of either party had been beaten out of the country side, all the petty garrisons belonging to it were bound to drop one by one into the victor's hands. Towards the end of the struggle both

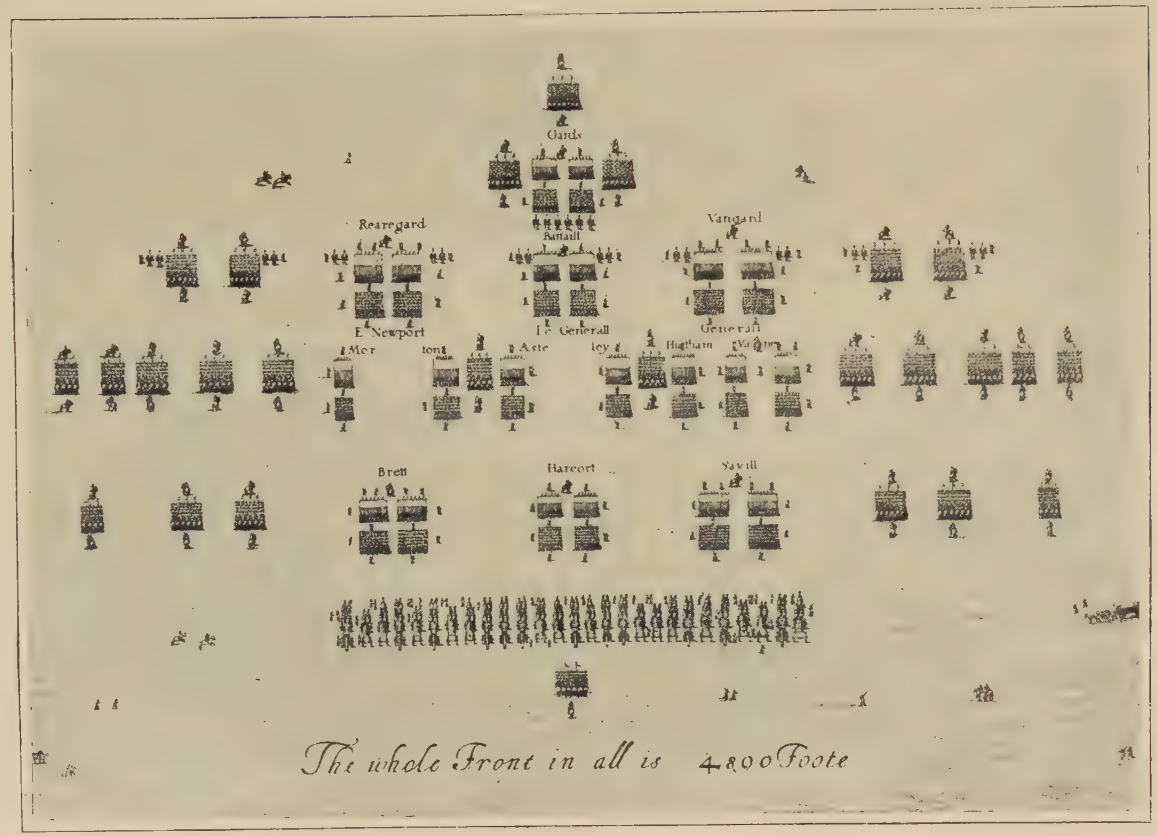
Cavalier and Roundhead seem at last to have realised this fact and took to "slighting," *i.e* dismantling or partially blowing up all the small strongholds that they captured, instead of placing garrisons in them. This was the only true policy. A thousand men in a dozen small garrisons were almost useless; the same number held in hand as the reserve of a field-army might decide the war.

Strength of the Main Armies.

The extreme difficulty which we find in accurately determining the forces present at any of the great fights of the war is to a large extent due to this parcelling out of regiments which prevailed on both sides during the years 1642–44. It is no use to ascertain the initial strength of a regiment if we find that it has been dropping companies and half-companies on the way. On the other hand, in times of extreme need, a commander would sweep together every man that could be spared from the neighbouring strongholds, and put together a regiment or two from these fragments—regiments that appear in a mysterious way on one field, and resolve themselves into their component parts when it is over. At Marston Moor, for example, no one can say exactly how many infantry Prince Rupert brought to join Newcastle, for he had been picking up small parties all the way from Worcester to York, and forming them into what a later generation would have called "battalions of detachments." There appear to have been one or two similar corps in the army which King Charles himself led to Naseby, the bodies in Spriggs' well-known plan of that fight which defy identification.

Varying Organisation.

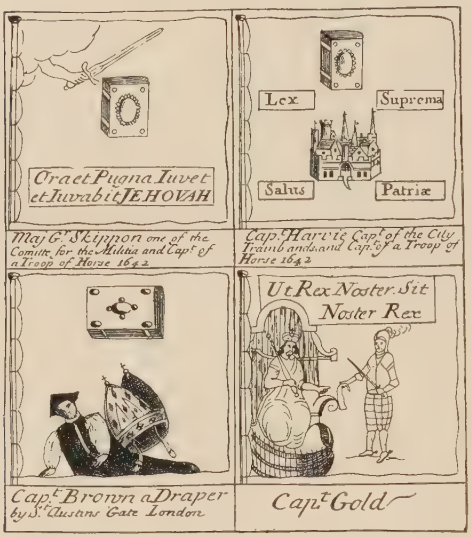
The continual dispersing and re-collecting of temporary military units is the fact which explains the great number of the *reformados, i.e.* officers of disbanded regiments, which we find on both sides, but more especially on that of the king. When a corps was split up, or cut to pieces in fight, its remnants were incorporated with a more intact body, and the superfluous officers cast upon the world, till some colonel engaged in patching together a new regiment chose to make use of them. The haphazard form of organisation, the continued disbanding and re-enrolling, and the different measure in which the stress of battle fell on different corps, led to great variety in the numbers of the individual horse and foot regiments. Sometimes we find very large bodies, running up to 2,000 strong—they are



AN ARMY IN FORMAL BATTLE ARRAY.

(From an engraving by W. Hollar.)

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA



PARLIAMENTARY STANDARDS.

occasionally called "double regiments"—like the king's footguards at Edgehill, or Newcastle's celebrated "Whitecoats" in the North. Sometimes they ran to no more than 500. It is seldom that we get accurate and complete statistics, what the modern soldier would call "morning states," of the exact completement of each division of an army. For this reason it may be useful to give the figures of the London regiments, from which Essex took the troops that fought so well at Newbury. When they mustered in Finsbury field in September, 1643, their strength was as follows:—

	Pikes.	Muskets.	Officers.	Total.
White Regiment	520	600	70	1190
Yellow Regiment	448	506	70	1024
Orange Regiment	408	630	63	1101
Green Regiment	297	503	63	863
Tower Hamlets Regiment ...	385	849	70	1304
Southwark Regiment... ...	456	868	70	1394
Westminster Regiment ...	854	1084	80	2018

The two remaining regiments, the "Red" and "Blue," which had just returned from Newbury field, have not their numbers so accurately given; the Blue had been very strong, a full 1,400, but is now estimated "at the most 1,000." The Red regiment had been "much banged," and had lost its major and one of its four captains slain; it "would only muster 1,000 if well recruited." If it had marched out 1,100 strong—the average of the six old regiments—it had probably lost 400. The recruiting, however, was easy, for the city had raised seven "auxiliary regiments." or second battalions, named by their colours like the older

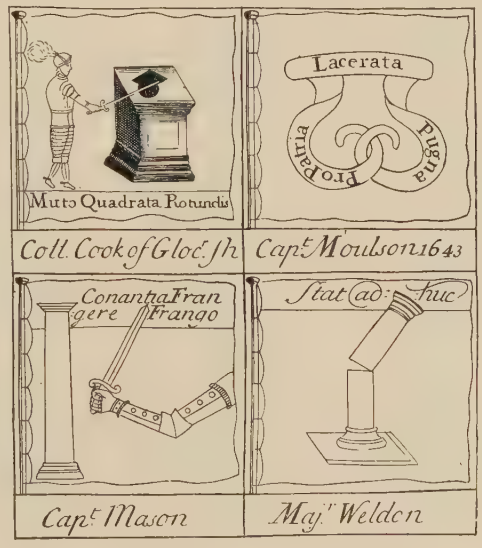
regiments, and the 7,200 men whom these provided could no doubt be drafted into the corresponding corps of the first line.

Pikemen and Musketeers.

The reader will note the extreme inequality of the proportion of pikes and muskets in different regiments. In the Tower Hamlets regiment there were not quite 400 pikemen to 820 musketeers, while in the White and Yellow regiments there were full five pikes to six muskets. The Red, White, and Blue were five-company regiments, the Yellow, Green, and Orange four-company regiments, while the Tower Hamlets and Westminster regiments had six companies apiece, and the Southwark seven. Each company being supposed to number 200 men, it will be seen that all were up to their complement, and the Westminster corps well over it, with full 400 to each company. The officers comprised, in each regiment, a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major (still called sergeant-major), and from four to six captains, each with a lieutenant and ensign. There were three or four sergeants, and apparently about the same number of corporals to each company.

Officers.

Looking through the names of the officers, we find that one regiment was commanded by a baronet from Rutlandshire, but most of the others by aldermen. The captains were nearly all merchants or large shopkeepers. In the regiments raised outside London, however, it is generally found that the Puritan gentry supply the larger proportion of officers, and the trading classes only the minority. Even when the "New Model" army took the field, in 1645, it was noted that among its thirty-seven chief officers nine were of



PARLIAMENTARY STANDARDS.

noble, twenty-one of gentle blood, and only seven not gentlemen by birth.

Cavalry. The cavalry regiments of the Civil War averaged about half the strength of the infantry corps. A strong regiment would be 600, a weak one 400 sabres in all. They were divided into troops of about 100 strong, each under a captain, lieutenant, cornet, and quartermaster—the last a commissioned officer like the first three. Each troop had some three sergeants and four corporals.

Down to the raising of the "New Model" the Parliamentary

ROYALIST STANDARDS.

forces were composed of very various elements: (1) the volunteer regiments raised by popular leaders when the war first began; (2) the well-disciplined London train-bands; (3) the permanent levies made by counties "associated" together, of which the best trained were the Eastern league known as *the* "Associated Counties" *par excellence;* (4) the less efficient militia, which was not permanently kept up, but only raised at time of need; (5) irregular bands, levied by commissions of lieutenancy, in districts where the Royal power was strong and the Parliament had not been able to get the county organisation into its hands, and had to rely on the zealous efforts of individuals.

The "New Model" was destined to replace the first and third elements, substituting a national force for regiments

Fifer.

Targeteer.

Pikeman.

Infantry Officer.

Musketeer.

Targeteer.

Caliver-man.

Drummer.

SOLDIERS OF THE "NEW MODEL."

(By permission, from the original figures at Cromwell House, Highgate.)

The "New Model."

depending on personal or local loyalty. The old regiments of the armies of Essex and of the "Associated Counties" were disbanded, and re-formed into new units, made up to their full complement by men partly pressed and partly volunteering from the militia and train-bands. The varying and irregularly doled-out pay, which the county committees had given their regiments, was replaced by a fixed and liberal allowance of eightpence a day for the foot-soldier and two shillings for the trooper. From the method in which it was raised, it is obvious that the "New Model" was not, as has often been asserted, wholly composed of staunch Independents, or put together from very carefully selected materials. All the available men of the old army were drafted into it, whatever their political and religious views, and the pressed men, who joined against their own will, must have represented all manner of opinions and degrees of zeal. If the "New Model" became a homogeneous body, and developed strong and distinctive doctrines of the Independent type, it was from the influences exercised on it by its officers after it had been organised, not from any deliberate choice in the elements of which it was composed (p. 354).

Tactics in the Civil Wars.

A short survey of the tactical aspect of the fighting of the Great Rebellion shows that we have reached an epoch in the art of war very different from the preceding one. For the first time since the thirteenth century the cavalry is more important than the infantry in the English army. Its numbers in proportion to the foot-soldiery have swelled enormously. At Naseby nearly half of the Royal host (4,000 out of 9,000), and more than a third of the Parliamentary force (5,000 out of 13,000), served on horseback. This was a specially large proportion, but as a rule the cavalry were a good third of any force that took the field. This rise in the number and estimation of the mounted arm came from the weakness of the composite foot regiment of pikemen and musketeers. In such a corps half the men were of no use for close combat, and the other half of no use for anything except close combat. The chance of being able to catch the musketeers unprotected was very great; any clever cavalry officer might fairly hope either to come in rapidly upon them before they could shelter themselves, or else to roll them up against the pikes, and break in during the consequent confusion.

1660]

It will be noticed that most of the decisive battles of the war were won by the cavalry of one side or the other driving off its opponents of the same arm, and then turning upon the hostile infantry, and routing it by charges from the flank or rear. Such was the main drift of the fighting at Marston Moor, Naseby, Dunbar, and to a more limited extent at Edgehill, Cheriton, and many smaller fights such as Roundway Down, Stow-on-the-Wold, Gainsborough. It was very exceptional for infantry to beat off cavalry, unless the assailants were hampered by enclosures, or had their impetus broken by charging up hill or across rough ground. The best known success of infantry, that of the London regiments at the first battle of Newbury, gave the victors no more than an undisturbed retreat.

On the whole it may be said that all through the war the cavalry arm won all the positive victories, and the infantry was mainly used for steady resistance rather than for striking the great offensive blows. The foot-regiment was not destined to become self-sufficing, and independent of the aid of its mounted comrades, till the invention of the bayonet, nearly forty years after the war of the Great Rebellion had come to an end.

ARTHUR HASSALL. The Commonwealth and Protectorate.

On the death of Charles I., England, from being a kingdom became a commonwealth. The monarchy and the House of Lords were abolished on February 7th, 1649, and on February 14th a Council of State, composed of forty-one Parliamentary officials and military men, was appointed to exercise the executive power. But though the Council of State represented the majority of the remaining fragment of the House of Commons, the army was practically supreme, and was itself controlled by

MEMORIAL RINGS OF CHARLES I.
(*British Museum.*)

Cromwell. The king's death, so far from bringing tranquillity to the country, only increased the difficulties of the successful general. The Royalists were daily growing in importance; London, to some extent under Presbyterian influence, remained recalcitrant; and the extreme section of the army, headed by Lilburn, put forward doctrines subversive of the existing order of society. They demanded the greatest possible liberty for the individual, and the imposition of strict limitations on the power of the Government; while Cromwell, on his part, was resolved to preserve the authority of the executive power and to maintain the existing social orders. Ireland and Scotland, too, required firm treatment. In March, 1649, Cromwell was appointed by the Council of State to take command in Ireland, but before he set out for his memorable Irish and Scottish campaigns he put down the Levellers with a determined hand. In the autumn of the same year he thoroughly conquered Ireland, and in the spring of 1650 proceeded to Scotland, where the presence of the young Charles brought into opposition to Cromwell the whole of the Scottish nation. The decisive battles of Dunbar (September 3rd) and Worcester, a year later (September 3rd, 1651), overthrew the hopes of the Royalists both in Scotland and England, and the close of the year 1651 saw the three kingdoms practically united under the nominal rule of the English House of Commons.

Difficulties of the Commonwealth.

No sooner, however, were the three kingdoms tranquillised than the old quarrels burst out afresh between the army and Parliament. Between Cromwell's soldiers and the Parliamentarians a fundamental difference existed respecting the future constitution of the State. The former strongly objected to the Parliament being in perpetual session and continually usurping the functions of the judicial and executive authorities. The army had always protested against the arbitrary power of the Parliament, and it now demanded its dissolution, on the ground that it no longer represented the nation.

The Parliamentarians, on their part, aimed at reducing the army to submission, and at securing the triumph of the Commonwealth. They did not exactly propose to perpetuate the existing House of Commons, but they desired to adopt a scheme providing for a continuous succession of Parliaments, each lasting two years. While the army was complaining of

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

THE GREAT SEAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

the number of lawyers in the Parliament, of the inequality and tediousness of the existing judicial system, and of the want of absolute toleration, the Parliament, in September, 1651, ordered the army to be reduced, voted that they themselves should not be dissolved till November, 1654, and in order to gain popularity attempted to unite Holland and England.

The Long Parliament Dissolved.

In November, 1652, hoping that, owing to the effect of Blake's victories, they would be re-elected, the Parliamentarians resolved on a dissolution, but at the same time decided that all members of the present Parliament should be *de jure* members of the next. The introduction of a Bill, by Vane, to give effect to this decision brought matters to a crisis, and Cromwell constituted himself the mouthpiece of the prevailing dissatisfaction. Conferences had already been held between the officers and the members of the Parliament, and it was not till it was realised that Vane's Bill was on the point of becoming law that Cromwell, on April 20th, 1653, suddenly dissolved the House of Commons, and the Long Parliament came to an end.

The Little Parliament.

The army was at last triumphant, and the country, having no sympathy with the aims of the late Parliament, tacitly acknowledged the supremacy of the military elements. The army, however, had no intention of grasping political power, and Cromwell having dissolved the Council of State, summoned 140 of his nominees—called in later days Barebone's Parliament, or the Little Parliament—and organised a Council of State, consisting of thirty-one persons. Six of the members of the new Parliament came from Ireland, and five from Scotland; all were chosen from men who had given proofs of fidelity to the Parliamentary cause. The assembly proved a failure, and in no respect came up to Cromwell's ideal. With no practical knowledge, the members attempted to carry out, without due deliberation, a number of drastic reforms. No exception could be taken to proposals to simplify judicial procedure, to put an end to duels, to ameliorate the law of debt, or to abolish tests. But not satisfied with the consideration of such excellent measures, the Parliament attempted to destroy the whole system of Chancery, and to abolish advowsons and tithes, without providing any means for the support of the

clergy. The Little Parliament became intensely unpopular with all but the dreamers and fanatics. Supported by public opinion, Cromwell without hesitation faced this new crisis in his life. On December 12th, 1653, the ministry in the Parliament resigned their power into the hands of the Protector, and the Little Parliament vanished, unregretted by any important section of society.

The Protectorate.

On December 16th Cromwell was installed at Westminster as Lord Protector, in accordance with the Instrument of Government which had been drawn up by Lambert and the Council of Officers. By this—the first written constitution—the executive

SEAL OF OLIVER CROMWELL AS PROTECTOR.

power was entrusted to the Protector and Council of State. Cromwell was to have the right of pardon, except for treason or murder, and, in conjunction with the Council, control of the forces of the country and the right of peace or war. A Parliament was to be summoned every three years, and to sit for one year. No taxes or laws could be passed without its consent. Though the Protector could for twenty days refuse his consent to a statute, he could not prorogue or dissolve Parliament till it had sat for five months. Until the meeting of the first Parliament of the Protectorate, on September 3rd, 1654, Cromwell and his Council governed the country, and these nine months form an admirable illustration of the Protector's fitness for ruling. Not only was the union of the three kingdoms completed, but eighty-two ordinances were passed bearing on the social organisation of the country, including in

Cromwell as Ruler.

their scope the repair of highways, the prohibition of duels, the improvement of the laws about debtors, the regulation of the police in London, the simplification of the jurisdiction of Chancery.

When Parliament met in the autumn of 1654, the difficulties inherent in the attempt to separate the executive and legislative powers became at once apparent, and the members of the assembly exhibited a great unwillingness to accept the constitutional settlement effected by the Instrument of Government, and which had been drawn up and imposed by the army. They demanded the subordination of the Protector to Parliament, though they were ready to accept the government of a single person. Led by Bradshaw and Haselrig, they began to discuss the new constitution in virtue of which they had been summoned.

The Fundamentals.

Cromwell, while admitting their right to discussion, thought it necessary to intervene, and demanded that the Parliament should accept the following Fundamentals: — (1) That the Government rests with Parliament and one. (2) That Parliament should not perpetuate its powers. (3) That Parliament should not command the army. (4) That liberty of conscience should be allowed. Upwards of a hundred members refused to sign an undertaking to be faithful to these four conditions, and were excluded; the remainder proceeded to discuss and to alter the articles of the Instrument of Government. As no steps were taken for the benefit of the nation, and as no supplies were granted, Cromwell, having waited the expiration of five lunar months, dissolved the Parliament on January 22nd, 1655. He struck none too soon. Military, social, and political plots were in the course of formation, and resolute action was necessary.

Government by Major-Generals.

The military malcontents were dispersed, the attempt of the Levellers was put down, and an important Royalist rising under Penruddock was easily suppressed (March, 1655). Till September, 1656, he ruled by a military despotism which, in many of its aspects, was as tyrannical as the ten years of Charles I.'s government, from 1629 to 1639. The country was parcelled out into twelve divisions under major-generals, and martial law was declared. The liberty of the Press was restrained, the Episcopalian worship was suppressed, the use of the Prayer-Book prohibited (November, 1655), and taxes were

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

OLIVER CROMWELL PREACHING.

(From a satirical contemporary Dutch print.)

arbitrarily levied. On the whole the country, though despotically, was wisely governed, though the attempt to avert doctrinal tyranny by enforcing ceremonial uniformity was doomed to failure.

Cromwell's Second Parliament.

In September, 1656, Cromwell summoned his second Parliament. England was at war with Spain, and the existence of a deficit of £800,000 rendered expedient another attempt to rule by means of Parliament. Though some ninety of his opponents were excluded, the opposition in the Assembly to military government was as violent as ever. The majority, though far behind Cromwell in their views about toleration, and though bitterly hostile to the rule of the major-generals, were in reality attached to his person.

The Petition and Advice.

Early in 1657 the Petition and Advice was drawn up in Parliament to amend the Constitution. The Council of State were to return to the position held by the Privy Council, a second Chamber was to be summoned, and the kingly office to be revived. On March 31st the Petition and Advice was presented to him, and he was offered the title of king. The commercial classes, and generally the Presbyterians and all who desired tranquillity, were in favour of Cromwell's acceptance of the crown. But opposed to such acceptance were the Saints, the Fifth Monarchy men, the army, and generally the majority of the Republican party. From March till June conferences on the subject were held, with the result that, to the surprise of many, Cromwell definitely declined the proposal. In January, 1658, the new House of Lords, including the Peers who had opposed Charles I., many of Cromwell's relations, and numerous officers and lawyers, met at Westminster. By the terms of the Petition and Advice, the excluded members were re-admitted to the House of Commons, and they at once rendered all legislative work impossible. They attacked Cromwell, they refused to recognise the new House of Lords, or to pay any heed to the Protector's appeal to them to cease their factious conduct in face of the threatened alliance between Spain and the adherents of Charles II. Irritated by these plots, he dissolved Parliament on February 4th, 1658, ordered the Royalists and Roman Catholics to leave London, appointed a High Court of Justice to try libels, and told Broghill to warn Ormond, who

was plotting in England, to leave the country. Supported by London and the army, Cromwell had little difficulty in overthrowing the schemes of his enemies at home and abroad. A threatened invasion by Charles II. from Flanders, on which the Republicans had relied, came to nothing; his foreign policy was thoroughly successful. On September 3rd, 1658, the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester, he died, his life being prematurely shortened through his efforts in war and government. Though he cared little for constitutional reforms, he had realised the necessity of adhering to the old constitution of England—modified, and, if possible, purified; he had endeavoured to establish religious liberty. But his government was supported by a minority of the nation, and that minority was principally composed of his soldiers. On Cromwell's death his son Richard was recognised as his successor, and on January 27th, 1659, a new Parliament met. But Richard could do little to stave off the inevitable anarchy. Four distinct parties —the Cromwellians, the Republicans, the Wallingford House party (the army), and the Royalists — struggled for supremacy, and the Parliament was not only powerless to decide between these contending sections, but, by upholding the authority of the civil power over the army, brought about their own downfall. On April 21st Richard decided to throw in his lot with the army, and on April 22nd the Parliament was dissolved by the soldiers; the Protectorate was abolished shortly afterwards, and on May 7th the remnant of the Long Parliament—the Rump—was recalled, and Lenthall reassumed his duties as Speaker of a House composed of forty-two members.

Death of Cromwell.

CAST OF OLIVER CROMWELL'S FACE.
(*Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*)

Richard Cromwell Protector.

Though few in number, the Commons refused to act in subordination to the army, and the problem of reconciling the civil and military powers remained unsolved.

On October 13th the army, having successfully put down a Royalist insurrection at Winnington Bridge, refused the members admission to the House, and the Parliament was dissolved, only to be restored again to power on December 26th. The tide was now setting strongly in the direction of the Restoration of Charles II., the nation being sick of the domination of the military element. Even in the ranks of the army were many who recognised the impossibility of carrying on the government of a great kingdom by means of even a well-disciplined soldiery. Of this feeling George Monk, who commanded the English forces in Scotland, made himself the

SEAL OF RICHARD CROMWELL AS PROTECTOR.

Monk and the Restoration.

mouthpiece. On January 1st, 1660, he marched south, and, joined by Fairfax and the army, he entered London on February 3rd and declared for a free Parliament. On March 16th the Long Parliament came to an end. On April 14th the new Parliament met. It was composed to a great extent of Royalists, and it at once formally voted the restoration of the kingly office and the House of Lords "according to the fundamental laws of the realm," and invited Charles II. to return. On the day of the meeting of the Parliament he had issued the declaration of Breda promising toleration, pardon to all who were not specially excepted by Parliament, and security of tenure to the actual holders of confiscated estates. On May 25th the king landed at Dover; on the 29th he entered London. The rule of the army was over, the restoration of the monarchy was accomplished.

W. H. HUTTON. The Religious Struggle: Episcopacy and its Adversaries.

FROM the beginning of the Civil War religious parties were more sharply divided. From the first conflict of the troops there appears behind the political and military contests the intellectual strife of the three clearly marked religious parties —the Church, the Presbyterians, the Independents. Besides these there were the endless sects which now sprang into vigorous, if ephemeral, life; but these three great divisions of opinion included the mass of the nation, and answered, too, to the political parties which, from early in the reign, had been developing fixed and permanent principles. The Churchmen, as a whole, were indubitably monarchy men: "No Bishop: no King." Presbyterians, as in Scotland, were essentially oligarchs. To their party belonged the great peers who still cherished the idea of baronial independence and aristocratic rule. The Independents —a new and energetic offspring of Protestantism, far outstripping their fathers, the Brownists—were of necessity Republicans. Presbyterianism could thrive under a constitutional monarchy, but Independency, in its very root idea, implied a Republic.

Politics and Ecclesiastical Theory: the Royalists.

Thus complicated were religious questions with politics; and from the very first shot of the war men questioned whether its cause should be sought in Church or State. How far was religion the cause of the Great Rebellion? The question is one of enduring interest. At first sight we might be inclined to give the chief importance to the religious feeling, which was, perhaps, more far-reaching and many-sided than any political sentiment. The Somerset and Cheshire petitions, the king's speeches and declarations, and the debates in Parliament show clearly enough that it was the attack on the Church which gave the king his strongest following (p. 303). Men who could, side by side, impeach Laud and condemn Strafford, were separated on the "Root and Branch Bill," which would exclude the bishops from the House of Lords. Falkland, the clear thinker, found in the king's army the nearest approach that the troubles of the time could afford him to the cause of "sweetness and light." Toleration was for the king.

The Parliamentary Party.

On the other side the opponents fought for many different objects (p. 308). Some were contending for the abolition of prelacy and the whole theory of sacerdotalism, which they seemed to see creeping upon them with the "privy paw" of the great

wolf of Rome. Some fought to free themselves from the interference with personal liberty which it had been the occasion of the best legislation of the Long Parliament to prevent. Some fought for their possessions, which they feared that the king, with his benevolences and ship-money, would find many ways of seizing. More, perhaps, were fighting in the cause of the Parliament which they had elected, and whose views of public affairs they concluded that it was their duty implicitly to follow. Many fought for personal ends, many for the public good, and many more considered that the two must necessarily coincide. To bind these heterogeneous elements together there was no force so powerful as religion; and the Puritans were the natural reformers of the State. On the one hand it is quite clear that there would never have been a rebellion of religionists if there had been no constitutional grievances to unite the different sects; on the other, it is plain, from the triumph of the Independents and the establishment of a military absolutism, that the constitutionalists had not strength of their own to win a victory. During the earlier years of Charles I.'s reign—though it was a famous age of controversial divinity, and there was a strong and active Puritan opposition—there was a marked predominance of constitutional over religious Bills submitted to Parliament. When religion became a prominent factor in the political situation, each step in advance taken by the Parliamentary side was won by a gradually decreasing party. There were many, says May, the official historian of the Long Parliament, who believed that the Parliamentary cause would have sped better "if the Parliament had not so far drawn religion also into their cause." Yet religion supplied the enthusiasm where the constitutional opposition gave the programme of reform, and there were few on the Parliament's side who did not find it needful at least to assume a cloak of religious phraseology.

Puritan Iconoclasm.

While political theory and the endeavour to meet an obvious need for reform showed the Puritan leaders at their best, the progress of the war was marked by deeds which discredit the rank and file of the party. As the Parliamentary army set out from London in September, 1640, "they broke into Churches, burnt Communion rails, and tore up prayer-books and surplices. A clergyman found wearing a surplice was held to be a fair mark for insult and outrage." In Oxford, in the same month, they

1660]

seized as much of the College plate as they could get, and fired shots at the statue of the Virgin with the infant Saviour on the porch of the University Church (p. 37). At Canterbury they hacked to pieces a representation of Christ on tapestry, and made a target of a stone crucifix. They foully defiled Worcester Cathedral. The House of Commons meanwhile appointed a Committee to destroy all idolatrous images, which broke up the noblest monuments and destroyed all the ancient glass in Westminster Abbey and St. Margaret's Church. In 1643 Cheapside Cross was destroyed by order of the Common Council. Two years later Cromwell, in his harshest mood, stopped the

The Souldiers in their passage to York turn unto
reformers pull down Popish pictures, break down
rayles, turn altars into Tables

ICONOCLASM.
(*Attributed to W. Hollar.*)

Cathedral service at Ely by marching into the Choir with his men, and ordering the priest to "forbear altogether his choir-service, so unedifying and offensive," to "leave his fooling, and come down."

The Church made Puritan.

The actual course of events, so far as it affected the conflict between the partisans and the various opponents of Episcopacy, may be briefly summarised as follows. In January, 1643, the Bill for the abolition of Episcopacy was passed by the House. In August English Commissioners were sent to Scotland to settle the bases of an agreement in religion. In July "an assembly of godly and learned divines" had met at Westminster. It consisted of 130 clerical and 30 lay members, the latter selected from the two Houses; and it was from the first entirely the creature of Parliament, allowed only to consider what Parliament referred

to it. It revised the Thirty-Nine Articles in a Puritan sense, but it was by no means eager for more than a "union of hearts" with Scots Presbyterianism. Still, it was imprudent to alienate the Scots, by whose aid, or at least neutrality, was it alone possible to carry on the war. On August 26th the Solemn League and Covenant, abolishing Episcopacy and vowing an endeavour towards a complete union between the two Churches, was sent from Scotland to Parliament and to the Westminster Assembly. It was subscribed by Parliament, and ordered to be taken by all

The Solemn League and Covenant.

The 2 of May. 1643. ye Crosse in Cheapeside was pulled
downe, a Troope of Horse & 2 Companies of foote wayted
to garde it & at ye fall of ye tope Crosse dromes beat trū
pets blew & multitudes of Capes warre throwne
in ye Ayre, & a greate Shoute of People with joy,
ye 2 of May the Almana- he sayeth, was ye inventiō
of the Crosse. & 6 day at night was the Leaden
Popes burnt, in the pla- ce where it stood with
ringinge of Bells, & a greate Acclamation &
no hurt done in all these actions.

PULLING DOWN CHEAPSIDE CROSS

(*From an engraving by W. Hollar.*)

men above the age of eighteen. Thus, while the Scots were propitiated, many good Parliament men were estranged. Sir Ralph Verney, who took the side against his father and clung to the theories of the Puritan Commons, and who hotly opposed all Laudian principles, yet could not stomach the Covenant. Prominent politician though he was, he became thus in daily fear of imprisonment, and was compelled to flee over sea to preserve his liberty. His estates were sequestrated by both sides, and it was not till after several years of banishment that he was allowed to compound, and later still that he could return to England. The

position of the Puritan House and the Puritan Assembly was in need of strong measures to support it in face of a gradually increasing dissatisfaction.

Discipline, Disendowment, and Ritual.

The *Committee for Preaching Ministers*, or, as it is more generally styled, *for Scandalous Ministers*, appointed in 1640, gradually drew to itself the whole direction of religion, and becoming later practically merged in the Committee appointed 31st December, 1642, "to consider of the fittest way for the relief of such good and well-affected ministers as have been

THE SECTARIES AND THE BIBLE.

("*Religious Enemies*," 1641.)

plundered, and likewise to consider what malignant persons have benefices herein and about this town, whose livings being sequestered, they may supply their cures and receive the profits" —was to all intents and purposes, an Ecclesiastical Commission for the Church, now disestablished and partially disendowed. Ministers were now ejected on various charges, and local committees carried out the work in every part of the country where the Parliament had power.

The financial difficulty was, from the first, a pressing one. It was met at first by the sequestration of the temporalities of

the see of Canterbury (June, 1643), of the Abbey of Westminster (November, 1645), of the episcopal lands (October, 1646), and, lastly, by the confiscation of the lands of all Cathedral Chapters (April, 1649). A certain sum was also derived from the fines of those who compounded for their political offences. Compounders were allowed to claim some abatement if they settled endowments on ecclesiastical benefices. Thus, the fine of Sir Henry Thynne was reduced from £7,160 to £3,584 on his settling £2,000 on the rectories of Kempsford, Buckland, and Laverton, and a less sum on Cirencester. It became common for parishes to petition for further provision from this source. The parishioners of the famous church of Stow, Lincolnshire, for instance, pleaded that they had a large parish of six hundred communicants, and had long been destitute of a preaching minister, the benefice being only worth £10 per annum, and desired that the lay rector might be compelled to make further provision for their spiritual needs.

But there were other requirements besides money. Some form of ordination must be devised, and this was done by the Westminster Assembly, the members of which were far from escaping censure for their own greediness and avarice. They set sail, declared Milton, "to all winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms." "New presbyter," it was soon discovered, was "but old priest writ large." Next, the Assembly issued a new liturgy to take the place of the Prayer-Book, now suppressed. The use of the old service-book was made penal, that of the new compulsory. A longer and shorter Catechism were added, and, lastly, the famous Westminster Confession, a body of Calvinistic and Puritan divinity.

Laud Attainted and Executed.

It was in January, 1645, that the Lords agreed to the substitution of the Directory for the Book of Common Prayer, and on the same day they passed the attainder of Archbishop Laud. The old man had lain long in prison, and had then suffered a wearisome and protracted trial. There was no legal treason of which he could be found guilty, and so a bill of attainder was promoted to remove him out of the way. So long as he lived, the figure of the Primate, grown pathetic and lovable in his imprisonment, might serve to rouse a Church feeling too strong to be dragooned. Thus he was brought to the block by personal enmities and public rancour, and so "the Archbishop and the

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

1660]

service-book died together."[1] His death was followed by an increased severity against the ministers of the Church. It was penal not to take the Covenant or to use the Book of Common Prayer. Thus, the clergy to whom Episcopacy was of the essentials of the Church, or who obeyed the king's injunction to continue the old book, were, as delinquents, subject to the entire confiscation of their property, with the shadowy chance of the reservation by the Committee for compounding of one-fifth as a provision for wife and children in cases of extreme need. It has been calculated that some 2,000 clergy lost their livings

The Clergy Persecuted.

Sr Alexander Carew, Sr Iohn Hotham, Captn Hotham &
the Arch Bishop of Canterbury beheaded on Tower-
hill for Treason against ye Parliament 1645

EXECUTION OF ARCHBISHOP LAUD AND OTHERS.

(From a print attributed to W. Hollar.)

in England and Wales through refusal to take the Covenant. There has been question as to the number, but that it was very large is evident from a letter of Baillie, who, after describing the means taken to fill the benefices, adds, "even then some thousands of churches must *vake* for want of men." The Universities were, at the same time, purged by Parliamentary Commissions, and the strange spectacle was seen of General Cromwell as a Doctor of Law. At Oxford, by 1648, near six hundred members of the different foundations had been ejected, among them the most learned and pious writers of the age.

Through these bitter years, from the raising of his standard to his own death, Charles, among all his fluctuations, stood fast by the essentials of an historic Church. At Uxbridge, at Newport, at Newcastle, he agreed to concessions, even to the establish-

The King and the Church.

[1] Letter of W. Ashurst, Hist. MSS. Commission. X. Report, App., p. 4.

ment of Presbyterianism for five years, but to the abolition of bishops he could never yield. He dreaded the severing of the Church from the State—and that meant to him the Crown—but he had also learnt from Laud a more honourable and consistent principle. "It would be no less a change than Popery," he said, "and worse"; and "let my condition be never so low, I resolve, by the grace of God, never to yield up this Church to the government of Papists, Presbyterians, or Independents." It was for this determination, as much as for any political reason, that he died; and his death, like Laud's, made certain the eventual triumph of the Church.

The Church under the Commonwealth.

The period from the death of Charles I. to the return of Charles II. may be briefly summarised. England drifted gradually into a military despotism, to which previous ideas of toleration were of necessity repugnant, in spite of the comprehensiveness of the non-Episcopal forms of worship originally contemplated in the ecclesiastical polity of the Protector (p. 357). The Prayer-Book was still suppressed. Those who used it were imprisoned. The penalties, at first not rigidly enforced, were called into activity by special proclamation in 1655. Evelyn records how on Christmas Day, 1657, he, with a London congregation, was arrested in the midst of Divine Service, when the communicants went up to the altar between the pikes of the intruding soldiers.

Popery and Prelacy were definitely banned, and gradually under the Independent rule Presbyterians and other Protestant sects came to find, notwithstanding the Toleration Order (p. 354), that they now enjoyed none of the religious equality which they had before denied to others.

The Independents.

Under the name of Independents might be included very different classes—men of learning and thought, like Milton, whose "Areopagitica," a plea for the liberty of unlicensed printing, was a protest against the despotism of Presbyterian censorship, and rough countrymen, whose religious enthusiasm took eccentric forms. The party rested on the strong individualism of men who had formed their own convictions anew from the beginning in the intent study of the Bible, and especially of the Old Testament; but it found support in a wider scheme of toleration than Presbyterianism suffered, and victory through the guidance of the one great master-mind of the Revolution.

Independency, when it came to power, meant the rule of Cromwell. For several years, however, England was in confusion. Presbyterianism was nominally the established religion, but the Independents, through the army, were by far the more powerful party. Church government in any strict sense there was none. From 1648 to 1654 there was no legal provision for the ordination of ministers. Then a commission of "Triers" (p. 356) was appointed, who were to examine the fitness of candidates and to appoint them to vacancies if their spiritual experiences seemed adequate. The inquiries often assumed a ludicrous form, and at the best they were of the nature of an English inquisition, as Sadler, one of the victims, aptly styles them. At the same time the religious observance of Christmas Day was prohibited, marriages were only lawful if solemnised by a magistrate, and plays, horse races, and most public amusements, were forbidden. It is unquestionable that these restrictions were greatly resented by the poor, while among the richer folk the memoirs of the time show how many who had opposed the Laudian movement were even less satisfied with the new religious fashions. Lady Verney, fighting her husband's cause in London, knew not where to go to have her baby christened. "Truly," she wrote, "one lives like a heathen in this place; since I have recovered my health I have gone to our parish church, but could never but one time get any room for all the money I offered. And either I must be at the charge to hire a coach to try all the churches, or else sit at home; and when one gets room one hears a very strange kind of service, and in such a tone that most people do nothing but laugh at it. And everybody that receives must be examined before the elders, who, they all swear, asketh them such questions that would make one blush to relate." It is not difficult to understand the feeling that rose so rapidly, and that was for a century to contemn and deride the Puritanism which had changed the face of merry England.

The Puritan Tyranny.

It would be a mistake to consider that the position of the Church during the period ever appeared to be hopeless. One section of the clergy submitted to the Government *de facto* by taking The Engagement, an oath to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth "as it was established," without a king or House of Lords. Of this party the leader was the learned Dr. Sanderson, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. These used liturgical

The Use of the Prayer Book.

forms closely modelled on the Common Prayer. Others, in secret and among the faithful, used the proscribed book; and some in country districts were undisturbed by the Government. Thus while Juxon was ministering at Castleton House, Gunning and Wild in London were still using the full Anglican service. Ordinations were arranged for, and generous church-

ARCHBISHOP JUXON.

(*By permission of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Bath.*)

men provided for the starving clergy. So in England the Church furtively carried on her work. Some of her ministers, too, sought refuge abroad, and some of those who were afterwards to rule in the Church found employment in embassies and in the countless intrigues through which the exiled Court endeavoured to steer its way. Above all, the literary activity of the Anglican clergy never flagged. Pamphlets,

as well as serious treatises, prepared the way for the inevitable reaction.

So the period of proscription passed, and when government, on the great Protector's death, was proved to be impossible without a king, Church feeling, at least as much as politics, made the Restoration the most thoroughly popular movement in English history.

JOHN BROWN. The Religious Struggle: Presbyterianism and Dissent.

THE abolition of Episcopacy was determined on by the Long Parliament, not because the members of that Parliament were either Presbyterians or Independents, but because the enforcement of discipline by Archbishop Laud had brought about a spirit of resistance to ecclesiastical interference and a fear of ecclesiastical tyranny. It was the after course of events which resulted in the supremacy, first of the Presbyterians, and then of the Independents. The war carried on by the Parliament against the king necessitated the application to Scotland for military aid, and Scottish help could only be obtained by assimilating the Church system of England to that of the North. It was unwillingly done, but the times were urgent; news was continually arriving of victories won by the royal forces, and, as necessity has no laws, an ordinance was passed in 1643 calling into existence the Assembly of Divines, to advise Parliament as to the best means of preserving the peace of the Church at home, and bringing it into nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and other reformed churches abroad. On September 7th the Solemn League and Covenant, as amended by the Commons, was accepted by the Lords, and on the 25th was sworn to by the House of Commons and the Assembly of Divines.

The Efforts at Compromise.

The Separatists, as such, had no place in the Westminster Assembly, but, in spite of their own disclaimer, some of the members were popularly regarded as Independents. Five of the most notable of these, agreeing in the main with Separatist ideas, but not concurring in denouncing the Church of England as apostate, were not without hope of arriving at some sort of compromise between the less connexional system of Independency and the more iron discipline of Presbyterianism. This they proposed to effect by holding that no congregation ought

to be subjected to outside ecclesiastical jurisdiction, at the same time reserving to each separate community the right of remonstrating, or even refusing communion with the others. This *via media* met with approval from several men of ability and culture, who, though not Independents, were as jealous as they of clerical rule, and as much in favour of strengthening the influence of the laity. By the fusion of these two parties the Independency of the Civil War largely rose to power.

The burden of what opposition there was in the Assembly fell upon the five dissenting brethren, but towards the end of the year the course of the war led the main body to grow more conciliatory. Still, it was not till the following year, and after the battle of Marston Moor, that Cromwell, seeing his opportunity, prevailed upon the House of Commons to accept the Toleration Order. This Order asked the Committee of Lords and Commons to consider the differences in the Assembly on the matter of Church government, and to bring about union if possible; if that could not be done, then that they should find out in some way how far tender consciences, that could not in all things submit to the common rule, might be borne with according to the Word, and as may stand with the public peace.

The Influence of the Army.

This policy was greatly strengthened by the course of events during the war, which necessitated the reconstruction of the Parliamentary forces and the adoption of the Self-denying Ordinance and the New Model. The army thus reconstituted became largely Independent in its character. For the officers powerfully influenced the bent of the army, and the new officers were men of a pronounced, and above all a tolerant Puritanism, and they had on their side the men most energetic and most amenable to discipline, and especially the sturdier Puritans of the Eastern Association. This Army of the New Model was in the field early in 1645, and in the month of June the battle of Naseby ended in a victory for Cromwell, and proved the turning-point in the struggle between the party of the Independents and that of the Presbyterians. Up to this time Cromwell had felt, however much he disliked it, that there was no alternative to the policy of relying upon the help of the Scots against the king. That necessity, however, was now past, and he could speak out his mind. Immediately after the battle

VARIETIES OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND PRACTICE, 1641.

(*From a Contemporary Print.*)

he wrote to Speaker Lenthall, announcing his victory, and saying that honest men had served the Parliament faithfully in this action. He hoped, therefore, nothing would be done to discourage them. They had ventured life for the liberty of their country, and they now trusted God and the Parliament for that liberty of conscience for which they had fought. The subsequent course of events, conjoined with the general drift of opinion against clerical power, gave support to the desire thus expressed. The mastery came more and more into the hands of the Independents in Parliament, and of the powerful group of lawyers who, though not Independents, were entirely against entrusting the clergy with secular jurisdiction, even in Church matters, except under the permanent control of Parliament. The statesmanship of this combined party led to the departure of the Scots, the surrender of the king, and to the preponderance of the Independents in the country, as being the national party, hostile to French, Irish, and Scots alike, and opposed to any treaty with a king in league with foreigners.

The Independents Dominant.

After the death of Charles, Cromwell's influence, powerful before, became paramount. As Lord Protector, his ecclesiastical policy rested on the principle of State recognition, support, and control. The articles of government, which must be regarded as proceeding from his inspiration, provided that the Christian religion, as contained in the Scriptures, should be held forth and recommended as the public profession of these kingdoms. Christianity was thus recognised as part and parcel of the law of the land, and its solemnities were connected with all special public acts, so that England under the Protectorate was in theory a religious commonwealth, and the State possessed a spiritual as well as a secular character.

Cromwell's Ecclesiastical Aims.

Two main ideas seem to have guided Cromwell in his ecclesiastical policy—first, that there should be an established non-episcopal Church on a broad basis of evangelical comprehension, to be endowed and controlled by the State; and next, that round that Church there should be an ample toleration of dissent, which therefore provided for the existence of separate congregations. In 1654 two ordinances were passed, one providing for commissioners ("Triers") to approve public preachers presented to benefices; the other for the ejection of scandalous and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters. Under

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

the first a court of thirty-eight commissioners was set, and afterwards increased to forty-three, who were to examine all future presentees to livings, and all who had been appointed to livings since 1st April, 1653, and to certify who were fit. Under the Commission of Ejection there was to be a committee of from fifteen to thirty gentlemen in every county, who were to act in conjunction with eight or ten divines in each county, and

The Picture of an English Persecutor or a
Secretary
For oppoſeing Authority Reuiteing the Aſſembly
Slandering the Gouernment by Preſbetry and
diſturbing the miniſters at the time of their publique
exerciſe by geueing up bills in mockery calling the
miniſters preists rideing ſlaues, horſe leeches cormorants
gorbellyd Idoll conſistory of deuills etc: hath not this diſ-
coverd ſhmaels carnall ſpiritsperſecuting godly Yanks
26. And in time theſe will pull down your Synod, and your ſphear abou

A PROTEST AGAINST TOLERATION.

(From a Contemporary Tract.)

to have the power to eject from the ministry such persons as they deemed to be unfit, on the ground either of unworthy character, insufficient ability, or non-residence.

The State Church.

Cromwell's Established Church recognised no one form of ecclesiastical organisation; it had no Church courts, no Church assemblies, no Church laws or ordinances. Nothing was said about rites and ceremonies, nothing even about sacraments. The mode of administering the Lord's Supper, and also Baptism, was left an open question to be determined by each congregation

for itself. All that the Commissioners dealt with was the personal piety and intellectual fitness of the minister presented to the living. If he were shown to be worthy, he was at once installed. The Church buildings were regarded as the property of the several parishes, and in one was to be found a Presbyterian minister, in another an Independent, and in a third a Baptist. If there were churches that preferred to worship outside the national system, they were at liberty to do so. The Articles of Government declare that such persons "shall not be restrained, but shall be protected in the profession and exercise of their religion, so as they abuse not their liberty to the civil injury of others, and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their part." This liberty, however, was "not to extend to Popery or Prelacy, nor to such as, under the profession of Christ, held forth and practised licentiousness."

The Quakers

This being the national ecclesiastical system in England from 1654 to 1660, there was opportunity for the development of such communities as that of the Quakers. These people first began to be heard of about 1647, and some three years later they received the name by which they became generally known, though they had originally described themselves as "the Children of Light." The opinions they held and disseminated were by no means peculiar to them or originated by them. More than two centuries before the appearance of George Fox, their founder, Caspar Schwenkfeld, a Silesian nobleman, had propounded doctrines identical with those of the Quakers on the inward light; on immediate revelation, or the direct communication between God and the soul, without the absolute necessity of any untoward means, acts, or things, however important; and on sacraments, maintaining, as a necessary consequence of immediate revelation, that no mere bodily act, such as partaking of the Lord's Supper or Baptism, can give the inward and spiritual reality and power of the Lord's "body" and "blood," or that of the spiritual washing of regeneration. In 1547 Schwenkfeld's followers were ordered to leave Silesia. Their dispersion westward led to the spread of their opinions, and eventually these came to be embraced by a considerable party in the Waterlander Mennonite Church of Amsterdam, and so passed over into England before George Fox commenced his career. It is extremely probable that

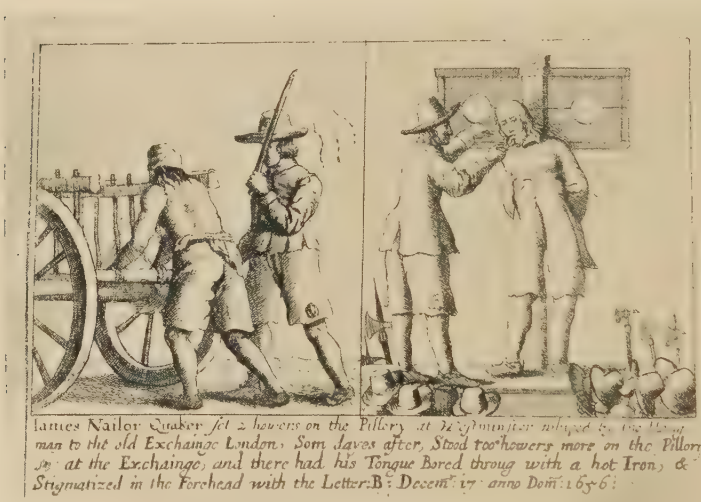
the Early Friends adopted most of their discipline from the Mennonites—their practice of silent worship, of silent thanksgiving before meals, their testimony against all war and against oaths, and other practices and observances common to both. These views were, so to speak, in the air when the strong personality of George Fox rose to give them a wider local habitation in English life. Born in 1625, he first left his home in 1643, and during the next five years he appears to have listened to and weighed most of the religious opinions in that seething, fervid time. Wandering from sect to sect, he found no man who could "speak to his condition." He read his Bible, walked many days in solitary places, sat in hollow trees in lonesome spots till night came on, till at length, when almost despairing of ever finding rest, he "heard a voice, which said: 'There is One, even Jesus Christ, that can speak to thy condition,' which when he heard his heart leaped for joy. The Father of Life drew him to His Son by His Spirit. Then the Lord gently led him along and let him see His love, which is endless and eternal. Then love let him see himself. It showed him that all are concluded under sin, and shut up in unbelief, and that Jesus Christ enlightens, gives grace, faith, and power—that *all* was done by *Christ*." Such is the account which George Fox gives of the great spiritual change he underwent, the result being that "his sorrows and troubles began to wear off, tears of joy dropped from him, and he saw the infiniteness and love of God in Christ."

George Fox.

In 1647 and 1648 he preached at meetings of professing Christians, who met to pray and expound the Scriptures. He went also from town to town, speaking to the "wickedest" people in the country. He spoke to judges and justices, charging them to give righteous judgment, and to the keepers of public-houses, urging them not to let people have more drink than would do them good. He petitioned Parliament against allowing more public-houses than were needful for travellers, thus multiplying mere drinking-houses. He raised his testimony against wakes, feasts, May-games, sports, plays, and shows. He went to fairs and markets, lifting up his voice against false balances and deceitful merchandise, urging men to deal justly, to speak the truth, to let their yea be yea and their nay nay; and, finally, to do to others as they would that

His Work and Followers.

others should do to them. He also went into the churches during the time of divine service, and openly testified against what he thought to be the mere formalism of the worship. It is not wonderful that, setting his face thus against all conventionalities, he found his way into prison, and that during the next quarter of a century he spent something like six years of his life in the loathsome dungeons of the time. But nothing could restrain the ardour of his undaunted spirit. Others caught the infection of his enthusiasm, "several persons


James Nailor Quaker sat 2 howers on the Pillory at Westminster ridyed to the Next
man to the old Exchainge London, Som daves after, Stood too howers more on the Pillory
at the Exchainge, and there had his Tongue Bored throug with a hot Iron, &
Stigmatized in the Forehead with the Letter: B: Decem: 17 anno Dom: 165 6:

A PERSECUTED QUAKER.

(*From an engraving attributed to W. Hollar.*)

seeking the Lord became fellow-believers, and entered into society with him." From 1651 onwards, other preachers, such as William Dewsbury, Francis Howgill, John Audland, and Edward Burrough, became associated with him as fellow-labourers. By the year 1654 Fox had organised a band of sixty travelling preachers, who had caught his spirit and preached his doctrines. So large a company of preachers suggests many believers. No census of his followers was taken in Fox's lifetime, but soon after the Restoration a careful enumeration of Quakers in prison throughout all England was made, and it was found that their number exceeded 4,000,

THE QUAKERS' MEETING.

(From a Contemporary Print.)

and Robert Barclay states that in 1675 the number of Quakers in London amounted to 10,000, and at the end of the century they were at least 60,000. So far as numbers go, therefore, the movement from the first may be regarded as a great, even a splendid, success. But the life of its founder closes the heroic age of Quakerism, and thenceforward begins the period of decay.

ARTHUR HASSALL. Cromwell's Foreign Policy.

THE foreign policy of Cromwell's Protectorate stands out in brilliant contrast to that of James I. and Charles II. It was characterised by insight and decision; it proved highly beneficial to England. It had for its objects the advancement of Protestantism in Europe, the development of England's colonial and commercial interests, and the weakening of the Stuart cause on the Continent.

The Dutch War.

In 1653 England was at war with Holland and Portugal, and at open enmity with France and Denmark. Of these Powers, France was occupied with a war with Spain, and Denmark and Portugal were not dangerous foes. The hostility of Holland was, however, of a more serious character. The battle of Worcester was barely decided before England found herself at war with the Dutch. The remoter antecedents of this conflict are dealt with in a subsequent section (p. 368). Intense jealousy now subsisted between the two nations with regard to the carrying trade. Holland, far ahead of England so far as commerce was concerned, had indignantly declined the Republican offer of a union between the two countries, and persisted in claiming the right of herring fishing in the English seas. The party of the Stadtholder had insulted the ambassador of the English Republic. On their side, the English claimed the right of searching Dutch ships on the ground that they carried Royalist arms, while the Dutch asserted that "free ships make free goods." But the climax was reached when the Parliament, in October, 1651, passed the famous Navigation Act (pp. 368, 378). Aimed as it obviously was at the Dutch carrying trade, and based on the protective system, the Navigation Act formed the leading, though not the assigned and ostensible, cause of the war which was formally declared on July 27th, 1652.

This war lasted nearly two years, and led to no decisive

results. While the Dutch were superior in the number of their ships and in tactics, the English had the advantage in their artillery and the weight of their ships. On April 5th, 1654, Cromwell, recognising that England required rest, and her foreign relations a complete readjustment, extracted a satisfactory peace from the Dutch. They agreed to the Navigation Act, and they paid an indemnity. Moreover, they promised that no enemy of the English Commonwealth should live in Holland, and that the Prince of Orange should not be admitted to the Stadtholdership. A few days later, on April 28th, Whitelocke, who had been sent on an embassy to Queen Christiana in November, 1653, brought his negotiations to a successful issue, and a commercial treaty with Sweden was concluded. Treaties with Portugal and Denmark the same year —which, like the Swedish treaty, insisted on privileges for England's commerce—enabled Cromwell to turn his attention to the war then raging between France and Spain. England was no longer isolated; she had broken through the circle that seemed to be gradually enclosing her. Charles II. had been deprived of the support of several European States, the commercial interests of England had been carefully advanced, and the trading privileges extended by the late treaties with Holland, Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal, while the establishment of friendly relations with the three Northern Powers augured well for the formation of a great league of all the Protestant States in Europe. As early as March, 1654, he was courted alike by France and Spain, now in the midst of their great contest, and it seemed that an alliance between England and Spain was imminent. In the autumn of the same year, before he had joined either country, he despatched two fleets, of which one under Penn proceeded to South America, while the other under Blake watched over English trade in the Mediterranean. Tunis was bombarded, and English prisoners were released.

Commercial Treaties.

A Vigorous Foreign Policy.

The massacre of the Vaudois in Piedmont by the Duke of Savoy roused Cromwell's indignation and checked his negotiations with France. He incited the Protestant Cantons to attack Savoy, he warned Mazarin that the persecution must cease. The French minister, fearful of the formation of a coalition composed of England, Spain, Holland, Sweden, and Switzerland, compelled the Duke of Savoy to make a treaty

The Vaudois.

(August, 1655) with his Protestant subjects. Mazarin's compliant attitude coincided with the outbreak of hostilities between England and Spain. In October, 1655, a commercial treaty was signed by England and France. On May 3rd of the same year Penn and Venables had captured Jamaica.

The Breach with Spain.

The rupture with Spain is adversely criticised on the ground that the policy of hostility to Spain—a return to the Elizabethan system—was "obsolete in idea, and tended to promote the ambitious schemes of Louis XIV." But it was the misdirected foreign policy of Charles II. and James II. which facilitated the aggressions of Louis XIV. in Europe, and, moreover, Cromwell was practically forced into his war with Spain. The exclusiveness of Spanish colonial policy, and the uncompromising character of Spanish Catholicism, rendered an alliance between England and Spain well-nigh impossible. "The exclusive trade with their colonies and the exclusive supremacy of Catholicism, were the two main pillars," says von Ranke, "on which their monarchy rested." "They were the two eyes of the Spanish king," was the assertion of the Spanish ambassador. But the Spaniards, not content with refusing to allow English trade with their colonies, and with enforcing the Inquisition in the case of English merchants, proceeded to harass English settlements in the West Indies. By destroying the colonies of St. Catalina and St. Christopher they rendered reprisals unavoidable. Though Penn and Venables failed in April, 1655, at San Domingo, they took Jamaica. The colonial war extended to Europe, and Cromwell, recognising the superiority of Mazarin's tolerant policy to the uncompromising Catholicism of Spain, and desirous to withdraw from the exiled Stuarts all hope of French aid, made a commercial treaty with France on October 24th, 1655, followed by an offensive and defensive one on March 27th, 1657. By the first of these, the Treaty of Westminster, the expulsion of Charles II. from French territory was agreed upon, and each nation undertook not to aid the enemies of the other; by the latter, the Treaty of Paris, 6,000 English troops were to take part in the war in Flanders, while Dunkirk and Mardyke were to be handed over to England.

The years 1657 and 1658 saw Cromwell at the height of his power at home, and his foreign policy at its fullest development. On April 20th, 1657, Blake destroyed the Spanish fleet

DUNKIRK. (*From a print c.* 1641.)

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

Cromwell's Climax.

in the harbour of Santa Cruz, at Teneriffe, and his success decided John IV. of Portugal to ratify, without further delay, his treaty with England, and to unite with Cromwell in an attack on the Austro-Spanish houses. With Charles X. of Sweden, Cromwell constantly corresponded, the opposition of the Swedish king to the Hapsburgs forming an additional bond of union between Swedish and English interests. Like Cromwell, Charles X. was animated by Protestant zeal in his attempts to check the encroachments of Catholicism. The cause of Catholicism, indeed, was by no means dead. As an answer to the determined hostility of England, the Spaniards united their interests with those of Charles II., who now fixed his residence at Bruges, and made a treaty with Spain. To resist this new combination, and to prevent Dunkirk from becoming the centre of fresh attacks upon England, Cromwell, on March 28th, 1658, renewed his alliance with France, while his Ironsides assisted the French in the siege of Dunkirk. On June 14th the Spaniards were decisively beaten at the battle of the Dunes; on June 23rd

Dunkirk Captured.

Dunkirk fell, and was handed over to England. The capture of Dunkirk marks the culminating point of Cromwell's foreign policy. Charles X. was too much occupied with his own schemes of aggrandisement to allow himself to be used by Mazarin and Cromwell as an instrument for furthering their designs against the election of a Hapsburg to the Imperial dignity. Determined to established his supremacy in the north of Europe, he upset Cromwell's cherished idea of a united Protestant northern Europe by attacking Denmark, and forcing that and other northern powers now threatened by Swedish aggression to ally with the Emperor for defence. Cromwell, while unwilling to oppose Sweden, was compelled to declare that he would not allow Denmark or Brandenburg to be threatened or conquered. In February, 1658, under the mediation of England and France, the treaty of Roskilde was signed by Sweden and Denmark. In surveying the condition of Europe and the relations of England with the Continental Powers in 1658, it must be allowed that

His Measure of Success.

Cromwell's foreign policy had not been entirely successful. A Protestant league, in face of the national interests of each country, was impossible. In August, 1658, war broke out again between Sweden and Denmark, and Cromwell's hopes of finding in Charles X. a prince ready to venture his all for the Protestant

cause were dashed to the ground. Though he intervened successfully a second time with Mazarin on behalf of the Vaudois, he could not prevent the election of a Hapsburg Emperor or the opening of negotiations for peace between France and Spain, which resulted, in 1659, in the Treaty of the Pyrenees. But he had gained for England a high place among foreign Powers, he had staved off the attempts of Charles II. to bring about a Restoration, and he had advanced England's commercial and colonial interests. In the history of the expansion of England, Cromwell's protectorate holds a very important place. He has been blamed for not allying with Spain, for not overthrowing the commercial power of Holland, and for not resisting the growing political influence of France in Europe. From this survey of his foreign policy, it will be apparent to most students of the period that had Cromwell lived fifteen years longer the Dutch fleet would not have sailed up the Medway, and the invasion of Holland in 1672 would never have taken place. That the balance of power in Europe was for some twenty-eight years destroyed was due, not to the alliance of Cromwell with France, but to the selfish and shortsighted policy of the later Stuarts.

W. LAIRD CLOWES. The Navy.

At the commencement of the Civil War the navy consisted of eighty-two sail. In 1653, at the height of the first Dutch war, it had grown to 204 sail; and during the remainder of Cromwell's life it was not allowed to decrease. At this time, when numerous warships—not, however, for the most part, of great size—were frequently on the stocks together, private shipyards began to spring into importance as providers of vessels for the service of the State. Deptford, Woolwich, Chatham, and Portsmouth continued to construct much, but several of Blake's best craft were launched at Shoreham, Redriffe (Rotherhithe), Woodbridge, and other places which, in the eighteenth century, became noted for such work. Bristol, Harwich, Horselydown, Limehouse, Blackwall, Wapping, Maldon, etc., also entered the field; but first and second-rates—vessels, that is, of about 850 tons and upwards—were, almost without exception, turned out only by the Government yards until after the eighteenth century had begun.

The most noteworthy naval episode under the Commonwealth

The Dutch War.

was the first war with Holland. The origin of this dated back as far as the reign of James I. Nearly all its numerous causes, direct and indirect, were intimately bound up either with the naval pretensions or with the commercial aspirations of Great Britain. After the massacre at Amboyna (p. 189), in 1622, the Dutch, by way of reprisals for the alleged treachery on the part of the English, made themselves masters of the English factories in Ceram and the neighbouring islands, thus almost monopolising the spice trade (p. 187). James took no steps to resent the outrage; Charles had first the war with France and Spain, and then the civil conflict, to keep his hands employed, yet, in 1636, he did determine to exact due compensation from the Dutch, and he would no doubt have done so had they not given way at once upon another point—that of the fisheries in the British seas—which was in dispute, and had he not himself been in difficulties. These were quickly taken advantage of by Holland, which agreed to pay a fishing licence of £30,000, but paid it for one summer only, and which, having arrogated to itself the title of Lord of the Southern Seas, took and confiscated several English vessels in the waters of the Far East. Charles was not by that time in a position to go to war with the Dutch; and the Parliament, upon its rise to power, finding that several of the states of Europe, and especially Russia, held aloof from it on account of the execution of the king, chose to temporarily forget its grievances, and to endeavour to secure a close alliance between the two republican commonwealths. But the Orange party in Holland successfully opposed the execution of any treaty to that end. Incensed by the rejection of its proposals, and by the insults which were put upon its representatives (p. 362), the Parliament responded by passing the Navigation Act—a measure which, with insignificant changes, was subsequently confirmed by Charles II. (12 Ch. II., c. 18). This Act closed England and America to Dutch trade. At the same time, measures most displeasing to the Dutch were taken with regard to the fishery question, to the right of search, and to trade with the Levant and with Spain and Portugal. Holland was frightened. She sent over three ambassadors to endeavour to soften the situation. But the Parliament, instead of relenting, at once opened wide the floodgates of its pent-up grievances, and bluntly demanded satisfaction for the Amboyna outrage in 1622, the fishing dues

unpaid since 1636, and free trade upon the Scheldt. Soon afterwards it issued letters of marque and reprisals, in virtue of which, as well as for non-observance of the provisions of the Navigation Act, many Dutch vessels were seized. The Dutch realised the inconsistency of declaring war as a means of avoiding the payment of their just debts; nor were they prepared to contend openly that an English Parliament had no right to pass and carry into execution a Navigation Act for the regulation of

A SATIRE ON THE NAVIGATION ACT OF 1652.

(*From a Dutch engraving.*)

trade with England, nor to make reprisals when its rights and regulations were violated. Yet they had no difficulty in discovering a plausible pretext. They repudiated England's ancient claim to the honours of the flag (Vol. I., p. 456; II., pp. 60, 249). They decided to refuse to strike their colours and lower their topsails to English men-of-war in the English seas. The refusal became the ostensible cause of the war of 1652–54. That war was waged by an island state which for half a century had had small opportunities of exercising its navy, which had, compara-

tively speaking, little commerce, and which even neglected its own fisheries, with a power which had recently won striking successes against Spain, which had a magnificent navy, which carried the sea-borne commerce of half the civilised world, and which cultivated the fisheries—then the best of all schools for seamen—in every sea. Holland had not only more shipping, but probably also more wealth than any other state in the world. Her resources are indicated by the fact that during the two years of the war she added to her already large navy sixty vessels of the higher rates. England entered the conflict with a relatively small navy, which she was at first obliged to reinforce with armed merchant ships, that were no fit opponents for the stout Dutch men-of-war. This is not the place in which to follow out the details of the struggle, but there is one aspect of it which ought not here to be overlooked. The war was instrumental in consolidating the English navy; yet, strange to say, the men whom it brought most prominently to the front as the sea-heroes of the country, and the builders-up of its young naval glory, were men who, until just before, had known nothing of the sea.

The Navy and the King.

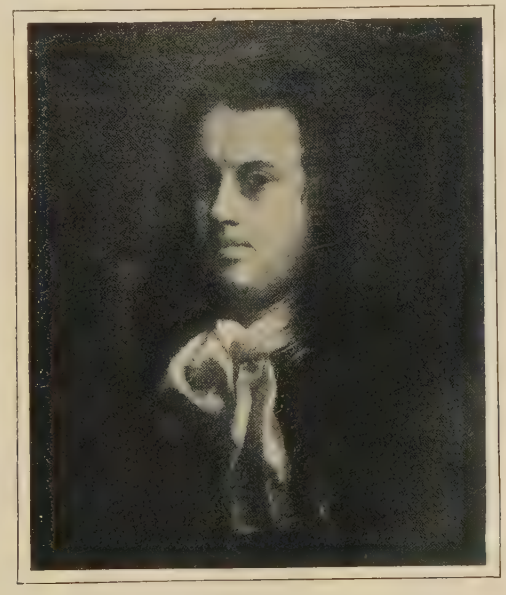
Upon the collapse of the Royalist cause, and just before the execution of Charles I., a considerable part of the navy, the whole of which was then in the hands of the Parliament, remained at heart faithful to the exiled family; but, in all probability, most of the Cavalier officers and seamen would, in a short time, have either quietly withdrawn into civil life, or become reconciled to the new order of things, and there would have been nothing in the nature of a formidable secession, had it not been for the unwisdom of the Independents. This party found Robert Rich (Earl of Warwick) and Vice-Admiral Batten, two old and tried sea-officers, in command of the fleet; but, being suspicious of their political inclinations, sought to supersede them by officers who were unpopular. This led at once to a mutiny. The nominees of the Independents were seized and put ashore, and a large proportion of the fleet sailed to Holland. Another squadron, under Batten, who had been reinstated, proceeded to Calais. Presently the combined force of the Secessionists, with the Prince of Wales on board, appeared off the southern coasts of England. It was, however, kept in check by a fleet which the Parliament had collected under Warwick,

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

1660]

who had remained loyal, and upon its return to Holland was pursued thither. Desertions in Dutch waters reduced the Royalist squadron to fourteen ships; the Prince of Wales quitted it, and it passed under the command of Prince Rupert, who, in 1649, led it into Kinsale Harbour. Although Warwick had already rendered such good service, he was still distrusted by an influential party in the State; and the view of the Independents, that any energetic and determined man could command afloat, gaining strength, three military officers—Robert Blake, Richard

The "Land Admirals."



ROBERT BLAKE.

(*Wadham College, Oxford.*)

Deane, and Colonel Popham—were appointed to serve as "Admirals and Generals at Sea." These officers were very different men from those who had been previously appointed; yet it is certainly curious that this rash innovation was not only extraordinarily successful, but was instrumental in first introducing to sea life, at the mature age of fifty, a hero who has many claims to be considered as great a naval commander as England has ever produced. If we have had any admirals who rank as Blake's equals, Nelson and Hawke were surely the

only ones. Blake and Popham, who quickly acquired the confidence of the navy, blockaded Prince Rupert at Kinsale. When at length a storm enabled him to escape, he lost three of his ships. With the rest he went to the Mediterranean. Blake followed him, and at Carthagena destroyed more of his vessels. By that time Prince Rupert was scarcely better than a pirate. With the little force that remained to him, he fled to the Azores, and eventually to the West Indies, where nearly

MICHIEL ADRIENSZOON DE RUYTER.
(*From an engraving by Blooteling.*)

all his squadron disappeared. Both against the piratical Royalists and the foreign enemies of the State, the land admirals did nearly all the very heavy fighting that had to be done at sea under the Commonwealth. Those already mentioned, and Bourne and Monk, were the most distinguished of these amphibious officers. Upon them fell the stress of the first Dutch war, which, after two years of savage struggle, in which quarter was often forbidden on both sides, ended, in 1654, with the acceptation by the enemy of the demand "that the ships of the Dutch, as well ships of war

as others, meeting any of the ships of war of the English Commonwealth in the British seas, shall strike their flags and lower their topsails in such a manner as hath ever been at

GEORGE MONK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

(*Greenwich Hospital; by permission of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.*)

any time heretofore practised under any form of government." The first Dutch war is noteworthy, not merely for the gallantry and determination with which it was waged, and for the striking personality of the chief actors in it—Tromp and De Ruyter being

the great Dutch leaders—but also because it witnessed the introduction into the naval service of much that was novel. In the action with De Ruyter, off Plymouth, on August 16th, 1652, Admiral Sir George Ayscue, one of the earliest naval members of an honourable naval family, cut adrift from tradition and anticipated the great commanders of a much later date by breaking through the enemy's line and engaging them from windward, in spite of all their efforts to prevent the manœuvre. The campaign witnessed the first employment by the English in war of a vessel—the *Constant Warwick*—which may be regarded as the prototype of the frigate of the following century. It also

MEDAL FOR THE NAVAL ACTIONS OF 1653.

witnessed one of the earliest and finest examples of a "cutting-out" expedition—a form of heroism at which English seamen afterwards showed themselves to be superior to all rivals, except, perhaps, the Americans. In the Mediterranean the *Phœnix* had been taken by the Dutch, and carried into Leghorn Roads by Cornelis Tromp, son of the great Dutch admiral, who hoisted his flag in her. Owen Cox, who had formerly commanded the *Phœnix*, was directed by Commodore Appleton to retake her, and with only thirteen men he cut her out and brought her off with so much celerity that Cornelis Tromp had barely time to jump overboard to avoid capture. The war further witnessed the first employment on board ship of landsmen who, though not embodied in any regiment or corps, were practically marines. Blake took a

SEA-FIGHT IN A HARBOUR, BY VANDEVELDE.

(*Hampton Court Palace.*)

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

number of these small-arm men with him in the fleet which fought the battle of Portland in 1653, and they rendered excellent service. Finally, it was the occasion of the earliest distribution of medals to naval officers. After the actions of 1653 Parliament voted gold chains to Admirals Monk and Blake, Vice-Admiral Penn, and Rear-Admiral Lawson, and medals to all the captains. Previously, as far as can be ascertained, there had been no Parliamentary grant of medals to classes of officers, but only to selected individuals.

BILBOES. (*Tower of London.*)

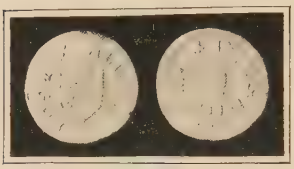
After the first Dutch war, the British commanders at sea had still plenty to do, and the land admirals at least did it always well. In the Mediterranean, Blake exacted satisfaction from Tuscany, cowed Algiers, chastised Tunis, and extorted an advantageous treaty from Tripoli. And if, of the bred naval commanders, Penn failed, Stayner gloriously distinguished himself by capturing part of the Spanish Plate Fleet, with an inferior force, in 1656. Blake's final exploit, undertaken with Stayner, was a fit ending to a naval career which, though it only lasted for eight years, first revealed to England what she was, and all that she might be, at sea. His forcing of the harbour of Santa Cruz, and destruction of the Spanish ships, which considered themselves absolutely secure there, was his last service. Yet, although the land admirals were so extraordinarily successful under the Commonwealth, the experiment of appointing military officers to high command in the navy was seldom repeated subsequently, and when it was repeated it was generally found to be a mistake, so that after the Revolution it was never attempted. Blake and his contemporaries, who entered the navy from the land service, succeeded in making themselves real seamen. Their imitators in the next generation were never more than mere soldiers afloat.

The Navy under the Protectorate.

J. E. SYMES. Industry and Trade.

THE Civil Wars must have seriously interrupted English industry and trade, but the injury caused by them was less than might have been expected; and the wages of labour actually rose, both during the Civil Wars and under the

Commonwealth. The former rise might be accounted for by the demand created by the war, and by the fact that the labour market was relieved by the enlistment for the armies. Nevertheless, in the long run, this transfer of labour from the productive channels of agriculture, manufacture, and commerce, to the unproductive work of supplying materials of war, and using it in destruction, must by itself have impoverished the nation. Fortunately there were other forces at work, tending to develop the various branches of English industry, and these more than compensated for the injury done by the Civil Wars.



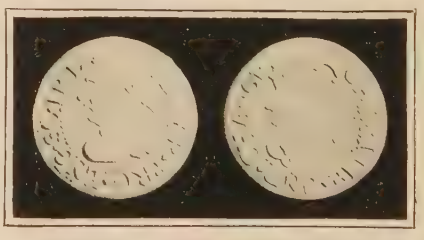
FARTHING TOKEN OF ROCHESTER, 1651.
(*Original size.*)

The Rise in Wages. 1633–1662.

The actual rise in money wages during this period may be gathered from the following table, which gives the average weekly earnings of various kinds of workmen, as calculated by Thorold Rogers (omitting fractions of a penny) :—

Period.	Weekly Average. Plumber.	Carpenter.	Mason.	Bricklayer.	Artisan's Labourer.	Digger, Hedger, or Ditcher.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1633–1642 ...	12 0	7 0	7 1	7 0	5 0	5 6
1644–1652 ...	13 0	8 10	8 5	8 1	5 10	5 9
1653–1662 ...	15 8	9 0	9 1	10 0	6 0	6 0

The second of these decennial periods corresponds pretty closely with the Civil War, and the third with the Commonwealth. The rise in prices, going on at the same time, was considerably less; in fact, the great rise in prices consequent on the additional supplies of the precious metals from America had practically ceased. Individual prices fluctuated greatly, but general prices were very slowly rising. The supply of the precious metals continued to grow, but the demand for them now kept pace with the supply. The increased demand was partly due to the increased population, but chiefly to the



FARTHING OF THE PROTECTORATE.
(*Original size.*)

1660]

development of trade and industry. The working classes were thus materially better off than they had been under the early Stuarts, though it must be noticed that Puritanism, by abolishing holidays and generally discountenancing amusements, tended to make work longer and harder. When we allow for this, and for the small rise in prices, it is questionable whether there was much improvement in real wages, measured by time.

The Dutch Supremacy in Commerce.

While England was absorbed in civil war, Holland was extending and consolidating her mercantile supremacy. Before the middle of the seventeenth century the Dutch had practically secured most of the vast trade which Venice had formerly carried on with the East, and much of that which the Hanse towns had conducted in Europe. They had steadily gained on their rivals in the trade with America and in the chief fisheries, while both the carrying trade of the world and the shipbuilding industry seemed to be becoming Dutch monopolies. The causes of this pre-eminence were very various. Among the chief of them were the industry, thrift, and commercial aptitude of the Dutch people. But the field was left almost free for Holland by the troubles of the rest of Europe. Italian commerce had been nearly destroyed by the wars and invasions of the sixteenth century. Venice alone, though severely injured by the League of Cambrai (1508), and incessant wars with the Turks, still retained something of her old commercial glory. The other parts of Italy were plundered by Spaniards, Germans, and Frenchmen, and soon ceased to be important centres of trade. Meanwhile, the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) devastated large parts of Germany. France had scarcely had time to recover from her own religious wars when she became involved in this; and although she suffered less than her neighbours, her energies were directed into military rather than commercial directions. Spain and Portugal had overstrained themselves in the sixteenth century, and had enfeebled the character of their people by religious despotism and persecution.

England, too, was engaged in a civil war, but this was a far less calamity than those under which Italy, Germany, Spain, Portugal, and France had suffered. It proved but a temporary interruption to the steady growth of English trade; and when it ended in the triumph of the Puritan saints, England was

in a condition to enter on that keen struggle with Holland which resulted in our country reaching the foremost place in the world's commerce.

English Rivalry with the Dutch.

At first the English merchants were at a considerable disadvantage. The Dutch had not only secured many positions of advantage, but they had accumulated vast capital, especially in a loanable form, so that their merchants could borrow money at half the rate of interest that Englishmen had to pay. The Dutch were also considerably in advance of our own countrymen in commercial methods. The banks of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, founded respectively in 1609 and 1635, had established a mechanism of credit and exchange, compared with which England had little to show; and in the middle of the seventeenth century our merchants and statesmen were as intent on copying Dutch methods of finance, as on directly competing with them in trade, in all parts of the world.

The Navigation Act, 1651.

The first overt blow aimed by our Government directly at the supremacy of Holland was the Navigation Act of 1651. Cromwell was not yet at the head of the Government, but it is worth noticing that the commercial policy of Stuart kings, Puritan Parliaments, and military dictator was in principle almost identical. The Navigation Act of 1651 was based on the same ideas which found expression in the earlier and later Acts which we call by the same name. Almost all English statesmen in the seventeenth century attached a special importance to the carrying trade, because they felt that it was not only a source of wealth, but also a source of power. An extension of our merchant shipping meant also an extended school of seamanship, and an increase of our naval reserves, both in men and ships. The Act of 1651 forbade the carrying of our exports and imports to or from any part of Asia, Africa, or America, except in ships that belonged either to Englishmen or to the nation with which the trade was being done; and the English ships must be manned by Englishmen. Similar restrictions were imposed on many branches of the Mediterranean trade, while all importation from the Dutch fisheries was forbidden. Economically the Act was undoubtedly injurious, at least in its immediate results. It led to a rise in the prices of foreign goods against

the English consumer, and to a decrease in the trade between England and several of her colonies. Moreover, it greatly enraged the Dutch, and was the leading cause of the war of 1652 (p. 368). But the Act undoubtedly succeeded in its attempt to transfer much of the carrying trade from Holland to England; and it probably tended to strengthen the connection between the mother country and her plantations.

The American Colonies.

These plantations had been steadily growing in number and importance.[1] The Pilgrim Fathers had settled at Plymouth in 1620 (p. 83 *seq.*), and had organised a Commonwealth of their own, hardly, if at all, connected with the home Government. Other Puritan settlements followed, amongst which the chief were Massachusetts (1628) and Connecticut (1633). The Rhode Island settlement was established in 1636 by Roger Williams, who had found that ordinary Puritanism did not allow him the religious liberty which he had fled from England to secure. Four colonies federated themselves in 1643 into the "United Colonies of New England." These Puritan settlements maintained a very rigorous and intolerant moral and religious discipline. The settlers treated the natives far more brutally than their predecessors had done. They seem, in fact, to have regarded themselves as a chosen people, entitled to treat the heathen almost as the Jews treated the Canaanites; and the Home Government showed an almost equal callousness, exporting Irish men and women as slaves to the West Indies. But while condemning their brutality, we must acknowledge that the stern, hard-working, thrifty Puritans, imbued with the traditions of middle-class Englishmen, proved very efficient colonists.

Meanwhile a Roman Catholic had founded Maryland as a refuge for his co-religionists in 1632 (p. 86); and Rupert's Land was, as its name implies, a Royalist colony. It was founded by the Hudson's Bay Company, which was formed in 1670, chiefly for importing furs and skins obtained by barter with North American Indians. The older American plantations mostly sympathised with the king in the Civil Wars, so much so that, in 1650, the Puritans had to send an armed force to subdue them.

[1] The conquest of New Amsterdam, founded as a trading port in 1621 under the Dutch West India Company, was contemplated by Cromwell, but temporarily averted by the peace of 1654.]

Colonial Development.

The conquest of Jamaica (1655; p. 364) was the chief addition made to our dominions by actual war under the Commonwealth. It had not hitherto been regarded as a very important place,

CONNECTICUT AND NEW YORK IN 1666.

(*From Speed's Atlas.*)

but Cromwell appreciated its resources, and developed them with great energy and success. Sugar planting was now becoming a most prosperous industry, and had created an

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

important trade between our plantations and both London and Bristol. It is worthy of notice that England had, from the first, taken a much less narrow view than Spain and Portugal of the value of colonies. The latter had devoted themselves almost exclusively to the search for precious metals; but English statesmen, though they shared in this exaggerated estimate of the importance of silver and gold, were wise enough to see that these were by no means the only products by which both the settlers and the mother country could be enriched. Accordingly they had set themselves to establish various industries, and though the growth of these was often hampered by the jealousy of merchants and manufacturers at home, the Government and public opinion sustained the colonists in many of their enterprises, and sometimes even legislated in their favour. Thus the chief product of Virginia was "protected" by the prohibition of English and Irish tobacco growing.

The Return of the Jews.

The development of English commerce was, no doubt, assisted by the Jewish immigration. The permission to return given by Cromwell to this long-banished race[1] (Vol. II., p. 164) may probably be connected with the general Judaic spirit of the Puritans. Oliver Cromwell himself said, "Great is my sympathy with this poor people whom God chose, and to whom He gave the law": and it was probably a similar sympathy which prevented any serious opposition to their readmission into England. Some London merchants, indeed, protested, but they were moved more by commercial jealousy than by religious intolerance. The Hebrew immigration at this time consisted almost entirely of Spanish and Portuguese Jews, who had been driven from the lands of their adoption by the persecution of the Inquisition. Their estates had in many cases been confiscated, but they were on the whole, nevertheless, a wealthy body. Most of them had, in the first instance, settled in Holland or in Italy; and in these countries they had had ample opportunities of learning the newest and most

[1] The fact that a few Jews are known to have lived in England during the three hundred and sixty-five years between the formal expulsion of the race (1290) under Edward I. and their formal readmission under Cromwell (1655) has little bearing on our present subject, as they do not seem to have taken any prominent part in commerce.

perfect methods of conducting international trade, and of giving and receiving credit. Many of them, in fact, came directly from Amsterdam, which was by this time the commercial capital of Holland.

Manasseh.

Manasseh Ben Israel was one of those Peninsular Jews who had settled in Amsterdam. He had distinguished himself as a teacher and as a student, but the confiscation of his paternal estates had driven him to abandon the pursuit of

MANASSEH BEN ISRAEL.

(*From an engraving by Rembrandt.*)

learning in favour of the career of a merchant and watchmaker. He then came over to England to intercede for the re-admission of his co-religionists into the country. In his interview with Cromwell and the Privy Council, he laid great stress on the increase in English exports and imports which the settlement of Jews in London would probably produce. He explained the importance of the exchange and banking transactions they were now carrying on from Holland, and

showed that the large capital committed to their care by Spanish and Portuguese Jews, who thus hoped to save it from the Inquisition, enabled them to lend out money at what was then considered the extraordinarily low rate of 5 per cent. These arguments must have been specially appreciated in a country whose merchants were at once envious of the low rate at which their Dutch rivals could borrow, and desirous of extending their trade into all parts of the world. The Privy Council was divided on the subject, but the judges decided that the law did not prohibit Jews from living in England, and Cromwell then gave the required permission on his own authority. It was at once taken advantage of by a number of well-to-do merchants, and these were soon followed by poorer Jews from Holland and Poland. The first settlers do not seem to have accorded so friendly a welcome to their poorer brethren as the generally philanthropic character of the race might have led us to expect. Charles II. was appealed to, on his restoration, to reverse the policy of Cromwell, but the "merry monarch" was too shrewd not to see that the presence of the Jews in England was stimulating English commerce. Moreover, he had himself during his exile borrowed largely from Dutch Jews, and he not only continued to tolerate their presence, but allowed them to open a synagogue in London in 1662.

Puritan Finance.

In the taxes imposed by Parliament to defray the expenses of the Civil War we have the germs of the modern fiscal system, though the methods of assessment and collection were very unlike our own. Parliament settled what sum it required month by month, and how much of this was to be paid by each county or town (named in the ordinance). The further assessment of individuals within each town or county, and also the collection of the tax, was left to the local authorities; and this system undoubtedly led to a far more equitable distribution of the burden than had been obtained under the old haphazard system. Of indirect taxes, the tonnage and poundage were extended in 1656, especially by an increase in the duties on wines produced by the hated Spaniards. But, in addition, to the customs duties, a new impost — the excise — was introduced by the Puritan Parliament. This device was borrowed (like so many other commercial and financial schemes)

from the Dutch. Pym introduced it in 1643. It was originally confined to strong drinks; in fact, the object of it was partly to diminish drunkenness, which seems to have been stimulated by the way in which Puritanism discouraged other amusements. Parliament, however, was in urgent need of money, and in 1644 meat, victuals, salt, alum, hats, starch, silks, and many other articles were added to the list. The excise was intended to be a temporary measure for meeting the expenses of the war, but it was renewed again and again. In 1647 meat and salt were struck out of the excise, no doubt because they were regarded as necessaries of life; but, having conceded this, Parliament felt that the excise was a convenient and equitable method of raising revenue, and we shall see that the Restoration Government adopted the same policy.

A DEBTORS' PRISON.
(*From a Broadside of* 1644.)

A few words may here be introduced as to the distribution of the national wealth among the different English counties in the seventeenth century. It so happens that between the years 1636 and 1693 we have no less than seven distinct assessments of counties for fiscal purposes. From these we can judge of their relative wealth, and of their alternations in prosperity. Middlesex, including London, is far at the head of each list. Thus, in the ship-money valuation of 1636, every eight acres pay £1, whilst in Hertfordshire, the next richest county (in proportion in size), the proportion is ninety-seven acres to £1. Hertfordshire sinks from the second place in 1636 to the fifth in 1641, 1649, and 1660, but rises again to the fourth place in 1672, and the third in 1693. Bedfordshire is the third in 1636, twelfth in 1641, third again in 1660, and fifth in 1693. Buckinghamshire fluctuates almost in the same way. Surrey rises from the eighteenth place in 1636 to second in 1693. Northamptonshire

Distribution of Wealth in England, 1636-1693.

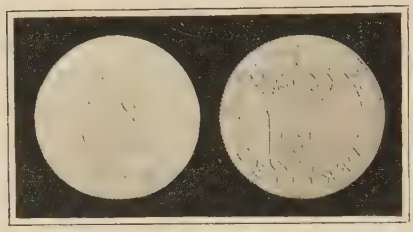
sinks in the same time from the fifth to the eleventh place. Berkshire stands sixth in both 1636 and 1693. These seven counties may, therefore, be regarded as the wealthiest in England in the seventeenth century. If we exclude Middlesex, we find the other six form (with Oxfordshire) an almost compact agricultural district lying north of the Thames. Oxfordshire had, for some reason, declined. It had stood second in 1503, and was seventh in 1693, but in 1636 it had sunk as low as seventeenth. Turning to the other end of the scale, we find Cumberland the poorest county in all the seven assessments. Durham, Westmoreland, Northumberland, and Lancashire are the next poorest, but their relative positions fluctuate. Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and Cheshire come in turns in the next lowest place. Thus the eight poorest counties include the six north of the Humber and the Mersey, and two of the next most northerly counties. On the whole, we find that if we divide England into large districts, that the central counties are richest and the northern poorest. The east and south of England are somewhat richer than the west.

R. HUGHES Civil War Coinage.

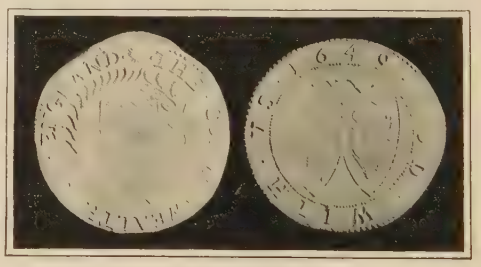
THE necessities of Charles I. led to innumerable issues of money in various parts of England. A complete list of these is impossible, but coins from Aberystwith, Carlisle, Chester, Colchester, Cork, Dublin, Edinburgh, Exeter, Newark, Oxford, Pontefract, Scarborough, Shrewsbury, Worcester, and York have been identified. There remains, however, a considerable number of unknown provenance. Many coins were made in castles and towns held for the king for the use of the troops on the sole authority of the governors for the time being, and some are believed to have been thus issued after the execution at Whitehall. Most of these, commonly known as siege pieces, are of poor workmanship, and some of extraordinary rudeness.

During the same period the Parliament is supposed temporarily to have coined money in the king's mint, but, as it came from the king's dies, it is not certainly identifiable. This went on till the execution of Charles, after which the Commonwealth took the coinage regularly in hand. New dies were ordered from the excellent artist Thomas Simon, and his designs were accepted. These coins have the St. George's Cross on one side,

with a palm and laurel branch, with the legend, "the Commonwealth of England," and on the other the same cross in a shield leaning against another shield bearing the Irish harp, and the legend "God with us." The design gave rise to various Cavalier jokes about "God" and "the Commonwealth" being on different sides, while the double shield was entitled "the breeches of the Rump." The gold coins issued were the unite, the double crown, and the Britain crown. In silver there were issued crowns, half-crowns, shillings, sixpences, half-groats, pennies, and halfpence, these last being without date or mint mark. On the 23rd of February, 1657, a proposal was made in Parliament to offer Oliver Cromwell the title of king, and in anticipation of his assumption of that style some twenty-shilling pieces, or, at least, patterns of these, were prepared. They have Cromwell's head on one side, and on the other a crowned shield of arms. The legend on the obverse is "Olivar D.G.R.P., Ang. Sco. et Hib." The Commonwealth's effort was not, however, confined to the improvement of the design. They tried to introduce the improved process of the mill-and-screw, as worked by Blondeau. They invited him to England, and made an attempt to instal him at the mint, but the jealousy of the native moneyers frustrated the efforts. It should be mentioned that the Protector's coins, which are of considerable beauty, like those of the Commonwealth designed by Simon, never seem to have become the common money of the kingdom. At least, this seems the natural inference from their rarity, and from the fact that what remain are in too excellent

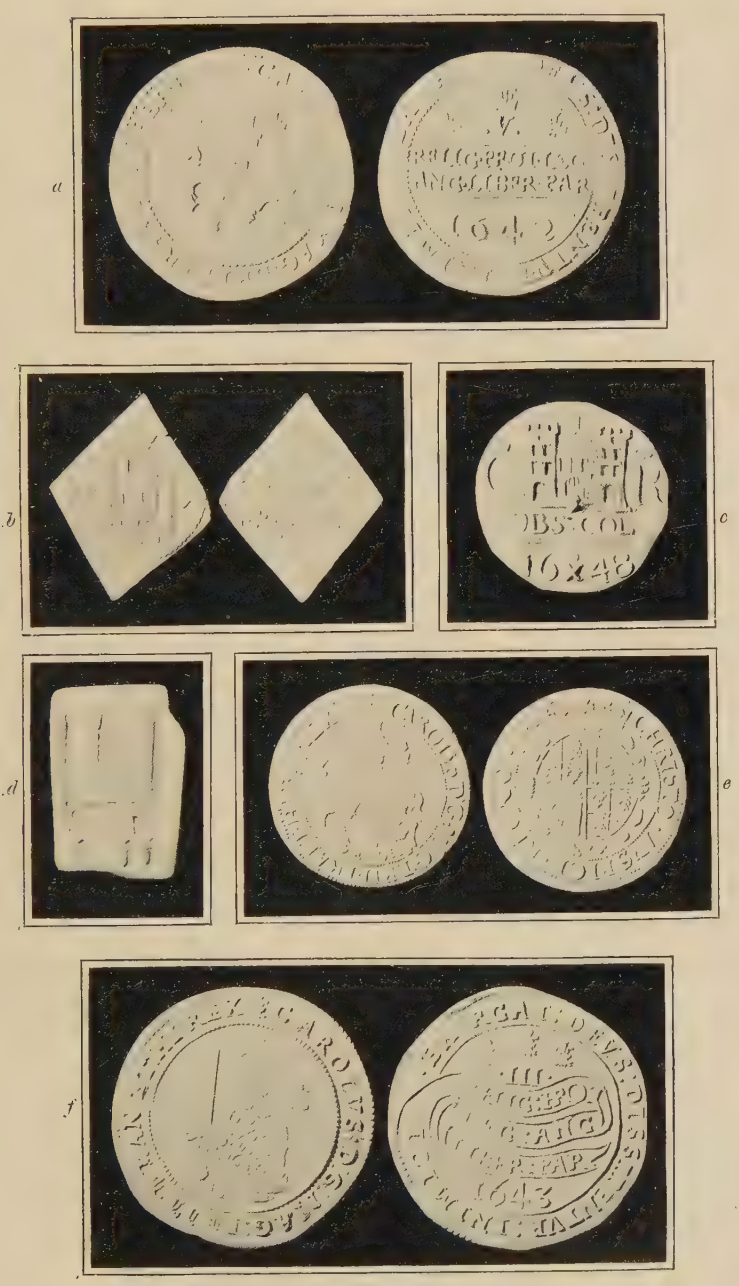


"BROAD" OF THE PROTECTORATE.
(*Three-quarter scale.*)



20s. PIECE OF THE COMMONWEALTH.
(*Three-quarter scale.*)

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA



COINS OF CHARLES I. (CIVIL WAR PERIOD)

(*Three-quarter scale.*)

preservation to have been circulated. Moreover, when early in Charles II.'s reign, the Commonwealth coins were denounced, Oliver's are not mentioned, an omission hardly explicable if they had been in general circulation. It is noteworthy that under the Commonwealth a colonial currency was attempted. Silver was coined in New England, and Lord Baltimore, as Lord Proprietor of Maryland, struck silver and copper, with his name and titles.

T. WHITTAKER. Philosophy.

A STRUGGLE like that of the Civil Wars gives at once the occasion and the opportunity for political speculation. The practical questions in dispute suggest an appeal to principles as a means of solving them; and those who have already thought out a political theory see the chance of getting it realised in action.

Hobbes's Political Treatises.

Hobbes's political system very well illustrates this interaction between practice on the one side and the ideas of a philosophical thinker on the other. It was essentially a doctrine worked out philosophically from a certain view of human nature; but in time of publication and in the special form it took, it was determined by the practical struggle going on around. In 1628, when Hobbes published his translation of Thucydides, his general political bias was already fixed; but the earliest independent expression of his own doctrine was in 1640, when he circulated in manuscript his treatise on "The Elements of Law, Natural and Politic." This treatise was afterwards divided into two parts, which were published separately in 1650, under the titles of "Human Nature," and "De Corpore Politico." Hobbes's earliest published political work was the "De Cive"(1642). This is a systematic treatise in Latin, the earlier treatise being in English. In general political doctrine there is little difference between the "De Corpore Politico" and the "De Cive," but Hobbes's position with regard to the ecclesiastical power is more developed in the latter work. The "Leviathan," in which Hobbes's political philosophy received its most elaborate expression, was published in 1651.

Hobbes's political system is based, as has been said, on his view of human nature. Men are by nature, according to Hobbes, in a state of war—that is, of anarchy, being impelled by their

TITLE-PAGE TO HOBBES'S "LEVIATHAN."

egoistic impulses to contend against each other for all kinds of advantages. To the natural reason of men the advantage there would be to each if certain rules of justice were observed is, indeed, evident; but it is also evident that these can only be observed in a state of peace. The dictate of natural reason accordingly is to escape from the state of war and establish articles of peace. This can only be done by the institution of a Commonwealth or body politic, having a sovereign power entitled to exercise coercive authority over its members. To this sovereign power men give up their natural rights of self-defence in return for protection. They thus contract with one another to obey the sovereign power. This may be either one man, or a few, or the whole people assembled at stated times, the form of government being called monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy as the case may be. The sovereign power in the Commonwealth, wherever it may be situated, is absolute. The dictate at once of natural law and of self-interest is that the sovereign should aim at the safety and good government of the people; under the term "safety" being understood all that distinguishes civilised life from the savagery of the state of nature. Of the possible forms of government, monarchy, according to Hobbes, is to be preferred as being the most efficient in action, the most constant, and, on the whole, the most just. His theory, however, he maintains, is applicable to all forms of government.

The sovereign power in the State, being incapable of limitation, is supreme in religious as in civil matters. There is no right in any corporation of ecclesiastics to set up a "spiritual power" independent of the State. It is the duty of the sovereign power in the State to determine what the religion of the Commonwealth shall be. An ecclesiastical power must not be allowed to rise up to disturb the civil obedience that is necessary for social welfare. The thought of the individual subject is free, since mental assent cannot be commanded. What the sovereign can exact is only outward conformity. This ought always to be given, positively if possible, but in any case negatively—that is, up to the point of abstinence from resistance.

Filmer. With Hobbes's political doctrine may be compared and contrasted that of Sir Robert Filmer, who published "Observations upon Mr. Hobbes's 'Leviathan,'" in 1652. The "Patriarcha," his systematic treatise, to which Locke afterwards replied, was

not published till 1680, after the author's death. Filmer agrees with Hobbes that the sovereign power is absolute, but contests his view of the basis of sovereign rights. According to Filmer, the rights of the sovereign are in no sense to be derived from a grant of the people. There is always some person who is, by right of hereditary descent, the ruler of the community. The right of the monarch is derived from the right divinely conferred on Adam, the first patriarch, and is at once absolute and inalienable. It can only be limited by the monarch himself, and every limitation is valid only so long as by his sovereign will he continues to allow it. The difference of Hobbes's political doctrine from Filmer's is obvious; and, in fact, the hostility to Hobbes came not least from the "divine right" Royalists.

Harrington.

Among the Republican speculations of the period is Harrington's "Oceana" (1656). It was seized when passing through the press. Afterwards the copy was restored to the author, and finally it was dedicated to Cromwell. According to Harrington's scheme, the determining element of political power is to be property, especially in land. There is to be an agrarian law limiting the amount of landed property to be held by any particular person. A third part of the executive is to be voted out by ballot every three years, and is not to be capable of being re-elected for three years; a characteristic aim of Harrington's system being to prevent the executive power from remaining long in the same hands. Harrington, though urging objections against the doctrine of "Leviathan," expresses great admiration for Hobbes, and proclaims himself a follower of the "new lights" of his philosophical treatises

Milton.

Milton's part in the controversies of the time is dealt with elsewhere (p. 399), but reference can scarcely be omitted under the present head. Though he appeals to theological authority on occasion, as well as to Biblical precedent, Milton's doctrine was essentially political republicanism of the classical type. It is not less incompatible with the theocratic ideal of the Presbyterians than with the Church and State doctrine of Anglican divines.

Metaphysics.

The earliest English philosopher of the period is Edward Herbert (1582–1648), created Baron Herbert of Cherbury in 1629. He is generally regarded as the founder of English

Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

Deism. In pure philosophy he is a precursor of the "common-sense school." The two sides of his thought are not unconnected. Knowledge is explained by him as due to conformity between mental faculty and object of thought. The possibility of knowledge depends on the possession by the human mind of certain "common notions," which are innate and not derived from experience. In his actual investigation of these he deals almost exclusively with the question of religious truth. The essential principles of religion are attainable by the "common notions," and are, according to Herbert: (1) that there is a Supreme Being; (2) that this Deity ought to be worshipped; (3) that virtue combined with piety is the chief part of divine worship; (4) that men should repent of their sins and turn from them; (5) that reward and punishment follow from the goodness and justice of God, both in this life and after it. These articles formed the primitive religion before the people "gave ear to the covetous and crafty sacerdotal order." Herbert's principal work, "De Veritate" (Paris, 1624), has been translated into French, but never into English. This contains his general philosophy. The "De Religione Gentilium" (London, 1645) is an essay towards a theory of comparative religion. Beneath all religions Herbert finds that the five great articles are recognised. Polytheism is a corruption of the pure primitive religion, and was elaborated by priests.

Hobbes's Philosophical System.

Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury (1588–1679) was a friend as well as a contemporary of Herbert. He was also personally acquainted with Bacon. From neither of these philosophers, however, did he derive his own philosophic impulse. Herbert is a representative of the opposite type of philosophic thinking, Hobbes deriving knowledge from experience, not from *a priori* principles. With Bacon it was the custom of historians till lately to connect him; both being representatives of the English "empirical" school; but, according to recent authorities, no influence can be traced from Bacon on Hobbes's method. Hobbes was thus not a disciple of Bacon; just as Locke was not a disciple of Hobbes. Bacon and Hobbes both made an independent start in philosophy; and Locke got his impulse not from Hobbes, but from Descartes. With Herbert, Hobbes had in common religious rationalism, though not general philosophic principles. In the third book of "Leviathan," entitled "Of a

Christian Commonweath," Biblical documents are submitted to a scrutiny tending to show the composite character and the late origin of many of them. And, in seeking to determine what shall be the religion of the State, Hobbes aims at a reduction of dogmas to the fewest and simplest possible. To these only will a wise sovereign require assent. Such a simplified Christian religion, according to Hobbes, is sufficient—a conclusion evidently very like Herbert's, though arrived at by a different way.

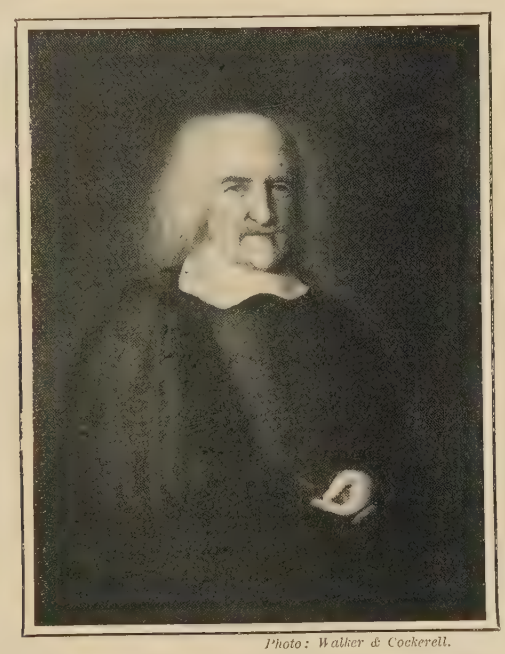


Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

THOMAS HOBBES, BY JOHN MICHAEL WRIGHT
(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

Hobbes's political doctrine (already sketched out) is conceived by him as the culminating part of a system of philosophy. After a number of abstract logical, geometrical, and mechanical considerations, he purposed to deal first with Body, which, in his philosophical system, is the true reality; then with Man as an individual organism, and with his mental powers; lastly, with Political Society or Commonwealth, "that great Leviathan—or rather, to speak more reverently, that mortal god—to which we owe, under the immortal God, our peace and defence." This

was the plan of the series of systematic treatises which he projected. They were to be in all three, and were to treat of "Body," of "Man," and of "The Citizen." The work "De Cive," which appeared in 1642, has been already mentioned. The "De Corpore" appeared in 1655, the "De Homine" in 1658. Hobbes's systematic plan had been interrupted by the treatises he had written with a direct view to the political crisis. These last, especially the "Leviathan," form his greatest and most distinctive work. His construction of a complete system of philosophy has been less influential historically; yet this also is a very distinctive achievement in English thought, and, if it did not influence, yet anticipated the direction of "scientific philosophy," both English and Continental, during the nineteenth century.

Hobbes's starting-point for philosophy in general was from the scientific discoveries of Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, and Harvey. These furnished him with his mechanical conception of nature. With his naturalism, carried out to philosophic completeness, he seeks to connect his doctrines of man and society. These last, however, he regards as capable of independent proof by direct psychological observation and deduction; in fact, it was by this method that he had arrived at them, and not by direct deduction from mechanical principles. His acquaintance with the "mechanical philosophy" came late in life. It was not till some time between 1629 and 1631 that he first looked into Euclid. The result was an enthusiasm for the geometrical method of demonstration. Through the stimulus of the scientific circles he frequented on the Continent he became more and more impressed with the idea of explaining all from mechanical causes and by mathematical demonstration, and thus was led to conceive the ambition of constructing a system of philosophy complete from base to summit. Philosophy, with Hobbes, included special science, as with the older philosophers. His object was to get correct principles as regards the whole, and then to work out the details from these. Though taking experience for the source of all knowledge, Hobbes had not the notion of physical science as a pursuit capable of advancement through the work of specialists who ignore philosophical considerations. His view was that the men of science —as, for example, the founders of the Royal Society—would

Hobbes's Method.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

1660]

go wrong if they did not begin with settled philosophical principles. Experience, of course, has not confirmed this view. Science and philosophy have had to become separate pursuits. Neither Hobbes's treatise, "De Corpore," nor Descartes' "Principia" has been able to maintain itself as a synthesis of physical principles.

Apart from political theory, it is in psychology that Hobbes's actual achievement is greatest. His view of human nature is, indeed, incomplete, but within his range no one has done more finished work. Two questions dealt with by him may be selected for special mention—the question of nominalism, or the relation between speech and thought, and the question of the liberty or necessity of human volitions.

Hobbes and Nominalism.

Hobbes may be regarded as the father of modern nominalism. The modern question of nominalism differs from that which was agitated in the medieval schools. Medieval nominalism was a doctrine as to the nature of reality (Vol. I., p. 484). Are all real existences individual, or do we, in generalising, make propositions about real "universals" corresponding to class-names as individuals correspond to proper names? Does a real "humanity," for example, exist in or apart from individual men, or is humanity simply a name by which we indicate that men resemble one another in certain respects? According to the medieval nominalists, generalising is simply a mental process in which, by means of a name, we bring together the individual members of a class. All the reality there is in the case outside the generalising mind is the sum of individuals. The question taken up by modern nominalism is not metaphysical or logical, but psychological. What is the precise nature of the mental process involved in thinking? According to Hobbes, since thought has its beginning in sense, the means of going beyond sense must be furnished by sense itself. A word is a particular sensible sign that comes to stand for other objects of sense. By means of it, we maintain constancy in our minds amid the fluctuations of sense and imagination. A word is a sign that calls up at will ideas like those we have had before. It is also a means of communication; the same sound, when it is agreed on, serving to call up like ideas in different men's minds. Having constituted language, men can proceed to reason about the things to which names have been given, and

thus can attain to general truths such as sense by itself, without the means that language furnishes, cannot give.

Hobbes and Free Will.

Hobbes is not only the first of modern nominalists, but also the first of modern psychological deterministS. On psychological grounds, he rejects the doctrine of an undetermined free will. Given the same mental causes in the process of deliberating, the same effect in the act of volition must always result. The proper meaning of "liberty" is the power to do what we will if there is no external obstacle. Liberty in this sense involves no power to will otherwise than as psychological antecedents determine. Hobbes's position on this subject is most fully stated in his "Questions concerning Liberty, Necessity, and Chance" (1656), a reply to Bishop Bramhall, with whom he had become involved in controversy.

T. WHITTAKER. Natural Science: The Royal Society.

THE great event in the scientific history of this period is the formation of what was afterwards to become the Royal Society. In its first beginnings, about 1645, it was known as the "Invisible College." Before the Restoration it met sometimes in London, sometimes in Oxford, at length taking up its quarters at Gresham College. In 1661 the king offered to become one of the society. A charter of incorporation was granted in 1662. The records of the society begin on November 28th, 1660. Its aim is from that time marked out as the promoting of "Physico-Mathematical Experimental Learning."

Among the chief founders of the society were John Wilkins (afterwards Bishop of Chester), John Wallis, Seth Ward (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury), Christopher Wren, and Robert Boyle. Both Ward and Wallis are names of note in mathematics. Wallis was also a grammarian and a logician, though his mathematical celebrity is greatest. His "Arithmetica Infinitorum" (1665) contains the idea of the integral calculus. This idea appears as an application of Cavalieri's "Geometry of Indivisibles" (1635), and helps to prepare the way for Newton. Wilkins (born in 1614) had already published works tending to diffuse the Copernican astronomy.

Another of those who took an active part in the proceedings of the society was Sir Kenelm Digby (p. 139), who, however, was mostly out of England during the preparatory

period. His career was one of the most adventurous of the time. With a strong interest in physics, he had a taste also for pursuits such as the invention of new cosmetics (to preserve his wife's beauty), of a "sympathetic powder" for the cure of wounds at a distance, etc.

One famous scientific controversy of the time must be

THE GATEWAY, WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD.

chronicled. Hobbes, in his ardour for mathematical study, had attempted to solve some of its traditional *cruces*, such as the squaring of the circle. This gave an opening to mathematicians like Ward and Wallis, by assailing his science, to weaken his philosophic authority—an end which on other grounds they desired. The controversy began in 1654, when Ward incidentally made a reply to some of Hobbes's attacks on

Hobbes and Wallis.

universities. Universities, Ward said, were no longer what they were in Hobbes's youth, and Hobbes's own geometry, when it should appear, would be better understood than he liked. When the "De Corpore" came out in 1655, a chapter devoted to mathematical problems served as the point of attack. Wallis now published his "Elenchus Geometriae Hobbianae." Replies and rejoinders followed. A new dispute, on the duplication of the cube, began in 1661. Though in this controversy, so far as it was mathematical, Wallis was able to dispose of everything that Hobbes could urge, it did not end altogether with advantage to himself. Some charges he made against Hobbes's political conduct were refuted with effect, and retorted against himself in such a manner as to silence him for a time. Hobbes afterwards (in 1666) resumed the controversy, which did not cease till his death.

W. H. HUTTON. Religious Literature.

THE period of the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth was rich in works of religious interest. While the fight was still raging, there were many who could think more of spiritual than of carnal warfare. The gentle recluses of Little Gidding (p. 46) lived on in their common life till late in the contest. Bunyan (p. 406) grew up full of burning thoughts, yet strangely oblivious of the strife around him. His career at this time is a remarkable illustration of the life of religious men in the country districts. Himself thoroughly opposed to the teaching of the Church, and with his whole soul full of religious interests, he has left scarcely the smallest clue to his opinion on the political crisis. He fought in the war, but it is clear that he took very little interest in the cause, so lightly did the gravest political questions affect him. Religion would not induce such men as he was to stand out against a restoration of the monarchy.

"Eikon Basilike."

The most important in its influence of all the books brought out during the period of the Church's proscription was unquestionably the "Eikon Basilike," a "portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his sufferings." Probably the work of Dr. Gauden, one of Charles's chaplains, it expressed with extraordinary fidelity, and at the same time idealised with masterly art, the feelings that had moved the king when his conscience spoke most clearly. The love of his people and the love of God, the

steadfast determination not to impair his own prerogative or imperil the fabric of the Church, personal abasement and moral grandeur, these were interwoven with rare delicacy and insight. No book had ever been so popular. It was impossible to suppress it: equally impossible to answer it. Forty-seven editions of it were soon exhausted; and if it contained arguments for kingship, it contained ten times as many indirectly for Anglic-

KING CHARLES THE MARTYR.
(From "Eikon Basilike.")

anism and the system of Laud. The horror and pity which it evoked made Charles a saint and Laud a martyr, and enlisted all the sentiment of the age on the side of the monarchy and the Church.

Milton alone could reply to it, and his "Eikonoklastes" was but a poor answer. It was of no use to retort point by point against the piteous meditations of the imprisoned king; pathos is not answered by invective, and the vulgar railing of the great poet was forgotten, as it deserved to be. It was a poor

Milton's Reply.

case which sought defence in an attack on the dead king for adapting to his own use a prayer out of Sidney's "Arcadia," yet Milton, in his reply to the Dutch Salmasius, whose "Defensio regia pro Carolo I." was an evidence of the attitude of the learned throughout Europe, could not refrain from using that unworthy weapon. "He certainly," wrote the poet, "whose mind could serve him to seek a Christian prayer out of a Pagan legend and assume it for his own, might gather up the rest God knows whence." The controversy with Salmasius, which grew up naturally from the extraordinary popularity of the "Eikon Basilike," was the occasion of the best literary defence which the Commonwealth received. "Defensio pro Populo Anglicano" was the plea which Milton put forth after months of strenuous work in the cause of duty, and at the cost of his eyes. In this book he tracked his opponent through the Bible and the classics, Rabbinical literature and medieval theology, chapter by chapter, till he had met him, as he conceived, on every point. The "Defence" is not wanting in powerful expression, as indeed, being Milton's, it could hardly be; but it bears on the face of it the obvious signs of a work written to order. It has no complete study of government or scheme of political philosophy. It is a robust, but not profound or convincing, answer to a powerful attack. Politics were merged in personalities, and most men must needs admit that it was an ill cause that was driven to accuse Charles I. of poisoning his father, and to twit Salmasius with being governed by his wife.

At such a troubled time literature could not thrive. Men for the most part read, and republished, the writings of the previous decades. Laud's sermons were issued when his opinions were proscribed, and the lessons of Chillingworth were sinking into men's minds, even when Puritanism was sternest in condemning his opinions. "The Religion of Protestants" had been published in 1637 (p. 135), and for the next ten years it did not cease to excite constant, and often angry, comment. Its author, who died in 1644, was Laud's godson, and had been at one time his constant correspondent from Oxford. He was a friend of the "ever memorable John Hales," of Gilbert Sheldon, and of the exquisite Lucius Carey, who was at home among theologians like those who gathered round him at Great Tew, from the neighbouring university, no less than with wits like Ben

Chillingworth.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

Jonson and Suckling. In the literary and critical Oxford of his day, Chillingworth's unsettled opinions not unnaturally led him by reaction to Rome, and then, after a year at Douay, back again into the English Church, as the most tolerant expression of those truths of Christianity which still seemed to him to be essential. But he never ceased to be an independent thinker, and as such he was made at home in the English Church by Laud and his followers. His great book was a strong plea for liberty. While it made a strong protest against the all-embracing dogmatism of Rome, and accepted the "religion of Protestants" as exemplified in the English Church as a "safe way of salvation," it was content to accept the guidance of a free and rational inquiry, which, though it might lead to some errors, was strong in the sanction of intellectual honesty, and the absence of exclusive and narrowing definitions. It was the work of an academic thinker not very intimately in touch with the problems of life, but it had that force of initiation which belongs not infrequently to scholastic speculation. Its free and rational appeal gave a new basis to Anglicanism, and started philosophic inquiry on a fruitful quest. Chillingworth, the friend of Laud and Falkland, was yet the forerunner of eighteenth-century philosophers, who followed his principles into far wider regions of thought. His career affords a characteristic example of the attitude of the religious parties of the day. To the Romanists, of course, he was little better than an apostate and an infidel, for he could not accept the wide claims which they made for their teaching as fundamental. To the Anglicans he was acceptable because he believed that "the doctrine of the Church of England is pure and orthodox, and that there is no error in it which may necessitate or warrant any

WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH.
(*Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

man to disturb the peace or renounce the communion of it." To the Puritan he was intolerable.

It was natural in such a time of strife that theology should share also in the contentions of the day. Thus writers, not themselves polemical in the cast of their thoughts, turned at times into warfare with intellectual foes. Such were Ussher, the scholar; Fuller, the humorist and antiquary; and Jeremy Taylor, the master of a characteristic and beautiful English style.

Archbishop Ussher.

James Ussher, born in 1580 at Dublin, was a controversialist from his youth. Commended to the king by his studies in Church History, by his Calvinism, and by his preparation of the Irish Articles, which were, with but little alteration, those Lambeth Articles of Archbishop Whitgift which the Church of England had never accepted, in 1620 he became Bishop of Meath, in 1624 Archbishop of Armagh. Afterwards, when he was driven thence by the Irish rebellion, Charles gave him the bishopric of Carlisle. He was bitterly opposed to a toleration of the Romanists, but he took a scholar's interest in the past history of the Irish Church. He also assisted Laud in his endeavours to procure reasonable subsistence for the Irish clergy. As a scholar he was famous for his studies in the languages of the East. He was strongly opposed to the Arminianism of Laud and his followers, but he was a convinced king's man. His treatise on "The Power of the Prince and Obedience of the Subject" was clear in its inculcation, within reasonable limits, of the doctrine of passive obedience. His honesty and simplicity made him trusted by men of all parties. Charles sought his advice at that crisis of his own life, the question of Strafford's condemnation, though he did not accept his honourable protest against the sentence, and, later on, summoned him to his assistance in the negotiations connected with the Treaty of Newport. His scheme for a moderated Episcopacy, by which the bishops were to be restricted to their spiritual powers, and to act in other matters under the advice of synods, was long discussed; and it was thought that Cromwell at one time had sympathy with it. To Ussher the Protector promised to grant liberty of conscience to the clergy of the Church, a promise which he soon revoked. The good Archbishop died in 1656, four years before the Restoration which he had predicted. His mildness of disposition, and the faculty of seeing the defects of all parties which belongs

to the student, prevented his exercising the influence which his talents would have warranted. It is as a scholar that he is remembered, and it is in that that he is linked to the leaders of the Caroline Church. Men of both parties turned from the turmoil of war and of political change to talk of Ussher's manuscripts, of the Septuagint, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Syriac version, of the history of Episcopacy, and of the

THOMAS FULLER.

(By permission of the Right Hon. Lord Fitzhardinge.)

Ignatian letters. Literature, indeed, in him as in many others of the king's party, prevented the rift between the men of king and Parliament being very deep or lasting. Thomas Fuller.

Thomas Fuller was a man of another mould. "A pleasant, facetious person" was he, "and a *bonus socius*," a scholar, certainly, and student, and as a parish priest beloved and respected, but most of all renowned as a humorist, as a quaint sayer of curious matters, and one who lightened the gravity of his subject by the smartness of his wit. Fuller was one of the

many Englishmen of the day who could not wholly agree with either party, who detested what seemed to them the hypocrisy of Puritanism, but deplored the licence of the king's supporters; and, like many who thought with him, he chose the Royalist side when he had to make choice to whom he would adhere. But it is as a writer that he is chiefly remembered. In a "Pisgah Sight of Palestine" (1650) he contrived to discern the topography of the Holy Land with a vivacity and an acuteness which must have been a relief to the Puritan teachings among which his book had to make its way. The "Holy War" (the Crusades), the "Holy State," the "Worthies of Great Britain," are all books which his contemporaries read with delight, and which cannot lose their charm. He died in 1661, when the Restoration had given him promise of preferment, crying "for his pen and ink to the last." No man of his times was more witty or more popular for his wit. Edition after edition of his books was issued even during the days when it was dangerous to write of the Church's doings. No one could tell a story as he could, yet no one was so free from bitterness. His sharpness and, indeed, much of his humour too, lay upon the surface. He sought, and he achieved, the praise of being a moderate man, and, though he did not escape slander, he was secure in the affections of his readers. "No stationer ever lost by me," he said. He was, in fact, unquestionably the most popular of all the writers of his day. From him and such as he men learned that the Church was a larger home than Puritanism.

Jeremy Taylor.

Next, perhaps, to Fuller, in the breadth of his appeal and his popularity, stood Jeremy Taylor, for whom Archbishop Laud procured a fellowship at All Souls'. He threw himself into the defence of the Church system, met assailants by treatises on Episcopacy, on extemporary prayer, by pleas for freedom of conscience and arguments on behalf of historic order and traditional liturgies. During the Interregnum he found refuge with Lord Conway in Ireland. At the Restoration he became Bishop of Down and Connor, and a little later of Dromore also. He was an exemplary bishop, as he had been a worthy priest. As a man of learning and a wit he stood among the first of his age: and his beauty and sweetness of disposition made him at least as much beloved as he was admired.

Few theologians have left more mark on English religion

THE HISTORIE
of the
HOLY WARRE.
By Tho Fuller, B.D. Prebendarie
of Sarum, late of Sidney-Coll.
in Cambridge.
John 4. 21.
The houre cometh when, ye shall neither in
this mountain nor yet at Jerusalem ...
worship the Father.
Acts. 5. 38.
If this counsel be of men it will
come to nought.
We went out
full
EUROPE
But return
empty
Pauci reuertuntur
The Tombe of the Sepulcure
Printed by Thomas Buck one of the Printers to the University of Cambridge, & are sold by John Williams at ye Crane in St Pauls Church-yard

TITLE-PAGE TO THOMAS FULLER'S "HOLY WARRE," 1639.

(*Referring to the Crusades.*)

than Jeremy Taylor. His sermons combine many of the merits of Andrewes and of William Law. They are extraordinarily fertile in conceit and in appropriate illustration, they are searching and intimate in their application, and removed from all possibility of dulness by their sparkling and abundant imagination. His controversial writings are less easy, but their style is vigorous. His "Ductor Dubitantium" is almost the only treatise on casuistry written by an English Churchman, and it has all

ILLUSTRATION TO JEREMY TAYLOR'S "HOLY DYING," 1651.

the honesty, and more than the skill, that might be expected. Books such as these belong to the armoury of the theologians, but the prayers of the "Golden Grove" and the admonitions of "Holy Living" and "Holy Dying" belong by right to every man that can appreciate either literature or religion. Certainly no religious works in English possess the same rare combination of merits, and none have more powerfully affected English life. The acute insight and the intimate knowledge of human nature which they show on every page are only equalled by the

marvellous imagination which illuminates the style as well as the matter. Of all English prose-writers, Jeremy Taylor is the richest. He takes his illustrations from the most recondite sources, and employs them in the most unexpected moments; and the effect is indescribably quaint and gorgeous. Could anyone have expected, when reading of the care of the beloved dead and of the grief of the surviving kin, to be met by the story of the "Ephesian woman that the soldier told of in Petronius"? And yet its appositeness overcomes the incongruity. He is as happy in speaking of marriage as of death; there are few more delightful studies than "The Marriage Ring."

Jeremy Taylor linked the school of Laud to the triumphant Church of the Restoration. Hammond, a writer whose beautiful soul shines through the solemn gravity of his style, died before King Charles had his own again. Sanderson, scholar and theologian, lived to rule wisely the great diocese of Lincoln. Men such as these appealed to the intelligence and respect of the whole nation; and by their side, from different origins and with very different bias, stood Bunyan and Baxter. It is not as a theologian that we admire the author of the "Pilgrim's Progress"; but for his power of telling a story, his imagination, and his simple faith there is no one to surpass him in English literature. Bunyan has not ceased for two centuries to be the classic of the people. The vigour and the truth of his delineations of character, great as they are, are as nothing compared to his extraordinary realism and power in narrative. A son of the people, he knew well how the people think, and he knew how to arouse their imagination, and stir their blood, and touch their heart.

Richard Baxter.

Baxter, like Bunyan a nonconformist, was a man of another mould. Born of a family of decayed gentlefolk, his early experience of the immorality and neglect among the clergy led him to look upon Church principles from the first with no exaggerated fervour. Yet, in spite of practical difficulties, he remained for years a conformist, and ministered as a devoted servant of the English Church. He was a voracious reader and an acute critic; but he was, most of all, successful as a preacher and a parish priest. At Kidderminster, during the crisis of the Civil War, and at Coventry, he ministered with assiduous eagerness, and he had the firmness to maintain his opinions in the face

of both parties. He was of the Parliament side, but he could not reconcile himself to a republic. He opposed both the Covenant and the Engagement, and the abolition of bishops, yet he was much more of a Presbyterian than a Churchman. A strong Parliament man, after the Restoration he refused a bishopric, and by his nonconformity laid himself open to the persecuting violence of the state laws. He was, in fact, so honest, so firm, and, it must be admitted, so narrow in his own opinions, that he could find no party in the state, and but few in religion, who would agree with or even tolerate them. In literature he was a master, but in practical life he was unfit for the rubs of daily existence. Though Cromwell's theology was inadequate in his eyes, he was just as little willing as the great Protector to tolerate religious teaching beyond certain fixed limits. He, more than any single man, stood in the way of toleration of Roman Catholics at the Restoration. His political tracts were burnt by the University of Oxford with those of Buchanan and Milton, in the fervour of the Royalist reaction. The fierce persecuting ardour of the secular power, the squires and the lawyers who could never forgive the Commonwealth, broke over his head. He would not conform to the laws, and he was committed to prison by two justices of the peace. Eventually, in 1685, he came before Jeffreys. "I can deal with saints as well as sinners," cried the brutal judge. "There stands Oates on one side of the pillory, and if Baxter stood on the other the two greatest rogues in the kingdom would stand together." It was as a political danger that the state thought fit to suppress men of his stamp. "Richard," said Jeffreys, "thou art an old knave. Thou hast written books enough to load a cart, and every book as full of sedition as an egg is full of meat. By the grace of God I'll look after thee. . . . . By the grace of God I will crush you all." The next year the Declaration of Indulgence released him from prison, and he lived to take advantage of the Toleration Act. He died at a ripe age in 1691.

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.
RICHARD BAXTER.
(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

The "Saints' Rest."

Of the "cart-load" of books he wrote but one has remained in permanent remembrance, but that seems in no danger of being forgotten. "The Saints' Everlasting Rest" is a treasure of the "evangelical" party within and without the Church. Its deep piety, its clear and beautiful style, the dignity and enthusiasm and modernness of its language, have made it an English classic. Narrow as Baxter's system may seem, we feel that he is more tolerant than his creed, and at the root of all his stubborn individuality lies a true and tender conscience. If the Nonconformity of the Stuart age laid heavy burdens on men's shoulders, it suffered from the consequences of its actions. In its provision for men of religion it brought upon itself the severity of secular opinion. But it left two priceless gifts to English literature and English religion in the "Pilgrim's Progress" and the "Saints' Rest."

GEORGE SAINTSBURY. Secular Literature.

THE purely literary literature of this division of time so much overlaps, and is so intimately intertwined with, that of the periods which immediately precede and follow it; and the theological, philosophical, and scientific literature to which separate dealing has been assigned is in so many cases the hardly separable work of men who also claim mention in literature proper, that a certain amount of doubling and of repetition is impossible to avoid. Yet it is not easy for any cool criticism to admit, in reference to the period of civil commotion in the seventeenth century, the rather hasty postulate of many literary historians that "amid the clash of arms" not only "laws" are silent, but the more elegant and peaceful exercises of the Muse. It may be doubted whether this postulate is ever to be admitted without limitations and allowances which detract enormously from its value; and it may seem that even in the fifteenth century in England we must not call upon the Wars of the Roses to account for too much of the literary infertility of our country, that even in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic generation of Frenchmen many things besides war and change served as causes for the decadence or intermission of the best literary production in France.

But however this may be generally, in this special time it is impossible to recognise any great and decided falling-off, and

still more impossible to assign such as does exist wholly or even mainly to the political disturbance of the atmosphere. It would be too ridiculous to plead *in formâ pauperis* for a time when Milton, Browne, Taylor, Fuller, Hobbes, Herrick, and others were in their fullest vigour of life and writing; when Dryden, Temple, Tillotson, South, again with many others, were growing up to replace them. But what can safely and truly be said is that one generation, or rather one sequence of generations, was passing away, and that another generation, or sequence of generations, was beginning. And it is not clear that any single period shows that marvellously perennial character of our literature which has marked it for some four hundred years—that property, as of the Gardens of Alcinous, of bearing at once the ripe fruit, the ripening, and the flower—better than this and the ensuing subdivision of our subject. No other country can boast a Milton and a Dryden, a Browne and a Temple, overlapping each other by something like half a century—no other such a transference of the lamp from hand to hand, without so much as a flicker or a smouldering.

It will be convenient, however, in the present sub-section to notice almost solely the older men and styles, with a glance at that beginning of the new poetry which is revealed in Waller, Denham, and others. The change of English prose, the most important in its history, will conveniently occupy another sub-section to itself, and the individual great men of the new time may best be left for the following chapter.

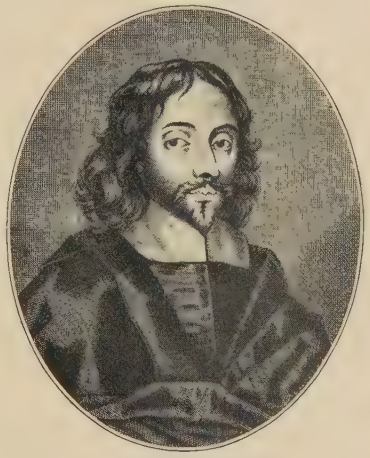
We are here dispensed from dealing with some of the very greatest names which literature pure and simple may claim as well as any of her daughter branches. Milton during this time was almost wholly a prose writer, and almost wholly in prose a controversialist. Of Hobbes, Taylor, and Fuller we are similarly deprived; and the pleasing personalities of Harrington and Herbert and Henry More have fallen to other hands. But one is left who may almost console us for all the others, and that is Sir Thomas Browne. We had in the last chapter to say something of the "Religio Medici," which, though written earlier, was printed in the dividing year of that and this section; and Browne lived till far into the period of the chapter that is to follow. But he did not himself publish anything of importance after the Restoration, and the largest

Sir Thomas Browne.

SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

[1660]

on the one hand, and the two most quidditative and characteristic on the other, of his performances appeared, the "Pseudodoxia Epidemica," or "Vulgar Errors," in 1646, and the "Hydriotaphia," or "Urn-Burial," with the "Garden of Cyrus," in 1658. Thus the Norwich physician produced during this troublesome time by far the greater bulk of that work which he himself prepared for the press, and though no lover of him would lose the "Christian Morals," it is undeniable that in it, as in all his posthumous and not definitely prepared work, the perfect Browne is sometimes wanting. It was indeed impossible that such a style as his — never unduly artificial, but always a pageant of artfully ordered magnificence — could be exhibited satisfactorily save when the author had time and opportunity to give it his finishing as well as his initial touches. Something was said in the last chapter as to the thought of this great master of English, as revealed in the "Religio Medici"—the scepticism that is never unorthodox, the fantasy that keeps pace with the fullest science of its day, the tireless thirst for knowledge united with a complete acquiescence in the unknowable. It is more pertinent here, in connection with the particular work which falls within our period, to dwell on the style and the matter in and on which this thought found its chief exercise. In both, in all, respects Browne is perhaps the cardinal example of the thought and manner of his time. Neither politics with theology (as in Milton), nor philosophy excluding theology as much as possible (as in Hobbes), nor science, nor any one study completely dominates Browne.



SIR THOMAS BROWNE.

Browne and Bacon.

And how informing is the parallel between him and the great universalist of the generation before! One might extract an almost complete contrast between the sixteenth and seventeenth century from Browne and Bacon. Both are among the

most gorgeous writers of English prose, both devotees of natural and experimental science. Something must be allowed for individual temperament, something, perhaps, also for the fact that one was a Cambridge man and the other of Oxford; but the time will claim a large influence in the two results. The almost intolerant innovation of Bacon is accompanied by an almost fanatical confidence of being able to put something in the place of that which he destroys; the half reactionary conservatism of Browne is partly motived by, partly tempered with, the profoundest sceptical certainty that change is merely fanciful and progress little more than marking time. Bacon, though not exactly devoid of humour, has it in limited, intermittent, rather childish fashion; humour is the very blood of Browne's literary body, the very marrow of his literary bones. Bacon, intent upon the glorious but material gains of his dreams, is fundamentally unpoetical; there is more poetry in Browne than in any other Englishman who habitually writes prose. Bacon, always except in conduct wise, is rarely pathetic; Browne, though never maudlin, has the most passionate sense of "the pity of it" and the vanity of it—a sense which equals that of the Preacher himself.

The three works which have been mentioned, and of which one appeared just after the downfall of the Royal cause, the other two just before there was much hope of its revival, display these characteristics and others with an odd but by no means inconsistent contrast. The surprise which has sometimes been expressed at the tenderness with which Browne, a man of scientific habits and of the keenest intellect, handles his "Vulgar Errors," as if he loved them, is not itself very intelligent. We have become so accustomed to the aggressive and exclusive attitude of science that there seems something puzzling, almost something suspicious, in the attitude of a man who is perfectly willing to admit that there may be a great many more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in an exclusively scientific philosophy. It was not so then, when the education of students in physics was not different from that in metaphysics or in literature, and when they were consequently content "not to know" without thinking it necessary "to know *not*." Indeed, it is perhaps not excessive to see in the "Vulgar Errors," besides the exercise of a man

full of reading and ready with pen and argument, a scarcely covert plea in defence of an orthodox but all-pervading kind of philosophic doubt. "All these absurd things," the writer seems to be perpetually saying, in a current of undertone "have been believed by men probably as wise as we are, not worse informed in relation to the positive knowledge of their own time than we are, or than others will be. Perhaps they were not always so very wrong; even if they were, perhaps we are equally wrong, and our posterity will be equally wrong in the equally confident opinions which we hold and they will hold." And there are those to whom such an attitude, in matters not susceptible of logical demonstration, seems not very far from the perfection of wisdom. At any rate, it was the wisdom of some—perhaps of all—of the very wisest men of the seventeenth century.

The two delightful tractates which Browne published at the other end of our period, sound, one the very same note without doubt or question, the other a sort of excursion from and variation on it. In the "Urn Burial" Browne has gathered up, with an excellence not surpassed in English or any language, most of the reflections possible on a certain side of the text "All is vanity." In the "Garden of Cyrus"—a meditation on the singular virtues of the quincunx—he seems to have felt disposed to indicate one of the ways of escape from the melancholy which the too constant meditation of that text might throw over life itself. Humour, learning, and fantasy —or more often the three or some two of them combined— have been generally recognised as the only ways of escape, for few have found the experiment of Mycerinus-revel in or out of lamp-lighted halls satisfactory for any length of time. And it must never be forgotten that in the speculations of the "Religio Medici" earlier, and the practical precepts of the "Christian Morals" later, he has made it impossible for anyone to accuse him of scepticism as blank as it is unquestionably pervading. Nearly the greatest writer of English prose of the magnificent order, one of the best of all Englishmen from the moral and religious point of view: this is not too high a praise for the wisely —and not more than wisely—doubting Thomas, who waited for better times at Norwich through the darkness of the Rebellion, and lightened it with imperishable thought and words.

Poetry.

The chief poetical work of the time is not less hard to reconcile with the above-questioned theory than the chief prose work. For it consisted almost wholly (with the exception of isolated and exceptional things like Chamberlayne's curious "Pharonnida," or the philosophical poems of Beaumont and More) in the lyrical work, of which something was said in the last chapter, which extends into this, and which did not entirely cease with it, Herrick, Marvell, and Vaughan living far into the next. The civil wars were, indeed, in a way unfavourable to the poetry by directly or indirectly killing the poets. Carew had been lucky enough to die before; but Montrose (p. 454) was an actual and direct victim, Suckling, Lovelace, Crashaw, Drummond victims not so very indirect to the war and its consequences. In other respects, however, it saw rather the dying out of a generation and the incoming of a new style with Waller himself, the "greatest living poet" (if popularity be considered) of the time that put an end to the Caroline poetry. And the most characteristic single book of that poetry—the "Hesperides" of Robert Herrick—was produced in the dead waist and middle of the civil struggle, in the year of the king's death, at the moment when everything seemed blackest for literature and for poetry.

Herrick, and other Lyrists.

That the "Hesperides" is the most typical single book of the class and kind there can be little doubt, though there may be higher and rarer touches in others. Its bulk, its general excellence in its own kind, make it exhibit the combined influences of Donne and Jonson (which, as was pointed out earlier, tell upon, and to some extent account for, this lyrical outburst) better than any other single volume. And long as Herrick had to wait for his public (it must be confessed that, though the times did not seem to have in the least chained the poet's tongue, they did much to block his hearers' ears), there is now not much difference of opinion in general points, however much there may be in particulars, about the poetical value of "The Mad Maid's Song" and "To Daffodils," of the "Night Piece to Julia" and "To the Virgins," of the "Litany" and "The White Island." Yet this book is only the most popular and coherent collection among an immense mass of verse, all informed by the most singular and attractive quality. It is largely affected by the "metaphysical" touch which derives from Donne and

1660]

Lyly. In work like that of Cowley, then the most popular, now the least read, this touch attained a very undue predominance. But when it was confined—as it was in the best examples of men so different as Carew and Crashaw, Vaughan and Herrick himself —to a daring yet not unnatural extension of the rights of metaphor, there can be little doubt that it added to poetry an attraction singularly proper for the chief poetical end of man,

Photo: University Press, Oxford.

SIR JOHN SUCKLING.

(*Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*)

the transformation of the hackneyed and familiar into the strange and high. In all the men of this group it is present more or less, though its effects vary according to their idiosyncrasy. And the most remarkable thing about all of them—about Herrick and Carew in particular—is that, despite what looks like artificiality, it communicates, or at least is found in company with, a strange freshness and simplicity of appeal, which is nowhere else exceeded, if it is anywhere else equalled.

Montrose and Lovelace, in their blendings of the political and the amatory; Suckling, in his phrasing of the coxcombry combined with gallantry which the age affected on its way from the rapt devotion of the Elizabethan to the crude and rude materialism of the Restoration love-making; Vaughan and Crashaw, in their rendering of devotion—sensual as well as mystical in Crashaw's case, mystical and transcendental in Vaughan's; Carew, in another form of sensuality, which even at its grossest form is delicate, though certainly not spiritual; Herrick, in myriad moods of love and wine, of country sights and town society: all display, as do many others in a minor way, this singular kind of artful artlessness, of playful passion, of sublimated sensuality.

There is, however, another feature in this poetry which must not be missed, though it is not susceptible of any but a rather metaphysical explanation. This is the fact, that while this division of our lyric possesses in the very fullest measure possible the characteristics of "lyrical cry" and musical effect, it is absolutely the last division of English poetry to do this for a full century and a quarter. Except in faint and casual touches, no man or woman who was not at least half way through life when Charles II. made his entry into his reconciled capital could succeed in recovering the more quintessential spirit of song till William Blake sounded it anew just before Johnson's death. Some have attempted to account for this by the disuse of the previously universal custom of ladies and gentlemen singing to the lute and similar instruments. But this could have had but very little to do with the matter, for, in the first place, the practice was only gradually disused after the Restoration; and, in the second, it was not resumed when Blake first, and Coleridge next, reintroduced the highest lyric to literary English. No mere mechanical explanation will suffice to explain the absence of this touch almost (not quite) entirely from Dryden, who nevertheless could manage metre and rhythm with wonderful mastery; from Pope, for whom it might have seemed that the mechanical part of verse could have no secrets; from the scholarly perfection of Gray; from the varied poetical accomplishments of Prior, Parnell, and Thomson. That it seems to have lived longest in men like Rochester and Sedley, in whom the best breeding was associated with the most doubtful morals, is a fact which might lend itself to ingenious or

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

paradoxical comment, if more space were here at command and a different object before us. As it is, it must be enough to say that even during this period—or at least during the earlier half of it—the air was still full of this melodious madness, and that, save for a few after-bursts growing rarer and ever rarer, sense or silence took its place in the chapels of Polymnia and Erato.

Walton, Dugdale Evelyn, and others.

Between the splendid coloured prose of which Sir Thomas Browne was the chief practitioner, and which showed itself in almost all departments of writing—some of them to all appearance not particularly well fitted for its display—and the equally splendid and coloured, but as a rule lighter and more fantastic, verse of which we have just spoken, a certain amount of miscellaneous work, and the earlier efforts of some who will be more fitly and more fully discussed later, occupy the field. It is not, however, superfluous to make a few repetitions or anticipations, for there is no greater danger in the survey of history by periods than that of pinning down certain persons and products too narrowly to certain divisions, and forgetting how much they intertwine and overlap. Thus, it is well to remember that not merely Dryden's first boyish work, but the very distinct and characteristic "Heroic Stanzas on the Death of Oliver Cromwell," date from this time. The troubles did not prevent Walton from amassing the materials of most of his work, and producing a good deal of it. "The Compleat Angler" itself appeared in 1655, and the "Lives," the earliest of which—that of Donne—had been published just two years before the beginning of our chapter-time, were spaced over the rest of it; and, a little beyond, Dugdale was more or less quietly at work at Oxford throughout the whole of it, completing and working up the "Monasticon" and his other work. Howell wrote indefatigably in prison or out of it; Clarendon must in exile have at least begun to collect and compose; Bunyan was settling down, after those problematical experiences of his, to preach and write. Pepys, until the extreme end, had probably not got further in literature than the composition of madrigals and the suggestion of sermons (afterwards to be repented of) as to the perishing of the memory of the wicked; but his great contemporary and fellow diarist, Evelyn, had already accomplished no small amount of writing before the Restoration —when, indeed, he was a man of forty. Of Cowley's prose,

what has to be said will come better in the sub-section which immediately follows this; but, though only Evelyn's senior by two years, he was already at the height of his literary reputation—a reputation which did not long outlast his not long life. Glanvill, not least characteristic of the writers of the age, both in his manner and in that spirit of casting out doubt by doubt which might make "Scepticismus Triumphans"

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

SIR WILLIAM DUGDALE.

(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

a fair second title for his "Sadducismus Triumphatus," may for this reason perhaps better be mentioned here than later. But a catalogue is impossible, and enough has been said for a characterisation.

The Development of Prose.

There has been a constant and, with insignificant exceptions, a unanimous tendency to make the year 1660, or the epoch of the Restoration with which our period in this chapter concludes, a turning point, more important on the whole and more definite than any other, in the history of English prose. Such differences as have exhibited themselves on this head

have either turned on points of minor importance or have concerned, not the facts of the change, but the critic's liking for it — a very different matter. The change in poetry noticeable, and noticed in the last section, is great, but it is not greater than others which are associated with the names of Chaucer, of Spenser, of Wordsworth, of Coleridge. Nothing quite similar (if the extent and the comparative suddenness of the alteration be taken together) exists in the history of prose. The reasons of the character of the change itself and the personality of those to whom it was due may in turn profitably engage us.

It may seem a little puerile and question begging to urge that the comparative dying down of the poetic impulse in the nation accounts for the impulse and vigour of prose, but such is the fact. It has been noted in the last chapter that, despite the abundance, the richness, and the magnificence of poetry in the Jacobean and Caroline time, that time was itself rather an age of prose than of verse—that the tendency of the greater writers inclined wholly or partially to prose—that even the greater poets were prose writers as well. But during this time the characteristics of poetical form and harmony were allowed to shed themselves to a great degree on prose itself. Milton—a poet supreme, as some will have it, in poetic form, and by all esteemed a master of it—wrote his poetry not very much otherwise than as he wrote his prose; Browne—a prose-man pure and simple—manifested in his prose much of the spirit, if none of the form, of poetry. But in such a state of things all experienced students of human history and nature know that the younger and mounting influence will soon absorb the older and declining. And we shall see, when we come to the next period itself, that, whereas in the first half of the seventeenth century prose was shadowed and coloured by poetry, so in the second half poetry was shadowed and coloured by prose.

There is, however, much more than this to be said in the way of accounting for the development and, as we may perhaps say, the specialisation of prose. Until the religious distraction of the sixteenth century the common prose language of Europe had been Latin, and such a hold established by such a language as Latin can be but slowly relaxed, even by the most powerful

The Decay of Latin.

and insubordinate spirit of innovation. Even the separation between men of different countries, which political and religious variance brought about, was some time before it got the better of this universal language of men of science, men of affairs, men of letters. It is well known that even Bacon, who died but some fifteen years before the beginning of our period, and nearly three-quarters of a century after Ascham and Cheke, and Wilson—scholars as they were—had foreseen the triumph of English, felt, or professed to feel, an utter disbelief in the lasting powers of the modern languages, and always, with his constant view to posterity, preferred to write in Latin. His pupil Hobbes retained something of the same feeling, which it is well known survived more than a century later in the disinclination of a man like Johnson to write epitaphs—*ex hypothesi* the kind of writing that aims most at endurance—in the vernacular.

Early Experiments in English.

But these influences of sentiment and prejudice were by no means the only ones that encouraged the development of what Dante centuries earlier called, in reference to Italian, one "cardinal, courtly, and curial" dialect for English. The oldest English prose (to which some have held that post-Reformation practice was in some respects a mere return) was read by no one except an infinitesimally small number of antiquaries. Middle English, like that of Chaucer, Mandeville, and Mallory, was dropping out of reading by the general, and had long undergone the Renaissance contempt of scholars. And the century of modern English (for it had lasted about a century) had been mostly one of experiment. In so far as there had been any standard, it had been a sort of English-Latin, such as we see in Ascham, even in Hooker, and in hundreds of others; a style clear, useful—sometimes even eloquent—but with something exotic (due to the constant difficulty of approximating two languages so utterly different in all points of accidence and syntax), and destitute on the whole of colour and vivacity. On the other hand, the indomitable idiosyncrasy of the Englishman had, consciously or unconsciously, protested against this by all sorts of revolts and experiments in the direction of ornament, of variety, of colour. There had been the eccentric, but by no means wholly unsalutary, preciousness of Euphuism and Sidneyism. There had been the vernacular extravagances of the

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

pamphleteers. There had been (and it ought never to be neglected, though it too often has been) the constant influence of the prose dialogue in every possible vein—comic and tragic, affected and familiar—of hundreds, almost thousands, of plays. Lastly there had been the splendid purple prose of the great writers who embellished this very period, with Milton, Taylor, and Browne at their head—a prose in which, while the more colourless and rigid influence of the Latin classics of the Augustan period was resisted, fresh classicism from the silver age and from the vocabulary of all ages was imported, and in which the sentence was allowed to rise and fall like a sea, and to lavish stores of many-hued sea-wrack on the shore of the reader's mind.

MONUMENT OF TILLOTSON.
(*St. Lawrence Jewry Church, London.*)

The magnificence of this mid-seventeenth century prose has in modern times made some unwilling to admit any progress or advance in the change which followed — has led them to resent it as an almost unmixed evil. This seems to be a fallacy of affection. There is probably no one—if there is any one, it is certainly not the present writer —who derives such delight from a typical passage of Dryden or of Temple, or of Tillotson, or even of South, as he does from one of Taylor, of Browne—even from one of Glanvill, or in his less grotesque moods of Fuller. But this is not the question. The Brownist and Taylorian prose had rashly taken upon itself the disabilities, in borrowing the appeals, of poetry. It was bound to be very good, or else to be disgusting; and it was at least doubtfully suitable as an instrument of all work. In the hands of its great practitioners it was, if not always, nearly always very good; and it lent itself admirably to such work as they were called and chosen to do. But no nation could produce hundreds and thousands of Brownes or Taylors, and no nation with the subjects of prose

treatment multiplying yearly and daily could confine itself to impassioned pulpit eloquence, or to fantastic and sceptical descants on the data of the science of the day and yesterday. It wanted clear exposition of constantly multiplying business and knowledge; it wanted practical argument rather than fantastic ethics and politics; it wanted diaries, travels, histories, light essays, newspapers, novels. Was it to be expected—was it even possible—that such things should be written in the style of the "Hydriotaphia" or the "Funeral Sermon on the Countess of Carbery"?

The Growth of the New Prose.

In the main, no doubt, that change—as changes always do—worked itself out less as a deliberately planned attempt of certain persons with a definite aim before them than as a haphazard adjustment of supply to demand, and an almost fortuitous growth of demand for supply. The French influence, of which so much is made, may easily be exaggerated: as a matter of fact, modern French prose had not very much the start of English; Descartes, its first distinct practitioner, writing, like Bacon, in Latin rather more willingly than in the vernacular, and Pascal, its first really great master, not producing his one finished French work, the "Lettres Provinciales," till within four years of the Restoration. But, as also generally happens, the men who had the chief influence were born within a very short time of each other. Cowley, whose "Essays" certainly show here and there some change, was born as early as 1618, but he is as often of the old style as of the new. The five men who really represent it, both in actual development and in influence, Temple, Halifax, Tillotson, Dryden, and South, were all born in the five years, 1628–1633; while Halifax, Dryden, and Tillotson were born within two years. Their particular work will fall into the next chapter; the important thing here is to state the general tendency of their writing and to contrast it with that which preceded. The habit, common with literary historians and critics, of taking literally a kind of alleged avowal by Dryden to Congreve, that he learnt his prose style of Tillotson, is extremely uncritical. In the first place, Congreve was a Whig courtier, Tillotson was a Whig saint; and we do not know that Dryden ever said it. In the second, Dryden, both by natural generosity and by an acquired habit of dedications, was apt to speak with rather too liberal encomium of everybody whom he

was not actually attacking, and unless he was himself attacked was entirely free from small pretentiousness as to his own originality. Thirdly, and most important of all, it is demon-

TOMB AND EFFIGY OF ROBERT SOUTH.
(*Westminster Abbey.*)

strable as a matter of strictest literary history that Dryden could not have heard, much less read, a great deal of Tillotson's works before the time when, as we know, his own style was

pretty well formed. He may have taken hints, have been encouraged in persevering by a man who had under the same "skiey influences" as himself entered on a particular road, but we need not go out of our way to regard him as Tillotson's pupil, or the good Archbishop (who, by the way, was a distinctly less good writer than any other of the quintet) as the special hierophant of the new prose mysteries. These mysteries, like others of the age, consisted chiefly in the discarding of anything that was mysterious. It should be, but perhaps as a matter of experience is not, unnecessary to say that many of the characters of the newer style can be found in the old, and many of the older style in the new. When it is said that in the prose of the men who had reached thirty or thereabout at the Restoration the sentences are, as a rule, shorter, the language far less coloured and poetical, it is by no means intended that short sentences, plain diction, and conversational handling are not to be found before 1660. In South, who made an almost indecently violent attack on Jeremy Taylor's floridness, very many passages appear which by Addison's time would have seemed almost as florid as Taylor himself. In Dryden, who denounces "Clevelandisms," or metaphysical conceits, such conceits are by no means to seek. But, as in all such cases, the *general* tendency and character must be sought rather than the exceptional features; and the general tendency of the new prose was beyond doubt or question to clearness, precision, chastity, and simplicity of style.

Its Structure.

It had, moreover, a particular tendency which became the most distinctive of all, and which helped on the general tendency more than anything else. This was towards the development of a definite but tolerably simple cadence of prose, and a scheme of arithmetic balance of rise and fall in every sentence. This, of course, had never been wholly absent from English; it is too natural a device of the prose writer or speaker. It had very particularly manifested itself in the quaint operations and parallelisms of Euphuism, and in the most ornate writers of our present time it is very frequently to be discovered. But these writers, partly through a mistaken adaptation of the Latin relative, and partly because the fulness of their thought and the abundance of their words scorned to be thus limited, had addicted themselves beyond measure to many-jointed sentences —the length and complexity of which not infrequently obscured

the sense itself. They also constantly prevented any simple and homogeneous rhythmical effect, though the great masters substituted for this concerted strains of wonderful beauty, such as the merely balanced style scarcely, if ever, attains.

Prose and Poetry.

It may seem a little remarkable that at the very time when poetry was drawing nearer to prose, prose should have in fact estranged itself more than ever from poetry, and have almost for the first time adopted a form separate from it. And the two things together were, in fact, unfortunate, because they ended in such an approximation that to separate them again the too famous "poetic diction" had to be adopted, with sufficiently lamentable results in some cases, and not with the best in any. But for the time, the spirit and pulse of poetry being low, it was decidedly fortunate that no attempts were made to heighten it, except the "heroic" rant, of which its greatest practitioner grew sick before he had practised it very long. In prose something was lost, but a good deal was gained. From its extravagances of religious and poetical enthusiasm the nation settled down to a rather humdrum, slightly materialist, setting of its house in order, politically, commercially, and in many other ways. It felt no raptures, and it did not want to express any, but it had a great deal to think and to say in its own way, and one of its most businesslike achievements was the fashioning of a form of expression. This was done so thoroughly that to the present moment no great change has passed over the ordinary style of English prose. Fashion has had its minor vicissitudes, time has rendered a few words obsolete, a few constructions archaic. In ornate prose the second half of the time has seen many, and even the first some, experiments, and there are not wanting young writers who say, and perhaps believe, that radical and vital alterations are being or will soon be effected. But on the whole the fact remains that a good ordinary sentence of standard English prose in the last quarter of the nineteenth century is far more like a good ordinary sentence of standard prose in the last quarter of the seventeenth than the latter was to the average prose of even fifty years earlier.

Hard as it is for the historian to draw a truthful picture of society in time of peace, it is still harder in time of war. If he be something of an impressionist, he may give his picture an

MARY BATESON. Social Life: Society Abnormal.

unreal unity; if he be a lover of exact detail, his picture may be wanting in breadth of treatment. This difficulty meets him where the conditions of life are normal, but when civil war breaks up old-established social relations, when not society only, but families are divided, so that fathers fight against their sons, then, rather than paint a volcanic eruption, the artist may think it well to leave his canvas a blur; but as a picture his blurred canvas would still be false. Society did not cease to exist because the groups of which it is compact were changing. The ties which bind men to act, not as isolated, irresponsible units, but as members of one body, were strengthened, rather than weakened, in the struggle to quell a rebellious member.

Moral Discipline.

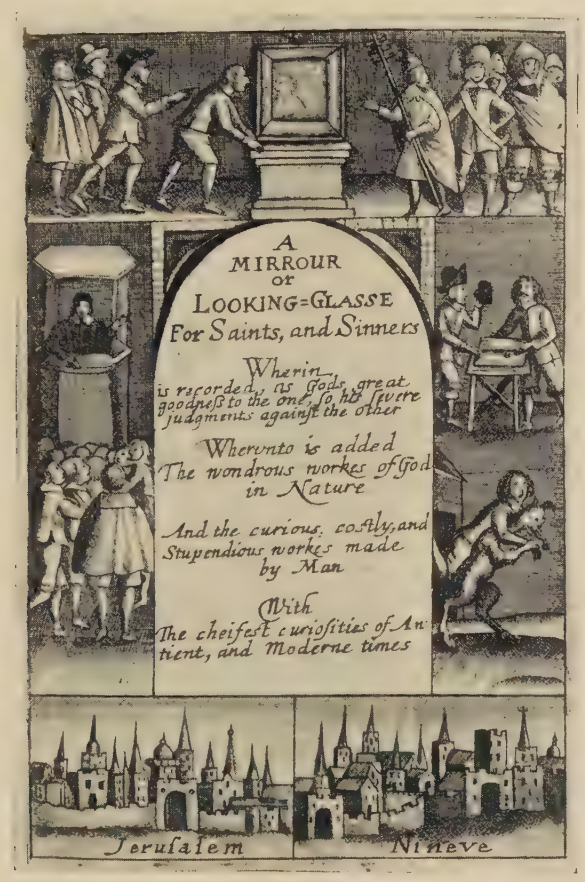
Sociality, in many of its lighter forms, it is true, almost ceased to exist; and in the times of Elizabeth and James I. sociality seems the be-all and end-all of society. But the Puritan Revolution taught that society could be held together, at least for a time, by a common moral discipline, which enforced the rejection of all amusement as hitherto understood. That the time was short may be ascribed to the fact that the new standard of morality appeared as a discipline of negations to those whose moral standard was unchanged. The time would have been shorter had there not been many even on the Royalist side who preferred a discipline of negations to none at all.

In the Army.

The enthusiastic enjoyment which discipline affords to many natures is well seen in the history of the Parliamentary army. In 1642 each man was fighting for his share of plunder, but two years later a number of average Englishmen had learned the practical efficiency of long-trained soldiers, and, what is more, fought as if possessed by a common inspiration. The Royalist army, on the other hand, excelled at first through superior military training, and failed at last, in spite of the heroism of individuals whose devotion to the king's cause was to them a religious inspiration, for want of moral discipline. Thus the Royalist Sir P. Warwick, complimenting the Parliamentary general "on the regularity and temperance of his army," was candidly told by Fairfax (for he, Warwick says, "was of a rational temper, not fanatical") that the best common soldiers he had came out of the king's army. "I found you had made them good soldiers, and I have made them good men." In a dispute between a Royalist and a Puritan, the Royalist said,

SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

"In our army we have the sins of men, drinking and wenching; but in yours you have those of devils, spiritual pride and rebellion." The drunken man's courage, great as it might be,


A
MIRROUR
or
LOOKING-GLASSE
For Saints, and Sinners
Wherin
is recorded, as Gods great goodnesse to the one, so his severe judgments against the other
Whereunto is added
The wondrous workes of God in Nature
And the curious, costly, and Stupendious workes made by Man
With
The cheifest curiosities of Antient, and Moderne times
Jerusalem
Nineve

SAINTS AND SINNERS.

(*Title-page to Samuel Clark's "Mirrour for Saints,"* 1654.)

was not equal to that of the devil intoxicated with spiritual pride.

Chillingworth, preaching before the Court at Oxford, was bold to say:—

"They that maintain the king's righteous cause with the hazard of their lives and fortunes . . . by their oaths and curses, by their drunkenness and debauchery, by their irreligion and profaneness, fight more

powerfully against their party than by all other means they do or can fight for it." [1]

Dr. Symmons, "a minister, not of the late confused new, but of the ancient, orderly and true Church of England," writes:—

"A day may come when the world may see that we who adhere to the king . . . have as truly hated the profaneness and vileness of our own men, as we have done the disloyalty and rebellion of the enemy."

The Souldiers pocket Bible.

A Souldier muſt not doe wickedly.

Deut.23.9 WHen thou goeſt out with the hoſt againſt thine enemies, keepe thee then from all wickednesse.

Luke 3.14 The ſouldiers likewiſe demanded of him, ſaying, and what ſhall we doe? And he ſaid unto them, doe violence to no man, neither accuſe any falſly, and be content with your wages.

Levit.26. 27 37. And if you will not for this obey me, you ſhall not be able to ſtand before your enemies.

Deut.28. 25. And the Lord ſhall cauſe thee to fall before thine enemies, thou ſhalt come out one way againſt them, and fly ſeven wayes before them.

A Souldier muſt be valiant for Gods Cauſe.

1 Sam.18. 17 2 2 a.10. 12. Be valiant and figot the Lords battells.

Be ſtrong, and let us be valiant for our people, and for the Cities of our God, and

(3)

and let the Lord doe that which is good in his eyes.

1 Sam.17. 47. For the battell is the Lords, and hee will give you into our hands.

A Souldier muſt denie his owne wiſedome, his own ſtrength & all proviſion for war.

Prov.3.5. Leane not to thine owne wiſedome.

2 Sam.2.9. In his own might ſhall no man be ſtrong.

Pſ.44.6. I doe not truſt in my Bow, neither can my Sword ſave me.

Pſal.33.16 A King is not ſaved by the multitude of an Hoſte, nei her is the mighty man delivered by much ſtrength.

17. A horſe is a vaine helpe, and ſhall not ſave in the day of battle. Man hath not Eccle.8.8. power over death, nor deliverance in battel.

2 Chro. 20.12. There is no power in us to ſtand againſt this great multitude, neither doe we know what to doe, but our eyes are towards thee.

A Souldier muſt put his confidence in Gods Wiſedome and ſtrength.

Ephe.6.10 Be ſtrong in the Lord, and in the power of his might.

Iob 12.13 For with him is wiſedome and ſtrength, he hath Counſell and underſtanding.

Pſal 68. 35. The God of Iſrael is hee that giveth ſtrength and power unto his people.

Pſal. 46.4. God is our hope and ſtrength, and help, in trouble ready to be found.

2 Chro.25 8. God hath power to helpe, and to caſt downe.

A 2 I

THE SOLDIER'S POCKET BIBLE.

"Never any good undertaking had so many unworthy attendants, such horrid blasphemers and wicked wretches as ours hath had." [2]

The "notorious scandalous disorders" of Goring's horse forced the loyal gentry of Somerset to join the "Clubmen" in arming to defend their own properties, 1645. Thereupon the Prince of Wales "directed many earnest letters" to Lord Goring, urging him "to suppress and reform the crying disorders of the

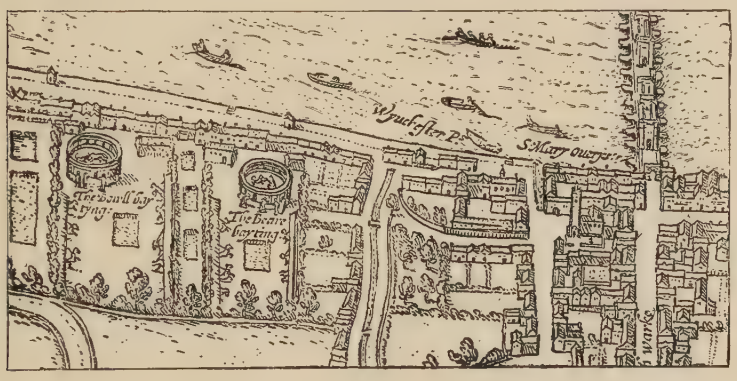
[1] Works, iii., 14, quoted in Gardiner's "Civil War," i., 281.

[2] Vindication of King Charles, 1647, quoted in Sanford, "Studies and Illustrations of the Great Rebellion," p. 87.

army by good discipline, and severity upon enormous transgressors." But the earnest letters of the Prince, a boy of fifteen counted for little with Goring, whose "perpetual sprightfulness and pleasantness of humour" were not easily sobered.[1] On the other side, Cromwell himself and his officers

"took upon them to preach and pray publicly to their troops . . . . and the common soldiers, as well as the officers, did not only pray and preach amongst themselves, but went up into the pulpits in all churches and preached to the people." [2]

The officers enforced the moral of their sermons by discipline. In Colonel Hutchinson's orders to the garrison at Nottingham



THE BULL AND BEAR-BAITING RINGS, BANKSIDE.
(*Braun and Hohenberg, "Civitates Orbis Terrarum,"* 1573.)

fines for drinking on the Sabbath were levied, not only on the offenders, but also on the tavern-keepers, who on a second offence lost their licence. For tippling after 9 p.m., when the "taptoo" beat, the fine was 2s. 6d., and for drinking in quarters after the tattoo 2s. Every drunken man was fined 5s., and the man who sold him liquor was fined. The fine on oaths was 3d.

"Anyone . . . found idly standing or walking in the street in sermon-time, or playing at any games upon the Sabbath or fast-day . . . shall pay half a crown, or suffer imprisonment till he pay the same." [3]

As the wage of a foot-soldier was only 8d.[4] a day, these fines were not easily paid.

[1] Clarendon: "History of the Great Rebellion," v., 440, ix., 8–10, etc.
[2] *Ibid.*, x., 79. [3] *Notes and Queries*, Jan. 29, 1876, quoted in Firth's edition of Colonel Hutchinson's Life. [4] Gardiner, "Civil War," ii., 195, in 1645.

Discipline in Civil Society.

Civilians were subjected to an equally severe discipline. In 1642 plays and bear-baiting were forbidden as unfit for such distracted times. Evelyn writes, 5th February, 1647:

"Saw a tragi-comedy acted in the cock-pit, after there had been none of these diversions for many years during the war."

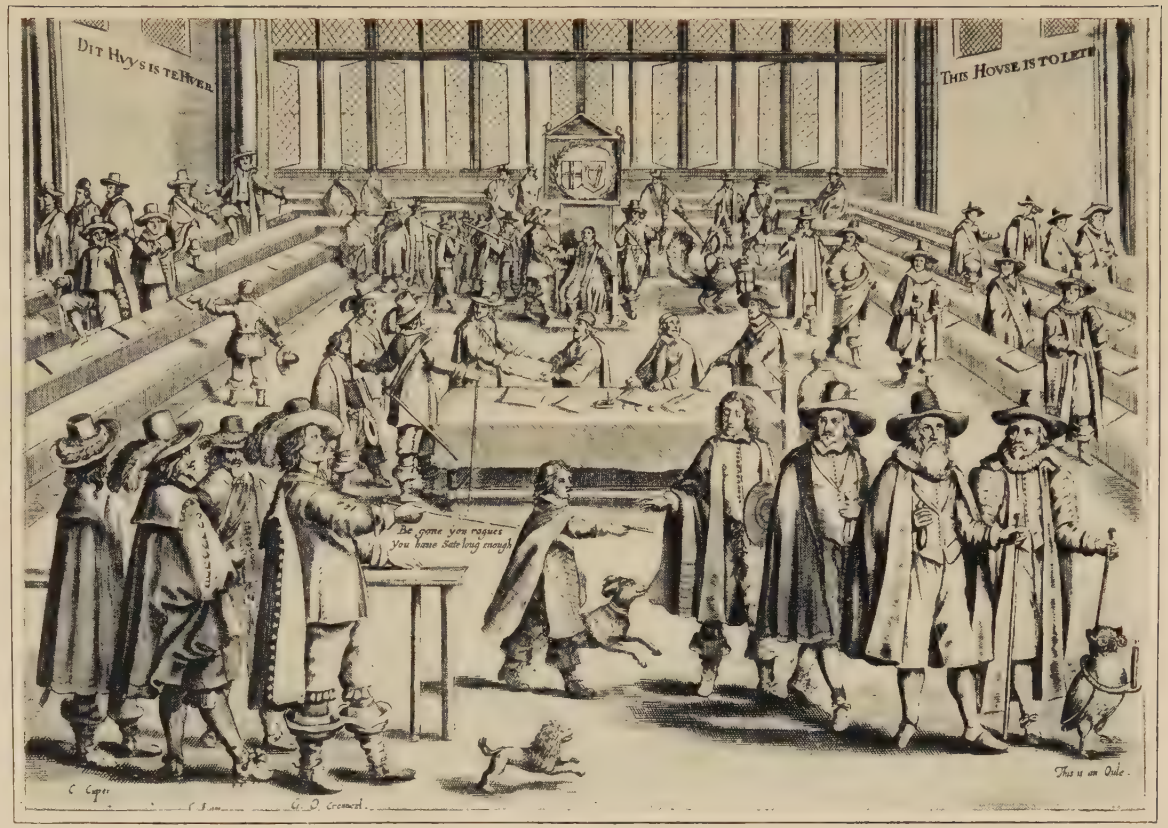
In the same year they were again prohibited, but in 1656 Davenant got leave to take money at the doors for an entertainment consisting of declamations and music, which he developed into a form of opera. Colonel Pride, by killing a number of bears, assisted the execution of the ordinance against bear-baiting. Cock-matches were also stopped. The object of the Government in checking these amusements was to stop Royalist plots, which were concocted, they believed, in these crowded assemblies. Sir John Reresby, writing in 1658, complains that:

"There were no comedies or other diversions, which were forbidden not only as ungodly, but for fear of drawing company or number together."

According to Royalist squib-writers, the Puritans stopped cock-matches because they "thought it their interest to let nothing live that would fight."[1]

In 1644 all maypoles were ordered to be pulled down, all games and sports, and all selling of wares on Sundays, forbidden. After forbidding all worldly labour, the ordinance for the Sabbath declares that it "shall not extend to prohibit dressing meat in private families."[2] In the same year Christmas Day fell on Wednesday, the appointed Puritan fast-day, and it was determined to enforce the fast. In other years precautions were taken either to prevent the decoration of churches or to keep them shut, to discourage all holiday-making and to encourage shopkeepers to keep their shops open.[3] Instead of saints' days, monthly holidays were reluctantly appointed, 1647, "for scholars, servants and apprentices." In 1643, when the Lord Mayor feasted both Houses of Parliament, no healths were drunk,[4] and in 1654 an ordinance prohibited the practice, and ordered swearing, gaming, and

[1] Harl. Misc., iii., 136. *See* an article by Mr. Firth in *Macmillan's Magazine*, October, 1894, on Cromwell's view of sport. [2] Neal's "Puritans," iii., 167.
[3] *Cf.* Fifth Report Hist. MSS. Com., p. 192. Evelyn, "Diary," December 25, 1652, etc. [4] Letters of Brilliana, Lady Harley (Camden Society).



OLIVER CROMWELL DISSOLVING THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

(*From a satirical Dutch Print.*)

drunkenness to be punished.[1] When in 1655 the major-generals began to exercise their police functions, the laws were rigorously executed. Horse-races were suppressed, players whipped as rogues, and a new ordinance for press licences was issued, and was used especially against books containing scurrilities and gross jests. In 1657 any person betting at cards, dice, tables, tennis, bowls, shovelboard, or any other game, was ordered to forfeit twice his winnings.

Discipline in the Government.

In 1647 the army demanded that "such men, and such men only, might be preferred to the great power and trust of the Commonwealth as are approved at least of moral righteousness," and when in 1653 Cromwell broke up the Long Parliament, and the army seized ruling power, men like the profligate Henry Marten and the tipsy Chaloner fell into obscurity.[2] Before that time, one of the godly members having made a motion that all profane and unsanctified persons be expelled the House, Marten stood up and moved "that all the fooles might be put out likewise, and then there would be a thin House."[3] The influence exercised by the lives of Cromwell, Fairfax, Fleetwood, Ireton, Lambert, to name but a few of the great names of the Commonwealth, is not to be lightly estimated. Whether it was deep and lasting some may doubt, but this at least we know, that while they were in power vice was no longer boasted of in official ranks, but concealed. In later years, when a friend of Charles II. urged on him "the necessity of having at least a show of religion in the Government, and sobriety," he said "it was that that did set up and keep up Oliver, though he was the greatest rogue in the world."[4] The Royalists followed the fashion Oliver set up, for they became

> "so regular in their lives and so exemplary to all (though there were some drinking Hectors intermixed) that they converted very many; and had they kept the same temper upon His Majesty's return which they did to make way for his return (to say no more) we had certainly been in a better state than we are at present."

Thus writes Sir P. Warwick in the reign of Charles II. Unfortunately many were abroad learning other lessons, which

[1] In the "Character of England," 1659, the drinking of healths is described as customary. [2] Article, "Henry Marten," "Dict. Nat. Biog."

[3] Aubrey, "Lives of Eminent Men," p. 436.

[4] Pepys, ed. Braybrooke, 1889, iv., 282.

sent them back, like Evelyn's typical traveller, "all ribbon, feather, and romanço," "insolent, ignorant, and debauched."[1] Others lived retired lives in the country to avoid suspicion. Young Sir John Reresby found that in London he made so little progress in learning gentlemanly accomplishments that he decided to travel with a tutor. He writes:—

"Such as lived in town were either such zealots with the rebellious, schismatical superstitions of those times, or so very debauched on the other hand, that it was very hard for a young man to avoid infection on one side or the other" ("Memoirs," ed. Cartwright, 1875, p. 25).

Republican Manners.

The same writer complains that "the citizens and common people of London had then so far imbibed the customs and manners of a Commonwealth that they could scarce endure the sight of a gentleman," and that the common salutation to a man well dressed was "French dog," and the like. On his return from travel, his *valet de chambre* was pelted in the street (1658) because he wore a feather in his hat. Similarly, Mrs. Thornton writes, 1659, that Lambert wanted "to root out the very face of a clargieman, or gentleman, or the civiler sort of the commonalty."[2] These statements express the feelings of Royalists. The advanced republicans, on the other hand, regretted that the social revolution caused so little change in etiquette and social forms. Cromwell himself had said in 1644 that he "hoped to live to see never a nobleman in England," but both in his first and second Protectorate titles were used and knighthoods were conferred. "His Highness's Household" and "His Highness's Court" were kept up with full state ceremony. To Cromwell the dignity of kingship was natural, and, inexperienced as he was, he never exposed himself to mockery by his behaviour. Not all who came to the front had the same gift of good manners which Cromwell and his children possessed. Mrs. Hutchinson tells how the wife of the new Deputy of Ireland, passing Cromwell's daughter (Lady Ireton, widow of the late Deputy) "put my Lady Ireton below, who, notwithstanding her piety and humility, was a little grieved at the affront."

Cromwell's Court.

A contrast with the stories of Stuart Court revelries is afforded by the Dutch Ambassadors' account of their entertain-

[1] Evelyn's "Correspondence," 1647, 1657, and 1658.

[2] Her "Autobiography," edited for the Surtees Society, p. 99.

ment by the Protector in 1654. They were invited to dinner, and fetched in two coaches about half-past one. At Whitehall twelve trumpeters were ready, sounding against their coming. The ambassadors and Cromwell dined at one table, his wife and the ambassadors' wives at another. Music played during dinner, and afterwards all joined in a psalm. As His Highness

ELIZABETH, MOTHER OF OLIVER CROMWELL.
(*By permission of the Right Hon. the Earl of Sandwich.*)

handed the music of the psalm to his ambassadors, "he told us," they write, "it was yet the best paper that had been exchanged between us." "We were nobly entertained."[1]

Cromwell's Mother.

Cromwell gave his mother apartments in Whitehall, where she died, aged over ninety, in 1654. She did not care for sovereignty and splendour, and her love for her son made her constantly wretched. "She was discontented if she did not see him twice a day, and never heard the report of a gun

[1] Thurloe, ii., 257.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

but she exclaimed: 'My son is shot.'" Ludlow and the republicans were offended at the needless ceremonies and great expenses which the Protector put the public to in burying her.[1] Cavaliers and republicans loved a joke on the subject of her modest dowry, saying that the nation on her death would be eased of the burden of taxation, since the Protector inherited her jointure of £60 a year. Little is known of Cromwell's wife, save that she was a homely woman, a good housewife, and a good mother. Her enemies called her "Joan," because of her inelegant manners.

ELIZABETH, WIFE OF OLIVER CROMWELL.
(From an old family portrait.)

To all alike the times were "troublesome" and "distracted." Almost every county supplied pillage to the armies of the king, Parliament, or the Scots. Those whose property was not sequestrated could not collect their rents. The letters of women, divided from their husbands and sons, and left to manage the estate while the head of the household was in arms, tell us something of the meaning of civil war. Lady Denbigh's letters, for instance, give the sad story of a mother whose husband and son were fighting on opposite sides. In vain she tries to win her son to his father's cause, and after argument appeals to his tenderness:

"O my deere son, that you would troun [turn] to the king. . . . I cannot forget what a son I had onc[e], and I hope to see him so again. . . . I do believe you will find that your mother have delt more really with you then any other, and I am sure hath suffered more then any other. . . . At this time I do more travell with soro for the grefe I suffer . . . then ever I did to breeng you into the world. . . ."

Writing after her husband's death at the hands of his enemies:

[1] Noble, "Memoirs," i. 85. Ludlow, "Memoirs," ed. Firth, i., 379.

"O my deere Jesus, put it into my deere son's hart to leve that merciles company that was the deth of his father, for now I think of it with horror, before with sorrow. . . . So, deere sone, not forgetting my ould sute, I take my leve. Our Lord bless you. Your loveing mother."[1]

Women's Suffering and Heroism.

The letters of Brilliana, Lady Harley, to her son Ned[2] are less painful, for, though her long separation from him filled her with sadness, their hearts were united. In the absence of her husband and son, she took the management of the Brampton estate, and as danger drew nigh her Puritan neighbours crowded into her castle for safety. To her husband she writes constantly, begging to be allowed to leave the place, which she knows is in danger of siege, but, as he urged her to stay, she writes, July 15, 1643

"Since you think Brampton a safe place for me I will think so too; and I would not for anything do that which might make the world believe our hope did begin to fail in our God. But be pleased to send me directions what I should do if there should be any stirs. I should be loath to have Ned Harley come down, for I think he is safest where he is."[3]

The "stirs" soon came, for a six weeks' siege began on July 25. The devoted lady died in October. She could head a garrison if occasion required, but it is from her letters to her son that we know she loved best to be making pies and cakes to send to her husband and her "deere Ned," to whom she also sends powder for his hair, "handkerchers" and shirts, and home-made socks. Lady Derby at Lathom House, Lady Bankes at Corfe Castle, Lady Arundel at Wardour, defended their castles with the same heroism. Less famous is Mrs. Purefoy's defence of a dwelling-house, attacked by Prince Rupert at the head of 500 men. Her son-in-law and three servants were the only men in the house. Mrs. Purefoy, her daughters, and three maids, supported them, and this little party, armed with twelve muskets, shot three captains and fifteen men. Prince Rupert was so deeply impressed by their bravery that he gave quarter, and abstained from plunder.[4]

Nursing.

The heroism of Anne Murray, afterwards Lady Halkett, was of another type. Her gift was sick-nursing, and her opportunity came on Sunday morning, September 8, 1650, when, five days

[1] Historical MSS. Com., App. to Fourth Report, pp. 259, 260. [2] Edited for the Camden Society. [3] Fourteenth Report, Hist. MSS. Com., App., Part ii., p. 91. (1894.) [4] Webb, "Memorials of the Civil War," i., 131.

Brampton Bryan Castle.

Corfe Castle.

Wardour Castle.

after the battle of Dunbar, some of the wounded reached the house where she was staying. Between Sunday morning and Monday she writes:

"I beleeve threescore was the least that was dresed by me and my woman and Ar. Ro. [a man], who I imployed to such as was unfitt for mee to dresse; and beside the plaisters or balsam I aplied, I gave every one of them as much with them as might drese them 3 or 4 times, for I had provided myselfe very well with things nesesary for that imployment, expecting they might be usefull."

Her manservant called out, on seeing one of the men with his head split open: "Thou art but a dead man." The man, who showed courage enough before, became much disheartened, but Anne cheered him up, and "he wentt frankly from dresing," for she had "given him something to refresh his spiritts" in the shape of hopeful religious counsel, and he recovered. Many of the wounds had been left for so long, she says, that

"itt may bee imagined they were very noisome; butt one particularly was in that degree . . . that none was able to stay in ye roome, butt all left mee. Accidentally a gentleman came in, who seeing mee (nott withoutt reluctancy) cutting off the man's sleeve of his doublet, wch was hardly fitt to be toutched, he was so charitable as to take a knife and cutt itt off and fling (it) in ye fire."

Elsewhere she says: "A further accountt may bee had hereaffter iff itt be nesesary" of her treatment of a girl "three yeare under a discomposed spiritt," of a woman with lupus, and of a man with a wen. She showed an equally courageous spirit in another matter. When the news came that her plighted lover had abruptly married someone else, she says:

"Flinging my selfe downe upon (the) bed, I said, 'Is this the man for whom I have sufred so much? Since hee hath made himselfe unworthy my love, hee is unworthy my anger or concerne;' and rising imediately, I wentt outt into the next roome to my super as unconcernedly as if I had never had any interest in him, nor had never lost itt."

She was, however, capable of cowardice, for once, when alarmed by an unwelcome proposal of marriage, and asked was she married, she writes: "(Lord pardon the equivocation), I sayd *I am* (outt aloud), and secrettly said *nott*."[1]

The Duchess of Newcastle writes severely of the women who haunt Parliament and Committees to recover estates, "running

[1] "Autobiography," edited for the Camden Society.

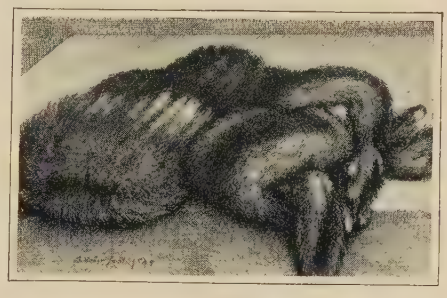
about with their several causes, complaining of their several grievances, exclaiming against their several enemies," but how painful this necessary soliciting was to some women may be seen in the letters of Mary Lady Verney to her husband in exile.[1]

Women of Business.

In the humbler ranks of society the spiritual experiences of the converted were to them an absorbing interest, and some women took to preaching.[2] Bunyan, when he overheard three or four poor women "sitting at the door in the sun, and talking about the things of God," in a way which showed him the depth of their knowledge of the "Grace abounding," realised that he had been "but a poor painted hypocrite," though already "a brisk talker" himself in matters of religion.

Godly Women.

"I heard, but I understood not, for they were far above, out of my reach. Their talk was about the new Birth, the work of God on their hearts. . . . They also discoursed of their own wretchedness of heart, of their Unbelief, and did contemn, slight, and abhor their own Righteousness as filthy and insufficient to do them any good. And methought they spake as if Joy did make them speak; they spake with such pleasantness of Scripture Language . . . that they were to me as if they had found a new world—as if they were people that dwelt alone."



A FUR TIPPET, 1645.

(*By W. Hollar.*)

It was a time when women could do and did much to earn that moral respect which Puritans accorded them, but it was no time of intellectual advance. The Commonwealth, indeed, had no care for the development of the reasoning intelligence[3] in either man or woman. The letters of many ladies might be quoted to show how barren of intellectual interests their lives were; in some cases the times appeared to them "distracted" only because they had less pocket-money.[4] Some, who cared nothing for the events which had driven their friends into exile, were eager to make use of friends exiled in Paris, who

Other Feminine Interests.

[1] Edited by Frances Lady Verney. [2] Clarendon. x., 79. [3] Gardiner, "Civil War," iii., 120. [4] *See* the letters of Sue and Pen Verney.

Dress.

would do their shopping for them. The Verneys, for instance are asked:

"Could you by [buy] mee any prity coulred [coloured] stoffe to make mee a peticote, 4 Bredes [breadths] of saten is enofe; I never put in more then 5 yard . . . but I hear thay ware now in Franc coulerd slefes and stomicheres, therefore ther must be somthing alowed for that; . . . I would not have one to cost to much; 4 or 5 pound . . . and, deare madam, bestoe me 30 shellings in anie prety thing for my head, to sote [suit] me out a litell."

A CAVALIER OF 1646.
("*The Picture of an English Antick*," *a broadsheet.*)

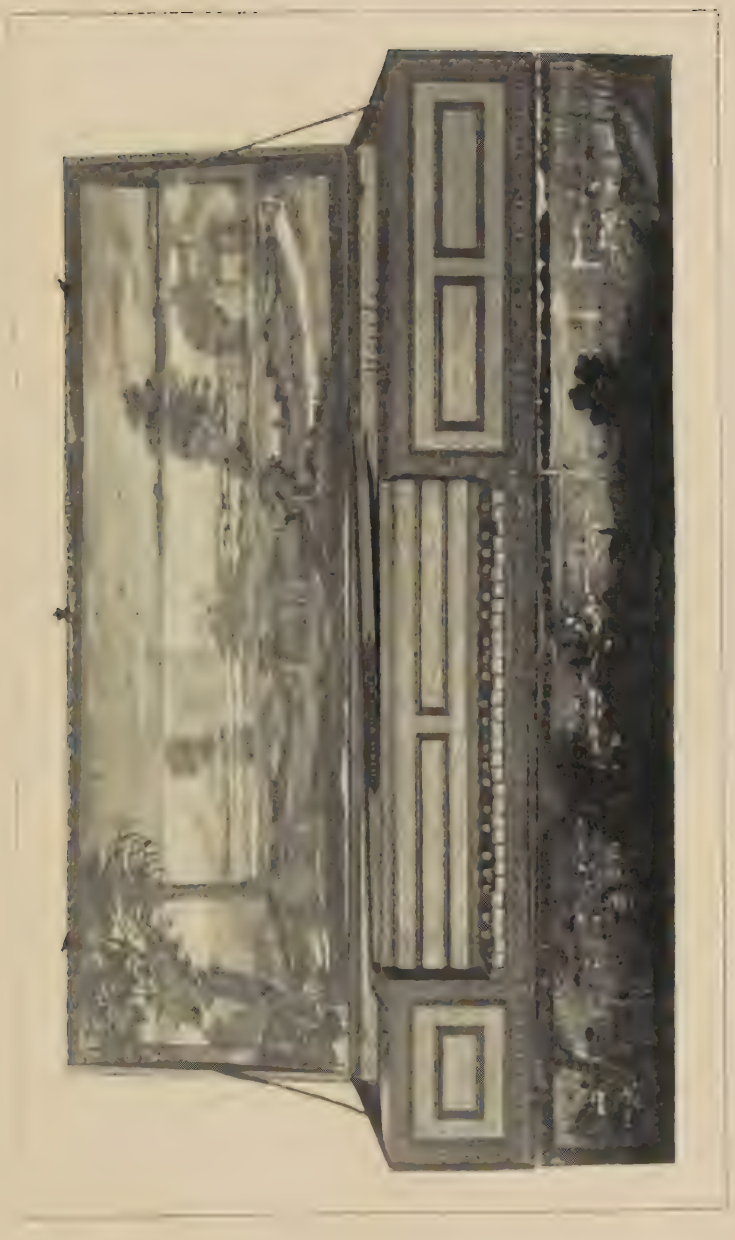
Sue Verney tells her brother about a cheap gown of "very coarse stuff," costing "but forty shillings, tailor's bill and all." Little tailoring was needed for the simplified fashions of the day. Ladies were wearing plain, pointed bodices, laced in front; wide tippets or folded kerchiefs; plain petticoats, sometimes with panniers; wide, short sleeves, and deep lawn or lace cuffs and collars. In 1654 "tippets were not so much the mode," and furs were worn instead. One of the ladies of the Hatton family paid £40 for a muff and mantle.[1] Out of doors women wore peaked beaver hats, or a black hood and coverchief tied under the chin.

Men's Dress.

To men dress was not entirely deprived of interesting opportunities, for in the first half of the period the plainer forms of the cavalier dress were still worn. A picture representing a cavalier in 1646 shows him wearing a hat like an inverted flower-pot, and without the wide rim hitherto in fashion. He wears his "band" or collar "lapping out before," and it

[1] Camden Society, "Hatton Correspondence," p. 11.

MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA



VIRGINAL OF 1651. (*York Museum.*)

is tied with great "band strings" slipped through a ring. His doublet or coat is unbuttoned halfway, and so are his sleeves, to show lace cuffs and under-sleeves. His breeches have many "points" or tags at the knees. Bunches of riband are fastened on either side the breeches and in front. He wears "boot-hose tops" like loose stockings, "tied about the middle of the calf, as long as a pair of shirt-sleeves, double at the ends like a ruff-band. The tops of his boots very large, turned down as low as his spurs," and filled with lace frilling; he has "a great pair of spurs jingling like a Morrice dancer, the feet of his boots two inches

COSTUME OF CAVALIERS AND ROUNDHEADS.

(*From "A Dialogue or Parley between Prince Rupert's Dog Puddle and Tobie's Dog Pepper,"* 1642.)

too long," and square at the ends. The immense width of boot-top makes him straddle in his gait; in one hand is his stick, at his side his sword, and over his arm he carries a cloak. The Puritan wore his wide-brimmed, steeple-crowned beaver untrimmed. His cloak was short, and his doublet longer than the cavalier's, concealing his shirt. His knee-breeches had no ribands, tags, points, or frills. His boots were like the riding-boots of the present day. Under the Commonwealth the fashion of wearing swords went out for a time, but in 1658 a gentleman found it necessary to get one, as to be without made a man look like a bumpkin.[1] When the republic was first declared, the

[1] Hatton Correspondence, p. 11.

leaders of opinion were not in perfect agreement on the question of what dress was becoming for an ordinary and what for a festive occasion. Major-General Harrison rebuked Colonel Hutchinson for wearing a "sad-coloured cloth, trimmed with gold and silver points and buttons," which his wife calls "pretty rich, but grave, and no other than he usually wore." Harrison observed that "gold and silver and worldly bravery did not become saints." The next day the Spanish Ambassador held an audience, and Hutchinson and other gentlemen attended in plain black suits, but this time it was Harrison who arrived "in a scarlet coat and cloak, both laden with gold and silver lace, and the coat so covered with clinquant (foil) that one scarcely could discern the ground."

POSTBOY.

(From a woodcut in the "London Post," Feb. 4–11, 1646.)

Cut off from many other amusements, the discussion of religious, political, and social questions was the republican's principal interest, and formal debates began to be held in Rhenish wine-houses, and at the end of the period in coffee-houses. Foremost among the political philosophers was Sir James Harrington, author of "Oceana" (p. 391). "That ingeniose tractat, together with his and H. Nevill's smart discourses . . . dayly at coffee-houses, made many proselytes." In 1659 "his disciples and the virtuosi" met nightly at the Turk's Head and sat round an oval table with a passage in the middle for the host to deliver his coffee. The arguments in the Parliament-house were but flat to his discourse.[1] According to Evelyn, even the sermons were "of speculative and national things," so he kept his family by preference at home on Sunday, to catechise and instruct them to his own taste.[2]

Interest in Politics.

The popular interest in public events led to a great increase

[1] Aubrey, p. 371. [2] Evelyn, "Diary," August 19, 1655.

Newspapers.

in the number of newspapers. News-letters and news-pamphlets had for many years met with a ready sale. Nathaniel Butter, a London stationer, in conjunction with Thomas Archer, began weekly issues of news on May 20, 1622, under the name, *The Weekly Newes from Italy, Germany, etc.*, and on September 25 Butter and Shefford issued the first quarto sheet newspaper, *Newes from most parts of Christendom.* The sheets, still bearing different titles, began to be numbered consecutively; one of May 12, 1623, bears a number (31). Unfortunately the extant sets are very incomplete.[1]

The rage for news spread rapidly, and in 1625 Jonson's *Staple of News* was acted and the fashion satirised, with many personal allusions to Butter. Writing in 1626, Dr. Donne says:—"Perchance you look not so low as our ordinary Gazetta, and that tells us with a second assurance that the Duke of Brunswick is dead."

In November, 1641, the first report of the proceedings of Parliament in the form of a newspaper was issued, and the Grand Remonstrance was cried in the street.[2] During the civil war the competition between journalists was severe, and each party had its recognised organ. The king's paper, *Mercurius Aulicus*, edited by Birkenhead, began to be printed weekly at Oxford in 1643. Its chief aim was to make Puritans and Parliament ridiculous; its literary quality was good, but little of its news is trustworthy.[3] Before long fifteen or twenty Parliamentary newspapers were printed weekly in London. Amongst these were *Mercurius Britannicus*, begun August, 1643, edited by Marchmont Needham; *Mercurius Veridicus*, the *Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer*, and *Weekly Post.* They contain many highly coloured stories of Cavalier outrages, but as a rule competition induced writers to be careful to get the best information. In September, 1647, Needham, having changed sides, started a Royalist paper in London, *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, which had a long career before it. Most of the newspapers survived but a short time. At least 170 weekly papers are said to have been started, chiefly in London, 1642–1649.[4] In 1649 the licensers of

[1] Mr. Sidney Lee's article "Butter," in "Dict. Nat. Biography."

[2] Webb, "Memorials of the Civil War in Herefordshire," i., 89.

[3] Gardiner, "Civil War," I., vi. Article "Birkenhead," in "Dict. Nat. Biog."

[4] Masson's "Milton," iv., 38, 39, 327. Nichol's "Literary Anecdotes," iv. Grant, "The Newspaper Press," i.

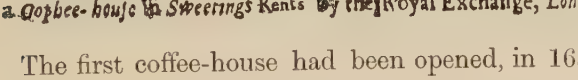
1660]

the press under Bradshaw's Act began a fresh series of newspapers, subsidised by Government, and officially authorised. Among the chief was *Mercurius Politicus*, by Marchmont Needham, "in defence of the Commonwealth, and for Information of the People," with an ample seasoning of ribaldry.

Private individuals, anxious about their reputations, paid the journalists for entries. Mrs. Hutchinson notes the expense Sir J. Gell was at to get himself weekly mentioned in the journals —he "kept the diurnal-makers in pension."[1] Besides political information, personalities and scurrilities, the newspapers began to print advertisements. Thus, in the *Public Advertiser* of Tuesday, June 16, 1657: Advertisements.

"In Bishopsgate Street, in Queen's Head Alley, at a Frenchman's house, is an excellent West India drink, called chocolate, to be sold, where you may have it ready at any time, and also unmade, at reasonable rates."

In 1658, *Mercurius Politicus* contains advertisements of books, rewards for the recovery of lost property, coach time-tables, and an advertisement of tea:


THE Excellent, and by all Physitians approved, *China* Drink, called by the *Chineans*, *Teha*, by other Nations *Tay alias Tee*, is sold at the *Sultaness-head*, a *Coffee-house* in *Sweetings* Rents by the Royal Exchange, *London*.

The first coffee-house had been opened, in 1652, by a Greek in St. Michael's Alley, Cornhill.

Another movement, which was to revolutionise society, was the organisation of a system of stage-coaches, in April, 1658. A year previous the post had been reorganised and cheapened (p. 663).

The same age made hackney-coaches popular. According to the "Character of England," 1659, children threw dirt at private coaches:

"The carmen, who in London domineer over the streets, o'erthrow the hell-carts (for so they name the coaches), cursing and reviling at the nobles. But these are the natural effects of parity, popular libertinism, and insularly manners."

In this age of equality, the "field near the town, called Hyde Park," containing 621 acres, the popular racecourse and fashionable resort of Charles I.'s reign, was sold "for ready money," Hyde Park.

[1] Firth's edition of "Colonel Hutchinson's Life," i., 181, 183.

1652. It was divided into three lots, and bought for £17,068 6s. 8d. At the Restoration the purchasers were thankful to let the Crown take it back quietly, and received no compensation. The purchaser of the lot containing the "Ring"

A Bright bay Gelding ſtoln from *Hatfield*, in the County of *Hertford*, *Sept*, 23. of about 14 hand high or ſomething more, with half his Mane ſhorne and a ſtar in the Forehead, and a feather all along his Neck on the far ſide. A yong man with gray cloaths of about twenty years of age, middle ſtature, went away with him: If any can give notice to the Porter at *Salisbury*-houſe in the Strand, or to the White Lion in *Hatfield* aforeſaid, they ſhall be well rewarded for their pains.

(643)

Advertiſement:

IF any one can give notice of one *Edward Berry* being about the age of eighteen or nineteen years, of low Stature, black hair, full of pockholes in his face, he weareth a new gray ſuit, trimed with green and other ribbon, a light Cinnamon colored cloak and black hat; who run away lately from his Maſter; they are deſired to bring or ſend word to *Tho. Firby* Stationer at Grays Inn gate, who will thankfully reward them.

Advertiſements.

THis is to give notice, That if any perſons have a minde to imploy their Money in Building, they may have Four Acres of Ground, and a convenient place to build on in Hide-Park. And at Mr. *Talmans* Houſe a Scrivener, in Kings-ſtreet, *Weſtminſter*, or elſe by *Thomas Shell*, or *Francis Preſtar*, near Hide-Park Gate, they may have full directions.

York, Cheſter, and Exeter.

FRom the George Inn without Alderſgate, Stage Coaches, do continue to go and carry Paſſengers to the Cities of *York*, *Cheſter*, and *Exeter*, and to other Towns in the ſame Roads, every Monday, Wedneſday, and Friday, at and for reaſonable rates.

As alſo to *Wakefield*, *Leeds*, and *Hallifax*, every Friday for 40 s.

To *Durham* and *Newcaſtle* upon every Monday for 3 l.
Edinburgh in *Scotland*, once every three weeks for 4 l. 10 s.
Dover and *Canterbury*, twice every week in two days for 15 s.
Bath and *Briſtol* every Monday and Thurſday for 20 s. With good Coaches, and freſh Horſes in the Roads.

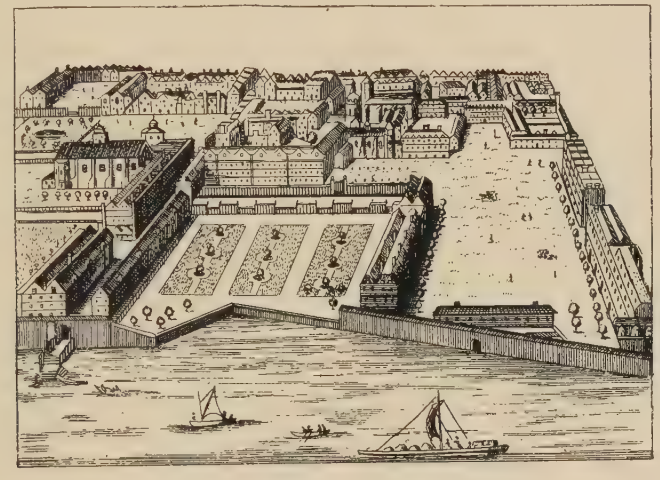
ADVERTISEMENTS FROM *MERCURIUS POLITICUS*, 1658.

leased it to "a brace of citizens," who levied a tax on coaches driving there. The official paper, *Several Proceedings*, for the week April 27—May 4, 1654, says that on May 1

"Great resorts came to Hyde Park, many hundreds of rich coaches and gallants in attire, but most shameful powdered hair men, and painted and

spotted women. . . . But His Highness the Lord Protector went not thither, nor any of the Lords of the Council."

From another paper it is known that Cromwell was there, watching a hurling-match.[1] It was there, too, that in trying to drive six-in-hand, and using the whip too violently, he fell off the box and was nearly killed.[2] In the same year Evelyn records that Cromwell and his partisans had "shut up and seized on Spring Garden," which lay between the gardens of St. James's Palace and Whitehall, thus leaving "persons of the best quality"



THE TEMPLE FROM THE THAMES.
(*From a print of about* 1650.)

only Mulberry Garden (now Buckingham Palace Gardens) as a place of refreshment, to be exceedingly cheated at,[3] especially for mulberry tarts.

The measures adopted by the Cromwellian executive were not always on a heroic scale; but in all its dealings, great and small, we are reminded that it was a time when for society at large the counsel, "If thy hand offend thee, cut it off," was carried into practice. It is a counsel which heroes will give to cowards, but it is a counsel which heroes alone will put into effect.

[1] Larwood, "London Parks." [2] Thurloe, "State Papers," ii., 652.
[3] Evelyn, "Diary," May 10, 1654.

JAMES COLVILLE. Scotland.

THE Solemn League and Covenant and the Westminster Assembly were the outcome of the union of hearts cemented by the victory of Duns Law. Under the former Leslie and his veterans crossed the Tweed (1643), to play no mean part on Marston Moor, but ultimately to retire (1647) as guests that had outstayed their welcome. In the latter its authors saw an instrument for smiting the ogres of Prelacy and Popery hip and thigh, and raising over their ruins the banner of Presbytery. The issues were in both cases marred by the still more resolute and uncompromising force of Independency. A root-and-branch republic was little understood and less appreciated in the north. Nowhere did the doomed cause of royalty find more devoted victims, but their sacrifices served only to hasten the extinction of Scottish independence on that second Flodden that looks down upon Dunbar. For ten years thereafter was the Cromwellian boot held firm on the thistle, to the profit of more honest and useful growths, but such stern repression served only to effect that decay of national life which made the despotism of the later Stuarts possible.

The Presbyterian Movement.

Prelacy was hopelessly scotched in the north and discredited in the south, where many were friendly to Presbytery. Milton had not yet called "Presbyter but priest writ large." The singer of Lycidas was not unfriendly to the church of his Scotch tutor, Thomas Young. One of his Smectymnuans in the north as a Commissioner from the Parliament, was the "Maister Stevin Mershell," preacher in England, who was made a burgess of Stirling in 1642, along with Archibald Lord Lorn and Sir Harry Vane. The leaders, Henderson and Johnstone, expressed the sentiments of the hour when, resolving to make common cause with the Parliament, they drew up a religious covenant. Henderson was statesman enough to moderate his expectations. While labouring for a reform of the Church of England, "we are not to conceive that they will embrace our form. A new must be set down for all." The Westminster Assembly was the necessary complement of the Solemn League, and both were but temporary expedients. The former, unlike that spontaneous *Cri du Peuple*, the National Covenant, was narrow, doctrinaire, propagandist. Hope, shrewd King's Advocate, "scruplit at pairt of the League because I, as a subject of Scotland, cannot be

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

tyet to maintain the parliament of another kingdom and the liberties thereof." Its authors, while preparing to play at bowls, foresaw not the rubbers of Dunbar and Worcester. To the Westminister Assembly Scotland sent her best men. Baillie, its vivid chronicler, writes hopefully at the outset to Johnstone to "send a strong committee, as they would get the guiding of all affairs both of Church and State," naïvely adding, "Burn this free letter except ye will keep it, and *say it is burnt.*" Farther on he saw the rock ahead. "On no point expect we so much difficulty as Independency, wherewith we propose not to meddle

DUNS LAW.

till it please God to advance our army, *which we expect will much assist our arguments.*" Baillie was disappointed. Civil war is no respecter of divines or divinities. It would be hard to exaggerate, however, the influence of the Westminster Assembly on the social life of Scotland. Its creed was in harmony with the main stream of Christian teaching; it fashioned a ritual that was in sympathy with the national character; its Catechism long served as a logical training for the Scottish intellect. Its psalmody, though the work of an Englishman, may compare in fervour and homely acceptance among bygone generations with the heritage of popular song.

Before the Westminster Assembly closed, two notable

Montrose. Royalist movements deeply affected Scotland. Montrose, though no Highlandman himself, was richly endowed with qualities that recommended him as a leader to the semi-savage freebooters of the north. Flashing out at a dozen different places, feeding his half-clad levies of wild Gaels and wilder Irish with the licence of a pack of wolves, ever trusting to the dirk, the targe, and the push of pike, supplementing his poor stock of arms with the bow and the arrow, and his poorer equipment of horse with the swift-footed Sons of the Mist, he scattered the ranks of the feebly led Covenanters, and made the homes of many honest Blue-caps desolate. At length, foiled in attaching the Gordons to his cause or securing a single stronghold, excommunicated by the Kirk and detested by the peasantry whom he had harried and the burgesses whom he had pillaged, he turned southwards to join hands with the English Royalists. His surprise at Philiphaugh (1645) shows both the distrust that withheld information from him, and his own bad generalship, for he knew that his conqueror, David Leslie, was approaching. The victory sent him into exile, and brought down on his followers the vengeance of the Covenanters, who remembered only too well Inverlochy, Auldearn, and Kilsyth. The drum-and-trumpet historians have made more of such wretched guerilla warfare than it deserved. In the pages of eulogists like Wishart, Guthrie, Napier, and Aytoun, we have nought but the romance of the situation. In the burgh records and diaries, written face to face with the stern realities, it is heart-breaking to read the pitiful tale of strippings, sackings, burnings, pillagings, and all such unnatural horrors. Long after, many a burgh petitioned the Estates to pity its *ruinat* condition through that "excomunicat rebel, James Graham."

Surrender of the King. The cause of the king having been rendered hopeless after the failures of his devoted lieutenants, Ormonde and Montrose, he surrendered to the Scots at Newark, from whom he passed into the hands of the Sectaries. Salmasius, with more of point than fairness, said, "The Presbyterians held the king down while the Independents cut his throat." Buckle boldly calls the incident a sale, adducing in support his unsifted array of authorities. The question was mixed up with that of arrears of pay, but this was settled in August, 1645, payment was voted early in September, while negotiations respecting the king were

not concluded till the following January. Not till a month after the settlement of the arrears did the Parliament claim the sole disposal of the king's person. He had himself repeatedly desired to be near his Parliament. On a review of the whole question, Hallam, and even the Royalist Sir George Mackenzie, entirely exonerated the Scots, whose subsequent sacrifices for an unworthy race were so conspicuous. Baillie, who spent eight or nine days with Charles at Newcastle in very free intercourse, refrained from influencing him, observing "his

THE SCOTS HOLDING THEIR YOVNG KINGES NOSE TO Y GRINSTO
Come to the Grinstone Charles tis now to late:
To Recollect this presbiterian fate:
You Covnant pretenders must Shee
The Subiect of Youer Tradgie Comedie
Stampe Charles
Jockie

CHARLES II. AND THE KIRK.

(*From a satirical print of* 1651.)

unhappy wilfulness and the mischievous instruments that feed his madness."

The Engagement.

Hamilton, Montrose's ever-suspicious rival, emulated his career only to meet with his fate. The Estates, now entirely controlled by the Moderates, who were willing to compromise with the king, and who believed with Baillie that "the body of English were over-weary long ago of Parliament and the ever-hated Sectaries," raised the largest army Scotland had yet turned out. The movement was bitterly opposed by the extreme party that ruled the General Assembly. The Engagers had little compassion on the western and Covenanting counties,

so that places like Lanark and Glasgow had a pitiful tale to tell of the movement, which swept southwards like an avenging scourge by Dumfries and Carlisle, only to be ignominiously wiped out by Cromwell at Preston.

The First Disruption.

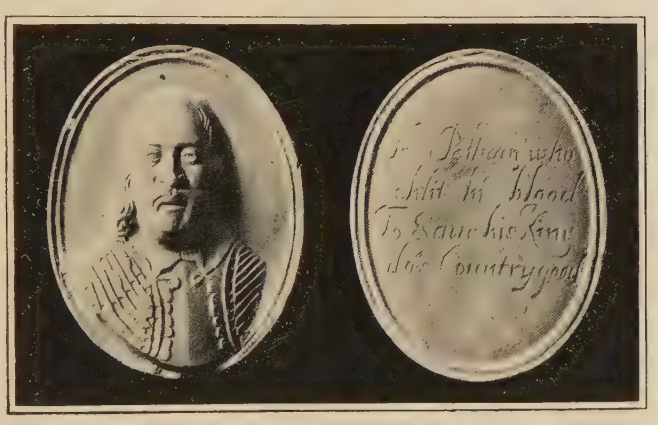
The Engagement showed the first rift in the Covenanting lute. In the early days of the National Covenant, the capital and the eastern Lowlands inspired and directed the movement. All this was now transferred to the western hillmen, the true Protesters against malignancy, and faithful upholders of the Blue Banner. Out of these elements the astute Argyll and Johnstone organised the Whigamore Raid on Edinburgh, a bold *coup* which substituted for the weak-kneed Estates that got up the Engagement, an assembly controlled by these leaders in concert with the Independents. They called Cromwell, then at Berwick (October, 1648), to their counsels, and in three days set up the Government on Republican lines. A self-denying ordinance was found in the Act of Classes, which purged the public service of every trace of malignancy and moderatism by separating good from bad Covenanters. The vacant offices were filled up without reference to royal authority, thus sweeping away the last relic of Prerogative. But the death of the king produced a swift reaction. In spite, however, of the prompt proclamation of Charles II. as king, the conferences at the Hague, the landing in Scotland, and the coronation at Scone, the western Whigs refused to treat with un-Covenanted Royalty.

JAMES GRAHAM, MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.
(*Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

Montrose Executed.

Montrose was with Charles, and prepared for any rash venture; but the Commissioners at the Hague stipulated that the king should abandon him as unworthy to come near his person or into the society of good men. Lanerick (now Hamilton) refused to come into the same room with him,

even before the king. Clarendon reports a conversation with Lauderdale that gives the severest condemnation to be found anywhere of Montrose. All the while the double-dealing king was writing thus to him: "Be not startled with reports as if I otherwise inclined to Presbytery than when I left you. I am upon the same principles I was, and depend as much as ever on your undertakings and endeavours for my service." To many the falsehood was transparent when, after the capture of Montrose, Lothian reported in Parliament, "His Majesty is noways sorry that James Graham was defeated, in respect as



MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE EXECUTION OF MONTROSE.

he (Charles) said he had made invasion without and contrary to his demands." In his natural duplicity Charles found resources to enable him to swallow even the Covenant itself. Nothing, however, but the combination of fanaticism and partisan trickery could have blinded the Scottish leaders to such a sorry sham. The fate of Montrose—betrayed and sold by a petty Highland chieftain such as those who had been the agents of his cruelties—cast a lurid light on the pitiful and sometimes ludicrous appearances of Charles in Scotland during the summer of 1650. There is no evidence that the fall of this brave northern Strafford touched the Merry Monarch. His philosophy of life left no room for the sensibility of his father. "He had an appearance," says Burnet, "of gentleness in outward deportment, but he seemed to have no tenderness in his nature,

and in the end of his life became cruel." The noble self-sacrifice of Montrose for a master so worthless throws the halo of romance round a career in itself sufficiently romantic and touching. Not every hero-martyr has undesignedly written his own epitaph in lines so pregnant and poetical as these:—

> "He either fears his fate too much,
> Or his deserts are small,
> That dares not put it to the touch
> To gain or lose it all."

Nicoll, the Edinburgh notary, has graphically sketched the two closing scenes in that fall—the mean entry into the capital, surrounded with everything that was sordid and degrading, and the tragic exit from the fatal ladder amid the bravery of gorgeous raiment that glorified the hangman's rope. This surely was not out of keeping with the dramatic contrasts of such a life. Montrose was as fanatical in his blind devotion to royal prerogative as the meanest of the opponents he so thoroughly despised could be to the Covenant. His call to arms on the death of Charles I.:

> "I'll sing thine obsequies with trumpet sounds,
> And write thine epitaph in blood and wounds,"

is worthy of the brutal frankness of Marat. The fine qualities of his nature, the fascinating charm of his poetic and chivalrous youth, these were perverted by a false conception of loyalty. Plutarch and the frothy rhetoric of pagan Rome possessed him as they did Charlotte Corday and Madame Roland.

Dunbar.

Scotland was now (1650–51) making her last stand for her Stuart king against Cromwell, disappointed with his quondam allies and with the ungrateful and stubborn country. "I thought I should have found a conscientious people and a barren country. About Edinburgh it is as fertile for corn as any part of England, but the people generally are so given to the most impudent lying and frequent swearing as is incredible." Disgusted with the pragmatical government of the Kirk, he appeals to the General Assembly: "I beseech you in the bowels of Christ, think it possible that you may be mistaken." Events were now hurrying on the catastrophe

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

of Dunbar. Terrible was the fate of that shattered army. To the governor of Newcastle Cromwell consigns "500 poor wretches of prisoners, very many of whom will die of their wounds or be permanently disabled." Only too glad to devour raw cabbages on the march at Morpeth, thereafter penned in Durham cathedral, many died of a grievous pest; while the remnant were sold as slaves in America. Scotland was now at Cromwell's mercy. The High Kirk of St. Giles was reserved for Lambert and his brother fanatics, who preached with sword

MOUND FROM WHICH CROMWELL RECONNOITRED THE ENEMY'S POSITION AT DUNBAR.

and pistols beside them. Cromwell, like any bigoted High Churchman, refused to hear the Presbyterian preachers, discoursing in his own quarters as the Spirit moved him, as if it were an ague, quoth Nicoll. "He made stables of all the the churches," says Balfour, 'and burnt all the seats and pews in them; he rifled the manses and destroyed the corns." His troopers managed to burn the best part of Holyrood; the furniture of the College, High School, and three kirks was broken down for fuel, besides the plenishing of many houses in town and country. The troopers carried themselves insolently in Edinburgh, and brawls were frequent. Baillie, Nicoll,

and the Burgh Records speak of an armed possession such as had not been known since the days of Longshanks.

Raid of Alyth.

The clever generalship of David Leslie during the summer of 1651 greatly disconcerted Cromwell, so ill the while as to be confined to his coach, but by an adroit movement across Fife to Perth he headed the enemy southwards. He anticipated Worcester with equanimity. The issue was of little moment, as the real mischief had been done at Dunbar. Two days before it there occurred two events of far more consequence. The Nationalists had moved their headquarters and much wealth to Dundee, thus putting two broad firths between them and the Sectaries. But Cromwell had left behind him a lieutenant, who gets off even more easily with historians than his sanguinary master. Monk made of unhappy Dundee a Scottish Drogheda. The details are utterly horrible. Over the Sidlaws to northwards, in the modest Strathmore hamlet of Alyth, the Committee of the Estates were trying to govern, when one of Monk's colonels pounced upon them, and shipped off the whole Cabinet to a long imprisonment in the Tower. Among them was Lauderdale, as yet a "plant of grace" corresponding as Wm. Reid with his "reverend and worthie" friend, Robert Baillie. Did he ever talk with Albemarle in the gay days of the Restoration about the Sack of Dundee and the Raid of Alyth?

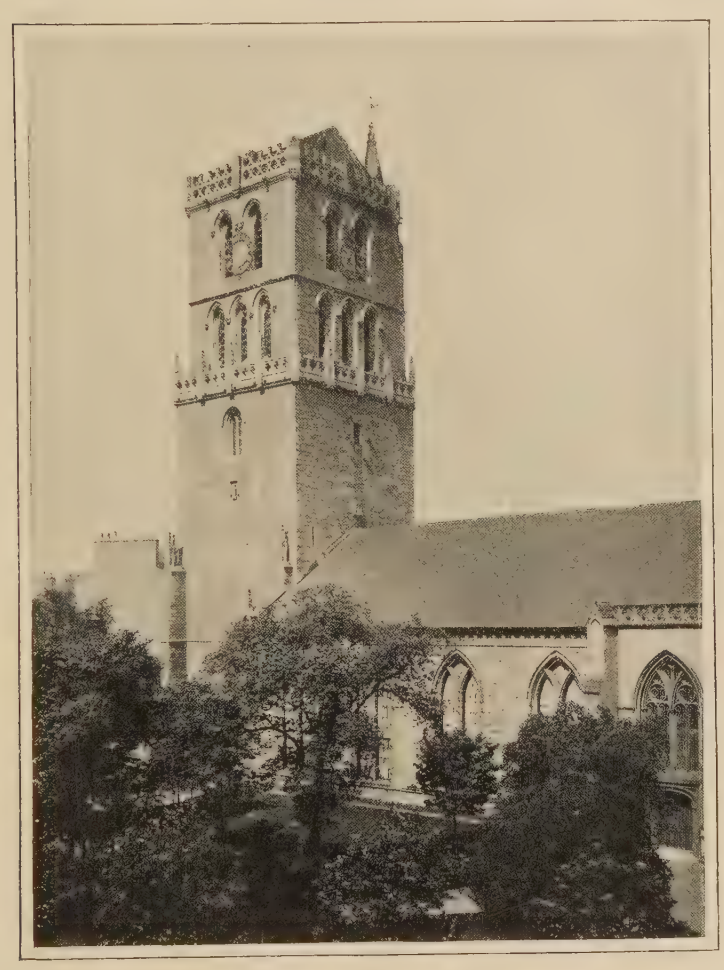
Government, 1652-1660.

The Cromwellian usurpation was a period of political effacement for Scotland. Malignant remnants rose feebly in the Highlands, to the delight of cattle-lifters and horse-stealers; but Monk quickly suppressed all this, planting strong garrisons over the land. The work was so completely done that after 1654 the army of ten to twelve thousand was reduced by half. The land-tax was lowered from £10,000 to £6,000 a month. In three years the excise nearly doubled itself. To the public revenue, £143,642 in 1658, England contributed an equivalent sum, and the whole was spent within the country, to the enormous advantage of trade and industry. Cromwell was also the first to effect an incorporating union and give the country anything like a popular representation in Parliament. The Union was effected in 1654 on the enlightened basis of equal trading privileges. Thirty members from Scotland sat in the united Parliament in London, mostly, however, English officers and Government officials. Eight English Commis-

1660]

sioners, sitting after 1655 at Dalkeith, formed an Executive Cabinet.

For the Court of Session was substituted a commission of



THE OLD STEEPLE, DUNDEE.

four English judges, to whom three Scotsmen were added. To one of their successors is attributed the saying, "Deil thank them, a wheen kinless loons!" in reality a compliment to them as being proof against the time-honoured abuses of bribery and

Law and Order.

kinship. Anticipating the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions by a century, they erected local Courts Baron on the model of the English rural justices. The sheriffs had to hold Quarter Sessions, and their decisions were liable to be reviewed by the higher judges on circuit. Witch prosecutions were greatly relaxed, and, generally, flogging was substituted for what, under the old *régime*, would often have been the death penalty. Burnet allows that "good justice was done, vice suppressed and punished. We reckon these eight years a time of peace and prosperity." Lamont tells that before "a jury of Englishes that satt at Stirling witches had liberty to go home upon caution given, and adulterers were fined £5 sterling." Free-

SEAL OF SCOTLAND UNDER THE PROTECTORATE.

holders annoyed the court by refusing to attend the jury-trials. "The Englishes were more indulgent and merciful to the Scots nor were the Scots to their awn countrymen and nycht-bouris." To a quasi-malignant like Baillie the situation seemed gloomy enough. "The great barons have suffered from death in battle or on the block. Their estates are forfeited or given to English officers. Some barons *kept not the calsey* for fear of the bailiffs. Argyll, almost drowned in debt, is friendly with the English but in hatred with the country he courts. Loudoun lives *like ane outlaw* about Atholl. Warriston, having refunded much of what he got by places, lives privately in hard enough condition, much hated by most and neglected by all except a few Protesters. There is a strange want of money, for our towns have no considerable trade, and what there is the English possess. Victual is extraordinarily cheap. We have

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

no baron courts, and the sheriffs have little skill, for common being English soldiers. The Lords of Session are a few English inexperienced in our law, and in twelve months have done little or nothing. *Great are our sufferings through want of our Covenant.*" Nicoll bewails the sad condition through poverty and heavy burdens, but allows that there is good order. In 1659 it is reported that a man may ride over all Scotland with a switch in his hand and £100 in his pocket, what he could not have done these five hundred years.

Church Politics.

The national collapse after Dunbar and Worcester left two great parties to struggle together—the Protesters, or Remonstrants, and the Resolutioners. The former protested against certain resolutions of recent assemblies in favour of the king. The object of both was power to *purge and plant the church*. The Protesters sent Patrick Gillespie, Principal of Glasgow College by the favour of Cromwell, to London with this object. To checkmate him went that born diplomatist, the minister of Crail, as yet very dear to Baillie, who gratefully says:—"The great instrument of God to cross the evil designs of the Remonstrants to exercise their tyranny among us has been that very worthy, pious, wise, and diligent young man, James Sharp." Upon the whole, Cromwell preferred the Protesters. Their opponents continued to pray for the king in the face of an edict to the contrary. Baillie's practice was to conform. The conduct of the non-conforming party brought on a swift punishment. In 1653 a Cromwellian colonel treated that popular and godly parliament the General Assembly to his master's stern "Get thee gone!" He "besett the church with some rattes of musketers and a troop of horse," marched the members ignominiously a mile out of town to the quarry-holes on Bruntsfield Links, and there at the foot of the common gallows set them about their business. The two prelatic Stuart kings had never dared to do so much.

State of the Country.

Nicoll reports very unfavourably of the effect of all this din of strife on public morals, "every man seeking his own ends under a cloak of piety whilk did cover much knavery. The ministers made their pulpits speak against one another. They took care of increase of stipends, but exercised pride and cruelty to one another, showing little charity or mercy to the weak." The High Courts had detected much *falset* and

cheating, followed by daily hanging, scourging, and maiming. "One fatal year was 1650 for false notars and witnesses." Lamont speaks of a solemn fast in 1653, "maist pairt of the people growing worse and worse." Culprits, old and young, were every few months burned on the Castle Hill for unnatural offences, or for witchcraft, "confessing alliance with Satan." "There is," says Baillie, "much witchery up and down the land, though the English be too sparing to try it, yet some they execute." Kirkton, on the other hand, gives a glowing account of the spiritual and social condition at the king's return. "At no time did Christ's gospel so flourish in Scotland as under the Usurper."

Town Life.

The English military rule improved public health and good order. In Edinburgh householders had to hang out lanterns at doors and windows from six to nine o'clock, making "the winter night almost as light as the day." The magistrates petitioned for the remission of fines, amounting to £50, for neglecting regulations for cleaning streets and lanes, and against the throwing out of foul water. But even before the coming of the English many burghs had striven hard to keep the streets clear of refuse heaps and noisome trades, and to remove *ruinat* houses. "Causey mail" was an old tax for maintaining the roadways, and for cleaning these there was the "laydell dewtie callit the geat (street) dychtingis," an excise on meal sold in market by non-freemen and applied to street cleaning. All this was due, not to improved public taste, but to fear of the plague, ever present in times of civil war. The visitations of 1645–6–7–8 were specially grievous.

The Clergy.

Puritanism affected Scotland more thoroughly and lastingly than it ever did England. There the struggle was for the constitutional liberty of the many—in Scotland for the covenanted privileges of the few. The Puritan of the south was, on the whole, practical and human; his brother of the north was introspective and *dour*. Clerical influence was never so strong as is so often assumed. Laymen played a very important part in the appointment of the clergy and in supervision of them by presbyterial visitations. There is no reason to suppose that the clergy were different then from the class out of which they sprang. The children of light are ever too prone to admire their own side of the shield. The saintly Rutherford

held toleration of all religions to be blasphemy, and inhospitality to false teachers the most solemn duty. He repressed gaiety because Christ never laughed on earth, but wept, as we read. Durham thought jesting incompatible with a holy and serious life. Gray spoke of the blessed work of weaning the affections from mundane things. But these are odd psychological phenomena like the devout imaginings of Bunyan's autobiography. The austere earnestness of these men unfortunately made the times cruel to false teachers and sorcerers, both regarded as emissaries of Satan. Blackhall's narrative shows the hard lot of the Papists. Even the gentle Baillie has a horror of the fury, irrational passions, and bodily convulsions of the Quakers, and regards their late increase as

BRANKS.

(*National Museum of Scottish Antiquities, Edinburgh.*)

the just recompense of admitting the beginnings of error. The witch trials of the time too often show the clergy as credulous and cruel enough to countenance the most shocking inhumanity.

Church Services.

The simple worship of Reformation times suffered much deterioration from contact with the wild doings of the English Sectaries, even though the Westminster Assembly did so much for Church order. Then began the practice of extempore prayers, long harangues by a succession of preachers who regarded themselves as inspired, open-air gatherings for Communions or Fast Days of Humiliation, which were used as huge political demonstrations, especially by the Protesters of 1651, who thought everything was wrong in Church and State. All these innovations were discouraged by the General Assembly and by the more sober Resolutioners. The clergy vied with each other in fervid spiritual displays, not sparing themselves

any more than their hearers. John Menzies used to change his shirt always after preaching, and to wet two or three napkins with his tears every sermon. John Carstares's "band [neckcloth] in Sabbath," says Wodrow, "would have been all wet with his tears, as if it had been *doukit* [ducked], before he was done with the first prayer." With all this their hearers were deeply impressed.

Manners.

The doings of the clerical censors throw much light on public manners. It would be easy to exaggerate with them the iniquities of the time, for they too often forgot the sensible maxim that law ignores trifles. Moreover, prudes, as proctors, would be ever prone to let zeal outrun discretion. There is no reason to suppose that the animalism, present in every age, was so rampant then as in the full-blooded days of the Renaissance. Yet the attention given by kirk-sessions to the Seventh Commandment would lead us to assume that it was the most violated of the Decalogue. Probably a sense of their own importance made these clerics put the Fourth in the next position. Each servant, or even the goodman, heard banning and swearing was to be fined for behoof of the poor. To restrain the youngsters, every family must keep a *palmar* to punish on the hands. Acts both of the Privy Council and of the General Assembly strove to restrain excesses at Penny Bridals in drinking and feasting, not, as Buckle inferred, from Puritanic aversion to gaiety, but from the immoralities that these frivolities cloaked. Similar occasions for unseemly riot often occurred at funerals. The rustic taste highly appreciated these functions, carefully discriminating between them. "Ye can hae little rael pleesure in a merrige, for ye never ken hoo it'll end; but there's nae risk aboot a beerial," said a thoughtful gravedigger. Another social custom struck at was the drinking of healths. The Assembly, in 1646, warned the clergy, along with dissoluteness in wearing the hair and in *shaking at the knees*, to beware of tippling and untimeous drinking in taverns, and to forbear drinking healths, as Satan's snare leading to excess. The extreme formality of the time made such customs a still greater snare. Even in externals punctiliousness was the rule. It was bad manners to stand covered before superiors. Brodie, in his "Diary," desired to be humbled under the proud reproof he gave to John Hasbin

SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

for holding on his bonnet irreverently and disrespectfully before his (Brodie's) mother, "*For what ill did it do her?*" What emphasised the practice was that the young and menials generally went bareheaded. The goodman, on the contrary, rarely was uncovered, even indoors. Baillie, discussing the celebration of Communion, says, "some thought hats there significant of table honour, and not as children."

CAP AND GOWN OF ALEXANDER HENDERSON.
(*National Museum of Scottish Antiquities, Edinburgh.*)

Culture: Schools.

The times were more unfavourable to culture than in England. What had for centuries served as elementary education was done in the Sang School — really a Church institution. The two offices of Reader and Sangster were long combined, but, the Westminster Assembly not recognising the reader, he in time became the precentor, or leader of psalmody. The old version of the Psalms almost always had printed tunes, implying a knowledge of music. When the new version was introduced, it was not easy to follow; hence the custom of

reading out the line. The Scotch Divines at Westminster thought this was not needed by the state of education in Scotland, but the Directory of 1645 recommended it. That rural schools occasionally aspired to something higher than psalm-singing and repetition of the Catechism and Paternoster, and the Creed, is shown by the trial exercises of a candidate for a school in Strathbogie. He had to expound Horace, Book IV., Ode 3, grammatically, logically, and rhetorically. There was no lack of enactments in favour of education, but they had remained virtually a dead letter. The larger burghs had grammar schools that were regularly visited, and attempts were made, not always with success, to keep them in good order. The High School of Edinburgh had a curriculum of five years, during which Latin alone was used after the rudimentary stage, and old-world text-books such as Despauter, Cordery, and Buchanan. Greek was rarely taught. In keeping with the narrow economics of the age, corporations repressed the *Scottis* preparatory schools for the vernacular in favour of the grammar schools. The heads of schools were *maisters*, the usual title of graduates, and the ushers were *doctors*. It is a hopeful sign to find the clergy sensible of the benighted state of the Highlands. The Assembly ordained (1649) a collection to keep forty Highland boys at school, but little was done till fully a century later. James I., as shown by the Privy Council Registers, required that the Highland lairds for future good conduct "sall send their bairnis being past the age of nine to schools in the Lowlands, that they may be instructed to wreate, reid, and speik English" (1617).

Art and Literature.

The Muses are silenced by the din of civil strife. When James I. came north in 1617, the colleges vied with each other in producing for his delectation the best Latinity, the subtlest logic, and the most learned philosophy. Nicoll's account of the reception given to Monk, in 1654, presents a striking contrast, consisting of a great feast with three hours of fireworks at night. Glasgow was glad to get a house-painter and a printer from Edinburgh, though its noble college was then being designed and built. The capital added to its attractions two fine buildings—the Parliament Hall and Heriot's Hospital. The latter still remains substantially as it left the builder's hands in 1659. It was a

superb monument to its founder, a credit to its designer, and a notable example in the life of Scotland. Well might Nicoll say it was not "ane ordinar hospital," like the wretched correction houses and spitals of small burghs. The art of George Jamesone, Scotland's first painter, was at this time conspicuous in many baronial halls. Such literature as there was reflected the times. The pious doggrel of the Whigs and the coarse pasquils of the Malignants illustrate manners, but are not literature. The Church question engrossed the best minds.

Photo : A. A. Inglis, Edinburgh.
HERIOT'S HOSPITAL, EDINBURGH.

Spottiswood (1565–1639) had told his story, from the prelatic point of view, with fairness and moderation. David Calderwood (1575–1650), on the popular side, has far more learning, vigour, and character, while his picture of the times will always be valuable. Samuel Rutherford (1600–61) had the luck to make the only contribution from Scotland to what must pass for the English literature of that day. His "Lex Rex," with marked intolerance of spirit and indecency of invective, strips prerogative of its pretensions. At the Restoration it was burnt at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh by the hangman. Its author would not have escaped had he not been then lying on his death-bed at St. Andrews. The most readable survival

from this controversial period is the "Letters" (1637–62) of Robert Baillie (1599–1662). He is always entertaining, shrewd, and conspicuously fair and truthful. His style is one of the best specimens of the "Scottis" of the educated classes. He wrote equally well in Latin, taught Hebrew, and was well read in contemporary controversy. There is no trace in him of what is most interesting to us in the literature of his time. He once mentions *blind Milton*, but in no literary connection.

P. W. JOYCE. Ireland, 1640-1660.

AFTER the departure of Strafford (p. 272) from Ireland in 1640 the Catholics all over the country were in a state of dangerous exasperation, due partly to the Plantations, and partly to the measures taken to suppress their religion, while the evasion of the promised graces made them despair of redress by constitutional means. There had been confiscations and Plantations continuously for more than thirty years, so that no man could tell where they might stop; and there was a widespread fear that the whole country might be cleared of its people to make room for new colonists. Besides all this, those who had been dispossessed, or their children now grown up, were waiting in sullen discontent for the first opportunity to fall on the settlers and regain their homes and lands.

The Rebellion of 1641.

Some of the Catholic gentry, under the leadership of Rory O'Moore, a gentleman of unblemished character, held meetings and resolved to attempt the redress of their grievances by insurrection; and they were led to expect aid from France, where many of their kindred had risen to positions of influence. The rising was to take place simultaneously all over the country in October, 1641. The chief fortified towns were to be seized, the leading gentry were to be made prisoners, and strict orders were issued that there was to be no bloodshed except in open fight. In Dublin, however, the authorities got timely warning, and took instant measures for the safety of the city; but the insurrection broke out successfully in the north, and at the end of a week all Ulster was in the hands of the rebels, who had an irregular army of 30,000, under Sir Phelim O'Neill. During this first week the original instructions were carried out, and there was hardly any bloodshed. But the victims of the

Plantations broke at last through all restraint and attacked the settlers, of whom great numbers were killed, and dreadful outrages were perpetrated, chiefly by persons wreaking vengeance for their own private wrongs. Multitudes were turned out half-naked from their homes, and great numbers—men, women, and children—endeavouring to reach their friends perished by the road-sides of hunger and hardship. Many Protestants were protected by individual Catholics, and the priests exerted themselves, often at the risk of their lives, sometimes hiding the poor fugitives under the very altar-cloths. On the Government side the military were sent marching through various parts of the country and committed horrible cruelties, slaughtering great numbers of peaceable, innocent people who had no hand in the rebellion.

ENGLISH SOLDIER RAISED FOR SERVICE IN IRELAND.

(*From a contemporary satirical print.*)

After the first wild burst the conflict settled down into something like civilised warfare. In 1642 there were four distinct parties in the country, each with an army—the Old Irish Catholics, under General Owen Roe O'Neill, who sought for total separation from England; the "Old English" Catholics, under General Preston, who wanted religious liberty, but not separation; the Puritans in Ulster, under General Munro, who were on the side of the Parliament as against King Charles I.; and, lastly, the Royalists, the party of the king, chiefly Protestants of Dublin and the Pale, at the head of whom—later on—was the Marquis of Ormonde.

The Confederation of Kilkenny.

Between the two Catholic parties there was much jealousy and distrust; and in order to bring about union, a General Assembly or Parliament of the most distinguished men of both sides was convened. This is known as the Confederation of Kilkenny. For some time after this the two parties worked in harmony, and, disclaiming the title of rebels, they declared

English Protestantes stripped naked & turned
into the mountaines in the frost & Snowe where
most many hundreds are perished to death
& many lynge dead in ditches & Sauages
upbraided them saynge now are ye wilde
Irish as well as wee.

ATROCITIES OF 1641.
("*Ireland*," 1646.)

themselves on the side of the king. The king, on his part, was anxious to come to terms with them as an aid against the Parliament, and took steps with that object; but Ormonde, who secretly sympathised with the Parliament, prevented any agreement, and persisted in treating the Confederates as rebels. But the king himself was also a double dealer, for when brought to task by the Parliament for negotiating with the "rebels," he denied it point blank. Meantime, Preston carried on the war in Leinster against the Royalists; and in Ulster, in 1646, Owen Roe O'Neill defeated Munro in a great battle at Benburb on the Blackwater. But this brilliant victory was nullified by want of harmony between the two Catholic parties, for dissension grew up again and ultimately ruined their cause.

In 1647 Ormonde delivered up Dublin to the Parliamentarians and went to France. But he soon after returned, and again placing himself at the head of the Royalists, he finally made peace with the Confederates on the main condition that the penal laws against the Catholics should be repealed. But all this came too late. About a fortnight afterwards King Charles was beheaded. This caused somewhat of a counter movement in Ireland, where many who had hitherto been Parliamentarians now took

George Forde hanged on a tree in his owne
Ground cut his flesh a peece, carving it up &
downe saynge this is the flesh of the trai
tore againstour Holy Father the Pope
a Proclamation that neither Englis h nor Irish
should either sell or weare on their heads for any Pow
der upon the losse of goods & life neither any le
mes whatsoeuer except with a license & then but
five pound at most at a Sale or powre

ATROCITIES OF 1641.
("*Ireland*," 1646.)

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

the Royalist side; and the combined Royalist party proclaimed the Prince of Wales king as Charles II. They continued the war against the Parliamentarians, and gained some successes. But at length Ormonde, attempting to retake Dublin, was defeated in 1649 by the Parliamentarian governor—Colonel Jones—in a great battle near Rathmines.

MAGDALENE STEEPLE, DROGHEDA.
(*Showing the damage done by Cromwell's cannon to the battlements.*)

As the greater part of Ireland still remained in the hands of the Royalists, the Parliament sent over Oliver Cromwell as Lord Lieutenant and commander of the forces in Ireland. He landed at Dublin in August, 1649, with an army of 13,000 men, accompanied by Ireton, his son-in-law, as second in command. From Dublin he marched against Drogheda, which was garrisoned with 3,000 Royalist troops, chiefly English. Two attempts to storm were repulsed, but the third succeeded; on which the whole garrison, with the commander and a great number of townspeople, were massacred. He next appeared before Wexford, which was well fortified and garrisoned with 3,000 troops. A strong castle near the outer wall was betrayed by its commander, which enabled a party of the besiegers to enter the town and open the gates. The garrison defended themselves for a time, but were at last overpowered and slaughtered, together with a mixed crowd of men, women, and children. The fate of Drogheda and Wexford produced such a terror that many of the chief garrisons of the south surrendered.

After a short rest he renewed the campaign in January, 1650,

Most towns he came to were given up on summons, and when he met with serious resistance he generally executed the garrisons. He soon succeeded in reducing nearly all the south parts of the island; and seeing the country now almost subdued, he sailed for England in May, 1650, leaving Ireton to finish the war. Limerick, after a valiant defence, was betrayed by one of its officers; and Ireton took possession in October, 1651, permitting the garrison to march away unmolested. The surrender of Galway, in May, 1652, virtually completed the conquest of the country; and thus came to an end the great rebellion commenced eleven years before.

Cromwell's Plantations.

During this Cromwellian campaign the people suffered from pestilence, which carried off great numbers all over the country. But a worse scourge than even this was in store for them, for now came the cruellest Plantation of all. The English Government—at this time entirely in the hands of the Parliament—affected to look upon Ireland as all forfeited by conquest; and in 1652 they passed an Act to dispose of the Irish people. The whole of the inhabitants of the three provinces, Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, except the poorer sort—small farmers, tradesmen, labourers, etc., who would be needed for the settlers—were ordered to transport themselves across the Shannon into Connaught and Clare, where they were to receive small allotments of ground that had been left waste. The lands thus rendered vacant were given to Cromwell's soldiers, and to those who had advanced money to carry on the war. In this terrible migration of families mostly accustomed to a life of easy comfort, great numbers of men, women, and children perished of hardship and want. Many of the younger men, instead of migrating, formed themselves into bands of "Tories" or outlaws, plundered and killed the settlers whenever they could, and were themselves hunted down and killed by settlers and soldiers. There were widows and orphans everywhere after the war; these were hunted and brought forth from their hiding-places for a worse fate; and thousands of women, boys, and girls were shipped off to the West Indies to be sold as slaves.

The exodus across the Shannon went on from 1652 to 1654; but it was found impossible to clear the gentry completely out of the three provinces. Many settled down among the hills and other remote places, and many became tenants on their own

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

lands under the new settlers. The Irish Royalist soldiers to the number of 34,000 left Ireland and enlisted in the service of various Continental countries. The laws against Catholics were put in force with unsparing severity; but the clergy remained with their flocks, though with the utmost difficulty and at perpetual risk of their lives.

The Restoration.

A brief statement may here be made anticipatory of the condition of Ireland after the accession of Charles II. The Irish Catholics had long fought for the Stuarts: and, crushed and banished as they now were, they had eagerly wished for the Restoration, confident of gaining their rights. But Charles was a selfish and ungrateful king, and once safe on the throne, he gave himself little trouble about those who had befriended him, so that the Catholics received scant justice. A "Court of Claims" was, however, constituted in 1663 to try the cases; and all Catholics who could prove themselves "innocent" of any connection with the rising of 1641, and all Protestants, without any conditions, were to be restored: any settlers displaced by this arrangement to be "reprised" by getting land elsewhere. But as nearly all were able to prove "innocence," and as the court was found to restore too many, its operations were soon restricted by an "Act of Explanation," under which the settlers agreed to relinquish one-third of their possessions. After much wrangling, matters settled down, and the ultimate result was this: that whereas before the Cromwellian Plantation the Catholics possessed about two-thirds of all the arable lands of the country, after this final arrangement they had only one-third. There remained great numbers of Catholic gentry who were never restored, most of whom, having no houses, implements, or capital to start with, sank at once into hopeless poverty.

The great majority of the lower and middle classes of the new colonists, like those of earlier times (Vol. III., p. 410), gradually intermarried with the people—nearly all Catholics—among whom they settled, so that in less than two generations they had become in great measure absorbed among the old natives, whether of Irish or English blood, and had adopted their language, religion, and habits.

GENERAL HISTORY.

1642–1649.—Besides the well-known books (Clarendon, Whitelocke, May, Sprigg, Burnet, Baillie) there is much to be gathered from the publications of learned societies (Camden, Archæological, Oxford Historical, etc.), from the various State Papers, and from articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and *English Historical Review*. Among modern books, Brodie, Lingard, Hallam, and Ranke have each a certain value, and can be supplemented by Carlyle, *Cromwell;* Masson, *Milton;* F. Harrison, *Oliver Cromwell;* Firth's editions of Hutchinson, Ludlow, and the Clarke papers, and Gardiner's *History of the Great Civil War*. This last gives the fullest, most critical, and most authoritative account of the whole period. Side by side with it, reference should be made to Gardiner's indispensable *Documents of the Puritan Revolution* (2nd ed. 1899). Interesting details are often to be found in the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, the *Verney Papers*, Ellis's *Original Letters*, and Sanford's *Illustrations of the Great Rebellion*. The Constitutional history of the Long Parliament is to be found in the records of Parliament, and in Hallam, Ranke, and Gardiner's *Great Civil War*. *See* also the works of John Morley, President Roosevelt, and J. F. Firth on *Cromwell*. The lines of party divisions, social, religious, and territorial, during the war, have to be worked out from a multitude of local publications (*e.g.* those of the Oxford Historical Society) and personal memoirs (*e.g.* the *Verney Papers*). *See* also Kingston, *East Anglia and the Great Civil War;* Philipps, *War in the Welsh Marches;* T. W. Webb, *Civil War in Herefordshire*. J. Waylen, *The House of Cromwell*, gives an account of the family and descendants of the Protector.

1649–1660.—On Cromwell's domestic policy the works of Gardiner, Hallam, Guizot, and Carlyle, supplemented with Ludlow's *Memoirs*. On his foreign policy, besides the work of Whitelocke, much light is thrown by Ranke. Chéruel's volumes on the *Minority of Louis XIV.* and *Mazarin and his Ministry* will be found useful. *See* also Martin, *History of France*, and the *Dictionary of National Biog.*, art. "Cromwell."

SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

Warfare.—Gardiner, *History of England*, 1603–1642, and *Great Civil War;* Firth, *Cromwell's Army;* and the works mentioned in the text.

Religion.—The Church: The works of Heylin and the chief theologians of the age; Clarendon's, May's, and other contemporary histories; a mass of memoirs and pamphlets; W. A. Shaw, *History of the English Church during the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth; Presbyterians and Independents:* Waddington, *Congregational History*, vol. ii.; Stoughton, *Church of the Commonwealth*, 2 vols.; Masson, *Life of Milton*, vols. ii., iii., and iv.; Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*. *Quakers: Journal* of George Fox; R. Barclay, *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth;* Frederic Storrs Turner, *The Quakers;* T. Hodgkin, *George Fox*.

The Navy.—The Dartmouth Correspondence; Pepys, *Diary*, *Miscellanies*, and *Memoirs relating to the State of the Royal Navy;* Byng's *Journal* (Camden Society); Charnock, *Naval Architecture;* Edge, *History of the Royal Marines*, vol. i.; Derrick, *Memoirs of the Royal Navy;* Colliber, *Columna Rostrata; The Diary of Henry Teonge* (pub. 1825); J. Cowley, *Sailor's Companion* (1740); Falconer, *Marine Dictionary; Correspondence of James II.;* Burchett, *Naval History;* Lediard, *Naval History*.

Industry and Commerce and *General Literature.—See* list appended to c. xiii.; also L. Wolf, *Manasseh ben Israel's Visit to Oliver Cromwell* (Jewish Hist. Soc.).

Theological Literature.—The works of the great divines mentioned and a mass of contemporary pamphlets. *See* also J. A. Carr, *Life and Times of James Ussher*, 1896.

Science.—As in c. xiii. For the philosophical movement generally, *see* Ueberweg, *History of Philosophy*. The account of Hobbes's system, especially of his relation to his predecessors and successors, follows that of Croom Robertson, *Hobbes* (Philosophical Classics). As to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, *cf.* W. R. Sorley, in *Mind*, New Series, No. 12. *See* also Gooch, *History of English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century*.

Social Life.—Evelyn, *Diary, Correspondence; Character of England* (ascribed to Evelyn); *Verney Memoirs*, ed. by Lady Verney; *Autobiography of Anne, Lady Halkett* (Camden Society); *Autobiography of Mrs. Alice Thornton* (Surtees Society); Fairfax, *Memorials, Correspondence; Hatton Family Correspondence*, 1601–1704 (Camden Society); *Letters of Brilliana Lady Harley* (Camden Society); *Harley Family Correspondence*, in *Report* of Historical Manuscripts Commission; *Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, ed. Firth; *Life of the Duke of Newcastle*, ed. Firth; Earl of Shaftesbury, *Memoirs;* Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ed. Firth; Noble, *House of Cromwell;* Masson, *Life of Milton;* Reresby, *Memoirs;* Webb, *Memorials of the Civil War* (Herefordshire); Sanford, *Studies of the Great Rebellion;* Tracts in *Harleian Miscellany;* Ashton, *Satire in the Seventeenth Century;* Defoe, *Memoirs of a Cavalier* (a historical romance); Neal, *Puritans. London.*—Larwood, *London Parks*, with authorities already cited. *Newspapers.*—Grant, *Newspaper Press;* Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, iv. *The Post Office.*—Lewins, *Her Majesty's Mails;* Wilson Hyde, *Post in Grant and Farm*, etc.

Scotland.—(*a*) *Contemporary:* Nicoll, *Diary*, 1650–67 (Bannatyne Club); Lamont, *Diary*, 1649–71 (Bannatyne Club); Scottish Burgh Records Society, *Aberdeen, Stirling, Peebles, Lanark, Glasgow*, and *Miscellany;* Scottish History Society, especially *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, ed. Firth, *General Assembly Records*, 1646–52, and *Miscellany;* Spalding Club Publications, *Aberdeen Kirk Session Records*, 1562–1681; *Presbytery Book of Strathbogie*, 1631–1654; *Diary of Brodie of Brodie*, 1650–85; *Balcarres Papers*, 1635–64; Burnet, *History of His Own Time;* Cromwell's Letters from Scotland (Carlyle). (*b*) *Modern:* Buckle *History of Civilization in Europe*, vol. iii.; Napier, *Montrose and his Times;* Mackay, *Memoirs of the First Viscount Stair;* Omond, *History of the Lord Advocates;* Prof. Herbert Story, *Life and Times of William Carstares.* Much contemporary material dealing with the century generally is to be found in Lord Somerville, *Memoirs of the Somervilles;* Hume of Godscroft, *House of Douglas;* Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming;* Gordon, *Earldom of Sutherland;* Dunbar, *Social Life in Moray;* the *Caldwell Papers*, the Coltness collection, the histories of Renfrew (Crawford), Ayr (Paterson), Stirling (Nimmo), Fife (Sibbald), Lanark (Hamilton), Wigton (Agnew), and Moray (Shaw).

Ireland.—J. T. Gilbert, *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland*, 1641–1652, and *History of the Irish Confederation;* Curry, *Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland;* McDonnell, *The Ulster Civil War of* 1641; Castlehaven, *Memoirs;* Warner, *The Rebellion and Civil Wars of Ireland;* Borlase, *History of the Irish Rebellion;* Carte, *Life of Ormond;* Plowden, *Historical Review;* Meehan, *Confederation of Kilkenny;* Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement;* Ludlow, *Memoirs;* Leland, *History of Ireland.*

CHARLES II. RIDING TO HIS CORONATION.
(*From a contemporary print.*)

CHAPTER XV.

FROM RESTORATION TO REVOLUTION. 1660–1688.

ARTHUR HASSALL. The Reign of Charles II.

With the Restoration of the monarchy on May 26th, 1660, we enter upon the final stage of that great constitutional struggle between Royal prerogative and popular liberties which had been going on, now in Parliament, now on the battlefield, for more than a generation. The first period of the reign of Charles II. is marked by the ascendancy of Clarendon, from the Restoration to the autumn of 1667. During these years the Restoration Settlement was effected, and Charles, occupied with a Dutch and a French war, was unable to carry out his aims of freeing himself from all dependence on Parliament and of granting toleration to Catholicism. Close relations were at first established with France, and Charles's marriage to Catharine of Braganza, the Portuguese Infanta, bringing with her as dowry Tangier and Bombay, £500,000 and freedom of trade in Brazil and the East Indies, was the result of Louis XIV.'s influence. In November, 1662, Dunkirk was sold to France, and Charles, receiving £200,000, hoped, in spite of Parliament, to dispense with the laws which lay heavy upon the Catholics and Dissenters.

The Dutch War, 1665–67.

In 1665 the king and Parliament were at one on the question of a war with the Dutch which broke out that year (February 22nd). At first the prospect seemed dark. Louis XIV. had made an alliance with Holland, and London was suffering from the visitation of the Plague, to be soon followed by the Great Fire. In 1666 Louis, in deference to his Dutch engagements, declared war upon England, but took no decided part in the struggle, while, after a series of battles, Monk gained the mastery of the sea over De Ruyter. In spite, however, of her successes, England was anxious for peace; and Charles, still bent on securing his ends within the kingdom, took advantage of Louis XIV.'s anxiety to conquer the Spanish Netherlands to make a secret treaty with him (March, 1667), Louis agreeing not to support the Dutch against England.

But Louis's plan of taking advantage of the hostilities between England and Holland in order to conquer the Spanish

Low Countries was modified by the boldness of the Dutch themselves. Realising the importance of having their hands free when Louis' invasion occurred, they sailed up the Thames (June, 1667), and forced peace from the English. The Treaty of Breda (July, 1667) ended the war, England keeping New York. The attention of Europe was now concentrated upon Louis' attack on the Spanish Low Countries, which had been entered by French troops in May, and easily overrun. English jealousy of France was aroused, and found expression in the fall of Clarendon in August, 1667. That Minister's position had been weakened by a variety of circumstances. Parliament disliked his views on the royal prerogative, the king and Court were weary of him, while the nation—regarding him as the author of the sale of Dunkirk, and as responsible for the Dutch attack on London — was convinced that he favoured the French. His impeachment and banishment marks the beginning of the second period of the reign, from 1667 to 1674, when England was under the "Cabal." This new administration, composed of Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, adopted a spirited foreign policy, and with Sweden and Holland formed, early in 1668, the famous Triple Alliance, the work of Sir William Temple, and one of the determining causes of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (May 29th, 1668), which ended the War of Devolution. But Charles had no love for the Dutch alliance, and was bent on giving toleration to the English Catholics, while Louis was equally determined to overthrow the Dutch Republic. In May, 1670, the Secret Treaty

Clarendon's Fall, 1667.

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

CHARLES II., BY MARY BEALE.

(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

The Cabal, 1667-74.

of Dover, known to Arlington and Clifford, was signed, and Charles, in consideration of large sums of money, agreed to aid Louis in his designs against the United Provinces. The outbreak of the Dutch War was followed by the fall of the Cabal, who were regarded by Parliament as subservient to France. From 1674 to 1681 Charles, at war with Parliament, was obliged to play

ANTONY ASHLEY COOPER, FIRST EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.
(*By permission of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Bath.*)

a passive part in European politics. The anti-French feeling in the country ran high, and was justified by Charles's continued secret negotiations with Louis, and by the latter's startling diplomatic and military successes and the unquestioned establishment of the French supremacy in Europe. The popular frenzy, under the direction of Shaftesbury, soon extended to Catholics; Danby was overthrown, and it only required

THE ATTACK ON CHATHAM BY THE DUTCH IN 1667.

(*By Romeyn de Hooghe. Sutherland Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

the so-called Popish Plot to rouse an agitation for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the English throne. Though the Exclusion Bill passed the Commons, it was rejected by the Lords, and Parliament was dissolved (January, 1681). From this time to the end of his reign a strong reaction set in, favourable to the king and hostile to Shaftesbury. Till his death, in 1685, Charles's popularity continued to increase. The Corporations of London and other towns were remodelled, Shaftesbury left England, and Charles made no attempt to check Louis XIV.'s continued aggressions.

The Reign of James II., 1685–1688.

Charles's successor, James II., showed himself more determined in the matter of the open recognition of Catholicism, and no less careless with regard to the great issues awaiting solution on the Continent. Having put down the rising of Monmouth, in June, 1685, James endeavoured to use his dispensing powers; he revived the High Commission Court, he issued the Declaration of Indulgence, and he openly attacked the Church. The trial of the Seven Bishops (p. 482) and the birth of an heir to the throne were immediately followed by an invitation from seven Whig Lords to William of Orange to interfere on behalf of the liberties of Englishmen.

Equally reprehensible was James's attitude towards the Continental crisis. Louis, determined to establish his predominance in Europe, had resolved to convert the Truce of Ratisbon—which, in 1684, assured to him twenty years' possession of the reunited districts — into a definitive peace. Europe, united by the League of Augsburg, was prepared to contest his demands, and the assistance of England was of vital importance to the League. Louis was equally anxious to secure the alliance or neutrality of England, and was disposed to regard William of Orange's expedition as calculated to lead to a civil war within England, and the consequent effacement of England in Europe. The rapid successes of William and the flight of James II. upset Louis' calculation. The Revolution of 1688, while it preserved the Parliamentary liberties of England, restored and secured the balance of power in Europe.

The Constitution.

During the reigns of Charles II. and James II. several conflicting principles were at work. While the nation disliked the Stuart ideal of prerogative and foreign interference, whether from the King of France or the Pope, it remained firm in

its attachment to the principle of hereditary succession and to the Anglican Church system. As soon as the Restoration was accomplished, all measures of the Long Parliament passed before the outbreak of the Civil War were confirmed except the Bishops' Bill and the Triennial Bill, Episcopacy was restored, an Act against tumultuous petitioning was passed in 1661; while the Corporation Act, 1661, the Act of Uniformity, 1662, the Conventicle Act, 1664, and the Five-Mile Act, 1665, illustrated forcibly the views of Parliament upon the question of

THE FLIGHT OF JAMES II.

(*From an engraving by Romeyn de Hooghe.*)

toleration. Several important decisions were also come to in the matter of taxation. A property tax took the place of subsidies, tenths, and fifteenths; an hereditary excise succeeded to the feudal dues, and the idea of the Civil List began to come definitely forward.

The Long Parliament of the Restoration

The Convention Parliament was followed by the Long Parliament of the Restoration, 1661–1679, which at first showed an exuberant loyalty, to be followed by a reaction which culminated in the fall of Clarendon. In 1665 Parliament claimed the right to appropriate supplies to specific purposes, and in 1667 Commissioners were appointed to examine the public accounts. With the fall of Clarendon Parliament began to have good cause to watch the proceedings of the Crown.

Charles was resolved to free himself from all dependence on Parliament, to relieve his Catholic subjects, and to reconcile England and Rome. The Secret Treaty of Dover, the closing of the Exchequer, and the Declaration of Indulgence brought matters to a crisis, and led to the Test Act, 1673, and the fall of the Cabal. From 1674 to 1679 Danby guided the government of the country during what proved to be a stormy period. The rise of the Country Party marks a distinct epoch in the history of party government in England. In 1678 a Parliamentary Test Act was passed, and all Catholics except the Duke of York were excluded from Parliament, and Danby was impeached. Several points of great constitutional importance were brought forward. A step was taken in establishing the principle that no minister can shelter himself behind the throne by pleading obedience to the orders of his sovereign, and that an impeachment does not abate on the prorogation or dissolution of Parliament; while arguments were brought forward on behalf of and against the right of bishops to sit and vote on the trial of peers in capital cases.

MEETING OF CHARLES II.'S FOURTH PARLIAMENT, 1680.
(*Roxburghe Ballad.*)

The King and the Parliament.

After the dissolution of the Long Parliament of the Restoration, Sir William Temple endeavoured to revive and reform the Privy Council. His attempt failed, and the third Parliament of the reign, which met in 1679, passed the Habeas Corpus Act (p. 504), brought forward the Exclusion Bill, and was dissolved the same year. The country being divided on the subject of the Exclusion Bill, numerous petitions were sent up from all parts of England, some asking for a new Parliament, others expressing abhorrence at the attempt to coerce the king. These rival parties of "Petitioners" and "Abhorrers" were later known as Whigs and Tories. The next Parliament (1679–1681)

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

was as violent as its predecessor. The Exclusion Bill passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords, and Parliament was dissolved (January 18th, 1681). The fifth Parliament, known as the Oxford Parliament, met at Oxford on March 21st, 1681, and Shaftesbury and the Opposition, accompanied by bodies of followers, came in great numbers. After eight days of acrimonious discussion over the Exclusion Bill, Charles dissolved his last Parliament. From 1681 to 1685 the country experienced a reaction in favour of the royal power. Fearful of civil war and with no sympathy for the violence of the Whigs, the

Royalist Reaction.

MEDAL SATIRISING THE RYE HOUSE PLOT.

majority of Englishmen supported the king in his determination to uphold the principle of hereditary succession. The Rye House Plot enabled Charles to rid himself of his enemies, and the confiscation of the municipal charters of London and other towns strangled the opposition to the royal prerogative in the large centres of population, and established the despotic power of the king on an apparently firm basis.

The reign of Charles II. has been described as an "era of good laws and bad government." Though the reign ended in the prostration of the Whigs and the triumph of the king, the years from 1660 to 1685 had been marked by a distinct constitutional advance. Arbitrary taxation had ceased, the extraordinary judicial power of the Privy Council had not been revived, the Habeas Corpus Act protected the liberty of

Results of the Reign.

the subject, and the responsibility of ministers had been finally established. The reign, too, had witnessed the growth of the House of Commons. Its right of impeachment had been recognised, the principles of appropriation of supply and audit of accounts had been secured, while its claims to initiate money bills had been placed beyond dispute. Not only did the Lords give up their right to amend money bills, but after a collision with the House of Commons over the case of Skinner *v.* the East India Company, they "tacitly abandoned all pretensions to an original jurisdiction in civil suits." With the accession of Charles II. the history of modern England may be said to have begun, and this change can be distinctly seen in the views held with regard to party government, taxation, the position of ministers, no less than in the steady growth of public opinion.

The Danger under James II.

Of this growth of public opinion James II. was ignorant. Taking advantage of the reaction in favour of the royal power at the end of Charles II.'s reign, he determined to restore Roman Catholicism and to become an absolute monarch. In the first two years of his reign he attempted to gain his ends by remodelling still further the corporations, and by compelling the acquiescence of the servile Parliament which he summoned in 1685. But even this Parliament refused to increase the army or to repeal the Test Act, and consequently it was prorogued (December, 1685). James then increased his army to 30,000 men, largely officered by Roman Catholics; relying on Hales's case (1686), he exercised the dispensing power; contemptuous of constitutional or legal restrictions, he revived the Ecclesiastical Commission. But it was evident that he could not depend upon the aid of the Tories in carrying out his schemes. Accordingly, in 1687 and 1688 he looked to the Nonconformists and the Irish, and by their help hoped to attain his ends. In April, 1687, his first Declaration for Liberty of Conscience was published, but the Nonconformists, distrustful of James's motives, resisted the Declaration, which amounted to "an abrogation and utter repeal of all the laws." A year later the Declaration of Indulgence was published a second time, and ordered to be read. Seven bishops petitioned against it, and were brought to trial. Their acquittal was accompanied by the invitation to William of Orange already mentioned (p. 478).

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

WILLIAM III. LANDING AT BRIXHAM.

(From the picture [portion] at Hampton Court Palace.)

The arrival of William (November, 1688) was followed by the final flight of James (December 23rd), and the Revolution of 1688 was speedily and quietly carried out. The theory of indefeasible hereditary right was destroyed; the House of Commons became the most important element of the Constitution; while the development of the Cabinet prevented any serious danger arising from the continued possession by the Crown of very considerable powers. **The Revolution of 1688.**

THE close admixture of religion with politics, to the detriment of both, is one of the most noticeable features of this period. **ARTHUR HASSALL.**

THE SEVEN BISHOPS ON THEIR WAY TO THE TOWER.

(From a contemporary Dutch engraving.)

None the less evident is the existence of personal religion among both Churchmen and Nonconformists. If the Church could produce a Sancroft and a Ken, the Nonconformists could point to a Baxter and a Bunyan. With the Restoration the religious division, itself the outcome of the Reformation, became permanent, and no common basis was possible between Churchmen and Calvinists. The Savoy Conference (1661) showed the impossibility of comprehension, and, zealously supported by Parliament, the Church obtained an assured political supremacy (p. 488). On St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, about 2,000 Baptist **Church and State.**

and Independent ministers, who refused to be ordained, were compelled to leave their benefices.

The King and Toleration.

But the policy of the Act of Uniformity was not the policy of Charles II., who was in favour of liberty of conscience. By the First Declaration of Indulgence (December 26th, 1662) he endeavoured to exercise his dispensing power in favour of religious dissidents. But Clarendon and the Parliament opposed all idea of toleration, and the Conventicle and Five Mile Acts—attempts to prevent the exercise of any but the State religion — followed the king's endeavour to secure toleration. In 1667 Clarendon was sacrificed (p. 476), and in 1668 the House of Commons refused to listen to a just scheme of comprehension. Finding his dependence on Parliament irritating, and recognising the impossibility of gaining his religious ends by constitutional means, Charles opened the negotiations with France which led to the secret Treaty of Dover, his object being to relieve the English Catholics, and to reconcile England and Rome. In 1671 the Second Declaration of Indulgence announced his intention of suspending all penal laws against Nonconformists and recusants. But neither Shaftesbury, Buckingham, nor Lauderdale knew of his projected conversion, though they supported the Dutch War, Shaftesbury himself vehemently defending the policy of the Declaration of Indulgence. Parliament, however, insisted on expanding the policy of the Corporation Act of 1661, and by the Test Act of 1673 made the reception of the Communion according to the rites of the English Church, necessary for the holding of all civil appointments. Popular feeling, now led by Shaftesbury, declared unmistakably against all concessions to the Roman Catholics, and on November 9th, 1674, Shaftesbury was dismissed from the Lord-Chancellorship.

The Anti-Romanist Movement.

From 1674 to 1678 Danby was at the head of affairs. Like Clarendon, he was the zealous champion of Anglicanism, and wished to maintain the hereditary succession and the prerogative. To him the close connection between the Crown and bishops was indispensable for the stability of any government. He desired to "unite sovereignty and hereditary succession with a Parliamentary constitution, and the support of Protestantism on the Continent." Under his influence Charles enforced the laws against Nonconformists, and allowed

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

the marriage of William of Orange to the Princess Mary to take place (November, 1677). When the popular excitement against France and Rome found satisfaction in the alleged discovery of a popish plot, in the Exclusion Bill, and in the fall of Danby, Charles replied by dissolving the Long Parliament of the Restoration (January, 1679), and sending the Duke of York abroad till the general frenzy had subsided. During the next two years the struggle of the king against Shaftesbury and the new Whig party proceeded with virulence. With the

The Reaction, 1681-85.

O R, EXALTATION.
Being a Pleasant New Song of 82. To a New Tune of, Hey Boys up go We.
My book you see, Remember me!
Then the Old cause, We will set free.
Now now the Tories all shall stoop, The Name of Lords shall be a by-word,
Religion and the Laws. for ev'ry Man's a Brother,

THE WHIG RAMPANT, 1682.
(*Roxburghe Ballad.*)

dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, March 28th, 1681, the complete triumph of the royal cause may be dated. Charles's popularity daily increased, and the reaction proceeded apace. The penal laws against the Nonconformists were enforced; rumours were current as to Charles's intention of joining the Church of Rome, and ecclesiastical patronage was again resumed by the king. On the 4th of February, 1685, Charles died a professed Catholic. The history of his reign proves the strength of the hold which the Church had upon the nation. Charles himself cared little for the English Church, but he hated Nonconformity in all its developments. Though eminent divines arose from the ranks of Churchmen and Nonconformists

alike, religion suffered a terrible loss of power through the divisions originated at the time of the Reformation, and intensified by the Cromwellian and Caroline policy.

The Policy of James II.

But while Charles had always recognised the limitations of his own powers, his successor, James II., was less shrewd, more obstinate, and perhaps more single-minded. From the outset of his reign he failed to realise that the deeply ingrained national opposition to Rome was not confined to any one class, but was shared by Churchmen and Dissenters alike. Instead of adopting a conciliatory attitude towards the clergy, he at once endeavoured by force to exact obedience to his wishes, and by means of the royal supremacy to crush the independence of the Church. Instead of recognising the fierce hostility of the Dissenters to Rome, he endeavoured, in the Declaration of Indulgence, to purchase their adhesion to his plans for the restoration of Roman Catholicism by a series of measures which roused their suspicions and still further alienated the Anglican clergy. In the struggle the Church assumed the lead, and without its assistance the Revolution could not have taken place. James's plan of dispensing with the Test Acts in order to appoint Roman Catholics to important posts, his nomination of Roman Catholics to university appointments, his revival of the High Commission Court, his ejection of the fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, for non-compliance with his wishes, and his suspension of the penal laws against Roman Catholics and Dissenters (1687), drove the Church and Tory party into violent opposition. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and six other bishops, presented a petition to James, refusing to allow his Declaration of Indulgence to be read in churches and chapels, and were supported by the clergy throughout the country.

The Revolution of 1688.

The persecution and acquittal of the bishops (June, 1688) forced the clergy to renounce the doctrine of passive obedience, and united the country in opposition to the king. The Nonconformists joined unhesitatingly in the defence of the Church and liberty against the Romanists, and thus the Revolution was the work of the whole nation. An invitation had been on June 30th sent over to William of Orange by Henry Sidney, the Earls of Devonshire, Shrewsbury, Danby, Bishop Compton, Lumley, and Edward Russell—seven men representing important

The Lord Chancellor taken disguised in Wapping
Remember K. Monmouth
Remember K. James
Remember K. Charles the Martyr
Remember K. William
Remember the Bishops
Remember the Seven Bishops
Remember the Protestant Religion

LORD CHANCELLOR JEFFREYS TAKEN IN WAPPING.

(Sutherland Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

sections of public opinion. In the invitation William was asked to bring an army to England to secure the liberties of the people. On October 20th, William issued his declaration, enumerating the unconstitutional acts of James II., and asserting that he was going to England to secure a free and legal Parliament. James's hurried concessions in face of the manifesto did not suffice to remove the general mistrust, and William landed at Torbay (November, 1688). The desertion of Churchill, the commander of the royal forces, was followed by James's flight (December 11th), by his return to London, and on December 18th by his second flight and the collapse of the Stuart rule—a collapse summed up in the arrest of Lord Chancellor Jeffreys, the instrument of its tyrannies, in Wapping.

The Revolution Achieved.

William III., master of the situation, summoned the House of Lords and a Convention freely elected, to which the question of the settlement of England was referred. After lengthy discussions, the Commons declared by resolution that "King James II., having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked people having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and the throne had thereby become vacant."

The House of Lords was by no means prepared to accept the views of the Commons, and the situation for a time became acute. Eventually a compromise was agreed upon, by which it was settled that William and Mary should be joint sovereigns, and that the former should administer the government.

W. H. HUTTON. The Restored Church.

THE Restoration was, from one point of view, a religious movement; it was the reaction consequent on the supremacy of the sects. In 1660, Presbyterians, perhaps even more indignant than Churchmen at the ideas of Anabaptists and Independents, were eager to join in restoring the king. With the king came inevitably the bishops, and with the bishops the system of Laud but very slightly modified. Theologically, the great divines of the Restoration—Jeremy Taylor, Pearson, Cousin, Barrow, Ken, Patrick—were in accord with the school of Andrews and Hammond. And in matters of ritual the pre-Rebellion uses

were kept up. But at first it seemed as if there might be found some principle of concord between the two great religious bodies which had brought back the king. Charles himself was in favour of comprehension, and the scheme of Archbishop Ussher seemed likely to become the basis of a new ecclesiastical constitution. But the king also desired a wide toleration, and himself suggested that it should include both Roman Catholics and Independents. The law, he said, gave sufficient safeguard against the Romanists. "Yes," replied Richard Baxter; "but the question is whether the law is to be enforced or not." Thus the old Puritan position—that the essential right of their own belief made it impossible to grant toleration to others—prevented a settlement. The failure of the Savoy Conference, coupled with this intolerance of the Presbyterians, made the triumph of the Church more strongly marked. The people welcomed its return, and the ultra-Royalist Parliament took it under its protection.

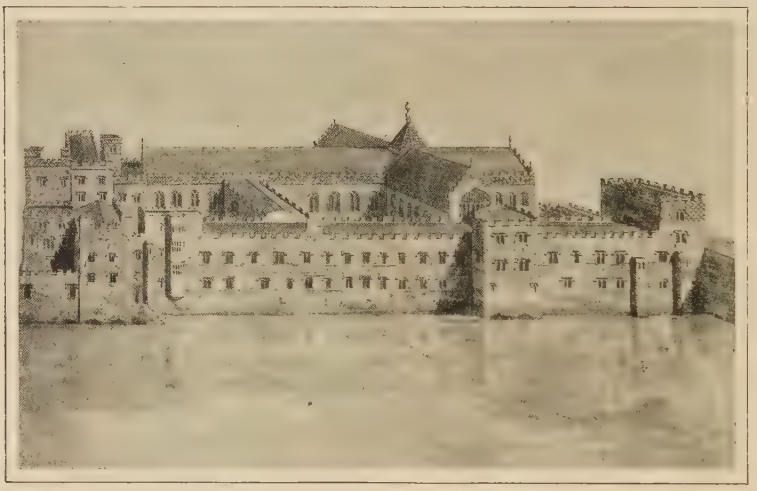
An Informer
A Protestants Meeting.
Informer, art thou in the Free?
Take heed, left there thou hanged be:
Look likewife to thy Foot-hold well,
Left, if thou flip, thou fall to Hell.

A CONVENTICLE, AND ITS DANGERS.
(*John Bunyan's "Mr. Badman,"* 1680.)

From the first the Church was hampered rather than aided by State interference, which out-Heroded Herod in its persecuting ardour. The Royalist Parliament proceeded at once to pass the Corporation Act and the Act of Uniformity, both of which were contrary to the inclination of the king and to the true interests of the Church. The Church under Sheldon, and still more under Tillotson, was in honourable

State and Church.

captivity to a State which was often quite embarrassing in the fervour of its Anglicanism. The reaction brought persecution from the victors. The Anglican Commons, in moments of enthusiasm or of terror, passed the Corporation Act, the Five Mile Act, the Conventicle Act, and—most disastrous of all to the Church—that panic-born measure, passed for the convenience of the State rather than the benefit of the Church, the Test Act. Designed mainly for the prevention of supposed political danger, these laws forced into unpleasant and unnecessary relief the differences, in many cases very slight, which separated the



THE SAVOY IN THE TIME OF JAMES II.
(*Sutherland Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

Nonconformists from the Church. Thus, during the reign of Charles II., persecution of Dissenters, followed by persecution of Romanists, gradually bound the Church more closely to the State. Under James the attacks of the Crown upon ecclesiastical freeholds, and the bold stand of the bishops for Church liberties and national freedom, restored again the hold of the Church over the mass of the people. It was the Church that gave the strongest assistance in the movement before which James fled from the country. The Revolution, like the Restoration, was largely a Church movement.

During the period of which we have spoken, the Church

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

occupied a new position, but exercised many of her old privileges. Dissent was now recognised as a permanent fact. It had a legal status, exemptions and rights, as well as penalties and exclusions. The Church no longer claimed to include all Englishmen in her fold. But her old position was in many ways retained; she did not abandon the exercise of her discipline over her own members. One of the first acts of Juxon as Archbishop was to grant to Secretary Nicholas a licence to eat meat in Lent, thus showing that the old rule of Church and State was still binding. Penances, too, were still exacted and performed. Pepys notes a "declaration of penitence of a man that had undergone the Church's censures" that he heard in 1665, and there are many instances of its later use. Excommunication, too, was far from uncommon, till gradually it came to be perceived that the Church's power, as entirely spiritual, was ineffective over those who had no desire for spiritual privileges.

The New Position of the Church.

THE DEAN OF WESTMINSTER.
(*From F. Sandford.*)

The Church, however, was now coming less and less to be regarded as a separate estate. By agreement between Clarendon and Archbishop Sheldon, the clergy ceased to tax themselves in Convocation. Community of suffering, again, had made them more united to the gentry, and at the same time more dependent on them. The independence that Archbishop Laud had tried to obtain for them had been short-lived; but at the same time there has, perhaps,

PREBENDARIES.
(*From F. Sandford.*)

The Position of the Clergy.

never been a period, at least since the fifteenth century, when the clergy exercised such influence in England as that which extends from the Restoration to the death of Queen Anne. In the higher offices of the Church were men of learning and address; the Gallican Church itself could not boast abler writers or more famous scholars. Few Churchmen have exercised greater influence at a critical juncture than that which the English clergy obtained by their courageous stand against James II. In most of the important events of the time the bishops played a leading part, and that without sacrifice of the dignity or the sanctity of their office. Sheldon was a statesman as well as Archbishop, and he reproved Charles II. to his face for his evil life. Ken was revered throughout the whole land; and he, too, spoke boldly for the right, both against William of Orange for his treatment of his devoted wife, and in refusing to admit Nell Gwynne to his house; and in politics, as well as morals, he stood staunch to the cause of the right. A Church which was ruled by Sancroft, Wilson, Ken, Compton, Pearson, Jeremy Taylor, and Nathaniel Lord Crewe, could not be declared wanting in any sort of distinction; and the distinction was recognised even by those who rejected the Church's teaching on religion or on morals. Nor was clerical influence less felt, though it was felt in a different way, in the case of the less prominent clergy. It

Private Chaplains.

was the age of private chaplains. The satirists of the age and of succeeding generations have delighted to make mock of the humble priest, the mere creature of his patron, who said his grace, wrote his letters, rode his horses, helped him in a thousand menial offices, and ended with a small living and the hand of his cast-off mistress or his wife's waiting-maid. The chaplains were mostly but slightly under episcopal control, and although their position was in many cases higher than has been commonly represented, the laxity of supervision, and the number of clergy who were looking out for employment, made it not unnatural that in some cases their position should be practically that of a superior servant. The famous lines of Oldham were in some cases not very far from the truth:—

> "Diet, an horse, and thirty pounds a year,
> Besides th' advantage of his lordship's ear,

The credit of the business and the state,
Are things that in a youngster's sense sound great.
Little the unexperienced wretch doth know
What slavery he oft must undergo;
Who though in silken scarf and cassock drest,
Wears but a gayer livery at best.
When dinner calls, the implement must wait,
With holy words to consecrate the meat,
But hold it for a favour seldom shown
If he be deign'd the honour to sit down."

But the sketch is very grossly exaggerated. Ken was a private chaplain; so was Kettlewell. It was no indignity to guide the religion of a great household. And among the country gentry the chaplains preserved a tone which, but for them, might, in the general reaction and laxity, have been utterly lost. If they were ever the creatures of their patrons, their income at least enabled them to serve poor parishes where otherwise the work of a clergyman would have been impossible. The clergy almost alone withstood the torrent of licentiousness which threatened the country from the example of the Court. Most of them remained firmly at their posts during the horrors of the Plague. In many London parishes the daily prayers went on as usual, and from Sheldon at Lambeth down to the poorest curates there was set, by many of the Church's ministers, an example which greatly strengthened the influence of the clerical order.

And, whatever may have been the position of the chaplains in the household, it is unquestionable that the clergy entered intimately into the life of the age, and acquired, by their association with those in whose hands lay all political power, a very considerable influence in the State. At any moment during the reign of James II., and possibly also in that of his brother, a decided action of the bishops could have practically directed the politics of the country. It was the clergy still who wrote most of the political pamphlets of the day, and their sermons were published and read with an avidity which to us is amazing.

The Social Status of the Clergy.

Thus it is clear that the social position of the clergy was by no means so low as might be inferred from a mere perusal of the novels and satires of a little later time. "The priesthood is the profession of a gentleman," said Jeremy Collier; and Anthony Wood, writing of Bishop Compton, a son of the

Earl of Northampton, who had originally served in the army, says that he was persuaded "to take holy orders, which was the readiest way to preferment for the younger sons of noblemen."[1] The Seven Bishops were all men of distinction, and some of them of very good family. The parish clergy were still frequently men of mark, especially in the large towns, but the growth of pluralities was gradually dividing them into two classes, those who had many valuable preferments and those who did many duties. The bishops of the next age had rarely been country parsons, and what began as a social division gradually marked a political severance.

POPULAR RELIGION IN 1682.
(*Roxburghe Ballad.*)

The Clerical "Lecturers"

Besides the parochial clergy there were still a large number of lecturers, whom Laud had ineffectually endeavoured to suppress, and whom the Commonwealth had again allowed to flourish. This class owed its institution to individual predilection for particular doctrines, for the propagation of which patrons were willing to pay not unhandsomely, and its popularity to the strange avidity of the people for pulpit eloquence. It was a complaint of the orthodox that the lecturers were both heretical and popular. "People will hurry to a lecture, though it be at the remotest part of the town, but let the bell toll never so loud for the canonical hours of prayer, it will not call the nearest of the neighbourhood." Mr. Gardiner's description

[1] "Athenæ Oxonienses," iv., 514.

THE SEVEN BISHOPS.

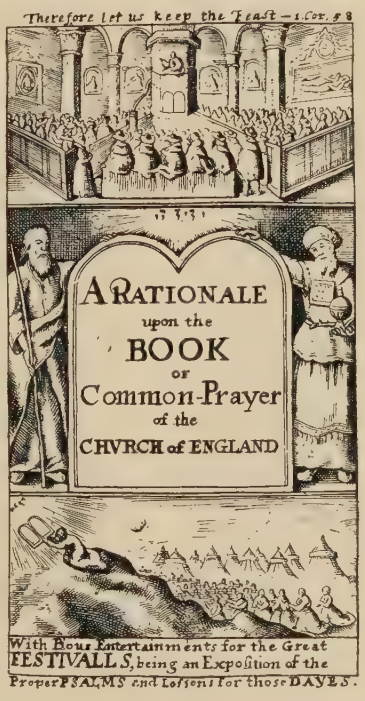
(Sutherland Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

of the lecturer under Charles I. is true of those who survived the Restoration. He was "paid by a corporation or by individuals to preach and to do nothing more." Though the law now compelled him to read the service before preaching, it was probably in many cases evaded, and only when the prayers were over would he emerge from the vestry and "shine forth in the eyes of the congregation as one who was far superior to the man by whom the printed prayers had been recited." Thus Baxter proposed as a prominent feature of the comprehension which he desired that "lecturers should not be obliged to read the service, or at most that it be enough that once in half a year they read the greatest part of what is appointed for that time." The bishops, however, applied themselves strenuously to the regulation of the lecturers, and though many still survived in towns, their importance from this date began decidedly to wane.

The Church and the People.

From the position of the clergy themselves we pass naturally to consider their influence on the people at large. The poor were generally, but unintelligently, Church folk; though, as in the case of Bunyan, those who sought enthusiasm in their religion found it chiefly among the Dissenters. The upper classes, on the other hand, were Churchmen without exception, and among them were many eminent examples of piety and philanthropy. The physicians of the time seem no longer to have lain under the imputation of infidelity which had been so freely cast upon students such as Sir Thomas Browne. Dr. Willis, Sedleian Professor of Natural Philosophy at Oxford, and physician-in-ordinary to the king, was famous as a devout Churchman from the time when, in the midst of the wars, and after the suppression of the Prayer Book, he opened his house, Beam Hall at Oxford, for the performance of the liturgy of the English Church. Peter and John Barwick were no less famous for their simple piety. The former lived for near forty years close to Westminster Abbey, "and constantly frequented the six o'clock prayers, consecrating the beginning of every day to God, as he always dedicated the next part to the poor; not only prescribing to them gratis, but furnishing them with medicine at his own expense, and charitably relieving their other wants." And even Sir Thomas Browne himself, in his later days, was taken more at his own estimate as a sound Church of England

man. Isaac Walton lived till 1683 honoured and beloved, and died under the shadow of Winchester Cathedral. Elias Ashmole, antiquary, Sir Matthew Hale and Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, judge and magistrate, Lord Clarendon and his sons, and Robert Boyle, were all men of religion and virtue. There were, in fact, few periods in our history when the richer laity were more devoted to the Church. Among the ladies there were instances of piety as conspicuous. Mary, Countess of Warwick, who has left a voluminous account of her religious experience in the form of a diary, "very inoffensively, regularly, and devoutly observed the order of the Church of England in its liturgy and public service, which she failed not to attend twice a day with exemplary reverence." Lady Rachel Russell, Dorothy, Lady Parkington, and the exquisite Mrs. Godolphin are all fragrant memories of this period, that contrast strangely both with the Court of St. James's and with the great Frenchwomen, their contemporaries, Mademoiselle de Montpensier and the Duchess de Longueville. If Lady Pakington wrote "The Whole Duty of Man" (p. 577), she guided the devotions of a generation; and the fame is immortal of Lady Betty Hastings, whom "to love was a liberal education."



PUBLIC WORSHIP
(*Sparrow, "Rationale,"* 1661.)

THE Restoration may be said to open a new period in the history of English law. The supremacy of the common law had been vindicated by the Long Parliament. The extraordinary courts established by the Tudors to be the bulwarks of personal government had been overthrown. The ecclesiastical courts

F. C. MONTAGUE. The Development of Law.

had been reduced to dignified impotence. The Court of Chancery ceased to be an instrument of the Royal prerogative. Henceforth it was to owe the amplitude of its jurisdiction to the needs of the subject, not to the ambition of the monarch. It is true that when the monarchy had been overthrown men went on to canvass the defects of the law of England. A comprehensive reform of the law, especially of the rules of procedure, was frequently demanded in the time of the Commonwealth. But with the Restoration projects of this kind were laid aside. Tired of change and confusion, men

SUITORS UP FROM THE COUNTRY, MICHAELMAS TERM, 1670.
(*Roxburghe Ballad.*)

were glad to return to the institutions of their forefathers. Satisfied to be rid for ever of the Court of Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission, they regarded little the barbarity of the criminal law, or the vexatious expense and delay of proceedings in Chancery. The common law had taken its permanent shape; its principles had been ascertained, and fixed in a multitude of reported cases. That minute portion of our immense legal literature which enjoys an authority comparable with the authority of judicial decisions received some of its latest and most valuable additions in the writings of the celebrated Sir Matthew Hale, who held under Charles II. the offices of Chief Baron of the Exchequer and Chief Justice

Completion of the Common Law.

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE KING'S BENCH AND LORD CHIEF BARON.

(*From F. Sandford.*)

of the King's Bench. But the virtual completion of the common law gave fresh importance to the agencies by which it could be supplemented or improved. From this time forwards the adaptation of law to the needs of society is carried on chiefly by the Courts of Equity and by the Legislature.

The Independence of Jurors.

One momentous reform, indeed, is due to a judicial decision given in this period. The independence of jurors was secured by the famous judgment in Bushell's case. That jurors might be called to account for giving a verdict against the weight of evidence and the direction of the Court, was too convenient a doctrine not to find acceptance with the Tudor sovereigns. They did not hesitate to mark their displeasure with jurors who had returned a verdict contrary to their wishes. The offenders were liable to be reprimanded by the judges, or to be summoned before the Star Chamber, which was usually content to admonish, but sometimes visited them with fine or imprisonment. These precedents were not forgotten under the Stuarts. Even after the abolition of the Star Chamber, jurors were occasionally rebuked or fined by the Chief Justice of the King's Bench. With the decline of personal government, however, this practice called down more and more general disapproval. In 1667 the House of Commons formally condemned it by resolution. A little later all the judges, save

MASTERS IN CHANCERY.

(*From F. Sandford.*)

Bushell's Case.

one, agreed in declaring that it was unlawful to fine jurors for returning a verdict against the direction of the Court. The last person fined for this offence was Edward Bushell, one of the jury which in 1670 acquitted the Quakers Penn and Mead, when indicted before the Recorder of the City of London for having held an unlawful assembly. As the verdict was against the Recorder's direction, he fined each of the jurors forty marks, and, on Bushell's refusing to pay, committed him to custody. Bushell sued out his habeas corpus. Vaughan, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, held that the ground of his committal was insufficient, and set him at liberty. Since that time no juryman has been called in question for giving a verdict according to his own judgment.

SERJEANTS-AT-LAW.
(*From F. Sandford.*)

The history of modern equity begins with the reign of Charles II. Not only was the Court of Chancery more recent in its origin than the Courts of Common Law, but it was remarkably slow to form a definite jurisprudence. This may have been due partly to the auxiliary nature of its jurisdiction, and partly to the fact that the Chancellor

Equity.

was a great officer of State, who had been promoted for qualities distinct from those of the professional lawyer, who had many other things to do besides administering justice, and who was much more deeply concerned in urgent matters of civil and ecclesiastical policy than in giving a systematic form to his corrections of the ancient law. The rules of equity could not be methodised until the Chancellor should regard the dispensation of equity as his principal function, and the office of Chancellor should be given only to men who had made the law their profession. But these changes took many years to effect. The last clerical Lord Keeper was Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, who held the Great Seal from 1622 to 1625. The last Chancellor

SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

who could be termed the chief adviser of the Crown was Lord Clarendon. The last Chancellor who was not a lawyer by profession was his successor, Lord Shaftesbury. Dryden has varied his invective against Shaftesbury as a statesman by praising Shaftesbury as a judge. It seems probable, however,

Lawyers as Chancellors.

SIR HENEAGE FINCH.

(By permission of the Right Hon. the Earl of Verulam.)

that the satire was better merited than the panegyric. The third Chancellor of Charles II., Sir Heneage Finch (afterwards Earl of Nottingham), is the beginner of a new era. A jurist first, and a public man afterwards, he owes his high place among the Chancellors of England solely to his transcendent merits as a judge. He is the first in that series of great magistrates by whom equity was reduced to a system almost as precise

and as little dependent upon individual opinion as the common law itself, the first to take away the reproach that equity had no measure but the Chancellor's foot. But he was less fortunate than his successors, in the circumstance that his decisions were ill reported.

Statute Law.

More generally intelligible and interesting than the fixing of the rules of equity is the legislation which signalises the period between the Restoration and the Revolution. Compared with earlier legislation, it is remarkably copious. The statutes of Charles II. surpass in bulk the statutes of every previous reign except the reign of Henry VIII. Several are of the highest importance. Among them may be noted the Statute of Distributions, which first established a reasonable rule for the administration of the personalty of those dying intestate.

The Statute of Frauds.

Still more noteworthy is the Statute of Frauds, passed—as the preamble informs us—"for prevention of many fraudulent practices which are commonly endeavoured to be upheld by perjury and subornation of perjury." With this object it required a written form for certain classes of contracts, leases, and wills. Whether it has accomplished its purpose, or accomplished that purpose in the best way, is still disputed. What is certain is, that no other Act of Parliament has given rise to so much litigation. But even the Statute of Frauds and the Statute of Distributions yield in importance to the memorable enactments which abolished tenures in chivalry and assured the personal freedom of the subject. These enactments claim separate notice.

Military Tenures.

The nature and incidents of the military tenures have been described in a former portion of this work. It has been shown that these tenures never effectually fulfilled their purpose of providing the Crown with a trustworthy military force (Vol. I., p. 434). Personal service was commuted for the money payment known as scutage, and scutage came to be less and less productive as a source of revenue. It had long been replaced by other forms of taxation on land, when Charles I. thought of reviving it in 1640 in order to supply the immediate necessities of the war against the Scotch Covenanters. But the incidents of military tenure, other than the obligation to military service, remained, and appeared all the more burdensome now that they were no longer justified by circumstances.

Among such incidents the most unreasonable and the most oppressive were the rights of wardship and marriage. Originally even these rights might have been justified. So long as the tenant holding directly from the Crown was a military chief, the Crown had some ground for claiming the guardianship of his infant heir. If he left an heiress, the Crown might not unfairly claim a voice in choosing the husband to whom she would transfer the command of her vassals. And the rights which the Crown claimed over its tenants in chief were naturally claimed by them over their military tenants. But when the holder of land on military tenure had lost his military character, it was intolerable that he should not be able to choose a guardian for his children, and that the Crown should maladminister his estate if he died before they came of age. It was even more intolerable that, if he left an heiress, the Crown should interfere with her choice of a husband. Oppressive in themselves as were the rights of wardship and marriage, they were aggravated by the abuses of the Court of Wards established in the reign of Henry VIII. The loss to the military tenants was great, and the gain to the Crown was small. From the accession of the Stuarts, the commutation of the incidents of military tenure for a fixed hereditary revenue to be settled on the king had been a cherished scheme of reform. An agreement to that effect known as the Great Contract had been set on foot between James I. and his Parliament, but had not been concluded because James thought that the annual sum of £200,000 offered by the House of Commons was not an adequate consideration. In the course of the negotiations with Parliament, opened in 1648, and known as the Treaty of Newport, Charles I. offered to accept a revenue of £100,000 in lieu of his rights over the military tenants. It is true that the military tenures had already been abolished by an ordinance of the Parliament. During the Commonwealth this ordinance held good, and when Charles II. returned to England it was found impossible to revive a set of abuses which had been suspended for fifteen years. The Convention Parliament therefore passed the famous Act 12 Ch. II., c. 24, taking away the Courts of Wards and all the incidents of military tenure or tenure in chivalry. All the land hitherto held upon this tenure was henceforward to be held in free and common socage, a

Military Tenures Abolished.

tenure involving merely nominal services. In compensation for the revenues thus taken away, the king received a hereditary excise upon beer and other liquors. It is a mistake to imagine that the nation lost anything by the abolition of the military tenures. Personal service had long been out of date, and all pecuniary payments, having become fixed at a remote period, had become insignificant through the fall in the value of the precious metals.

The Effect on Landed Property.

By this Act the power of devising land by will was indirectly enlarged. That power had virtually disappeared on the completion of the feudal system. A statute of the thirty-second year of Henry VIII. (1540) had empowered a tenant in fee simple to dispose by will of all his land held in socage, but of only two-thirds of his land held in chivalry. Now that tenure in chivalry was converted into tenure in socage, the tenant in fee simple could dispose by his will of all lands whatsoever. This Act also gave every father power to appoint a guardian to his children, and gave the guardian full control over the ward's estate, both real and personal. Formerly, when a socage tenant left an heir under age, the next of kin who could not inherit the land became his guardian, irrespective of the father's wishes. Lastly, this Act deprived the Crown of the celebrated rights of purveyance and pre-emption (Vol. II., p. 428). In virtue of these rights the king's officers had been accustomed to take supplies for his household practically at prices fixed by their own discretion. The incessant movements and vast retinue of our medieval kings had made these rights the means of endless loss and endless vexation to the subject. To restrain the abuse of these rights had been the object of a long series of unavailing enactments, beginning with Magna Charta. In conclusion, it may be said that the Act for taking away the military tenures completed the ruin of the feudal land-law. The numerous fragments of feudalism which remain embedded in the modern law of real property are, for the most part, insignificant.

Habeas Corpus.

In comparison with the Act which swept away so much of the common law, an Act which merely improved the procedure for enforcing a single common-law right might seem trivial. But that right was the most precious of all—the right to personal freedom; and the statute which rendered it secure, although generally misunderstood, has not been prized too dearly. The

right not to be imprisoned save on grounds defined by law, and, if imprisoned on a criminal charge, to be brought to trial within a reasonable time, is far older than the Habeas Corpus Act, and is, indeed, asserted in general terms in the thirty-ninth clause of Magna Charta, by which the king undertakes that no free man shall be imprisoned otherwise than by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land. A person detained in prison was entitled under the common law to demand from the Court of King's Bench a writ of "habeas corpus ad subjiciendum" (*i.e.* have the body to submit to the court), addressed to the person who had him in custody. The gaoler had then to produce him in court, together with the warrant for his commitment. The Court had authority to inquire into the sufficiency of the warrant, and either to discharge the prisoner or to admit him to bail, or to send him back to prison. It should be added that the Court had no discretion to refuse the writ. In practice, however, these legal securities proved insufficient. Sincere belief in the necessity of State, or timid subservience to the king, often led the judges to decline making any order on the writ. Means of communication were so imperfect that a prisoner once removed to some distant place of confinement might languish there for years before any friend (if he had friends) could discover where he was. If a prisoner were conveyed out of the kingdom of England, he was beyond the jurisdiction of the King's Bench, and had no legal remedy for his detention. Lastly, the procedure was subject to technical defects. It was doubtful whether the writ of habeas

THE HABIT OF A JUDGE.
(*By W. Hollar.*)

corpus could be issued by the Court of Common Pleas or by the Court of Exchequer, and whether a single judge could issue it during vacation. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that cases of arbitrary imprisonment frequently occurred down to the meeting of the Long Parliament. Even after the Restoration, Clarendon, who preserved the traditions of the old monarchy, offended several times against the liberty of the subject. The House of Commons, therefore, sought to provide an effectual remedy. Bills with this intention were introduced in 1668, in 1670, in 1673, and in 1675, but it was not until 1679 that the celebrated Habeas Corpus Act (31 Ch. II., c. 2) was passed with the assistance of Lord Shaftesbury. The chief provisions of this Act are as follow:—It inflicted the penalties of a præmunire (imprisonment for life and forfeiture of goods and chattels) on every person who should send an inhabitant of England a prisoner into Scotland, or any place beyond seas (and therefore out of the jurisdiction of the Courts at Westminster). It made effectual the common-law right of every person committed on a charge of misdemeanour to be released upon giving bail for his appearance. He might apply during vacation to the Chancellor, or any one of the judges, who were required, under heavy penalties, to grant him the writ of habeas corpus. Heavy penalties were also denounced against the gaoler who failed to obey the writ. The Act also provided for the case of a prisoner committed on a charge of treason or of felony. If not brought to trial at the next sittings after his commitment, he was to be set at liberty on bail, unless it were proved upon oath that the witnesses for the Crown could not then be produced. If not brought to trial at the second sittings after his committal, he was to be discharged altogether. No person set at liberty on a writ of habeas corpus was to be again imprisoned on the same charge otherwise than by order of the court having jurisdiction in his case. The very fact that in troubled times, when it may be necessary to imprison persons whom it is inconvenient to try, the Legislature has been compelled to suspend this statute, is enough to prove that the securities which it provides are real and substantial.

The Habeas Corpus Act.

Less important in its bearing on practice, but hardly less interesting to the historian, is the Act of 1677, which abolished the punishment of death for the offence of heresy (Vol. II.,

p. 398). Considerable uncertainty hangs over the origin of the famous writ *de hæretico comburendo*, under which so many persons were burnt alive for their religious opinions. Ever since the conversion of England to Christianity heretics had been subject to ecclesiastical penalties. Sir Matthew Hale asserted in his "Pleas of the Crown" that the common law recognised a writ under which heretics might be burned. But Mr. Justice Stephen, in his "History of the Criminal Law," doubts the existence of any such writ at common law, on the ground that there is no instance of its having been issued previous to the year 1400. Be this as it may, an Act of that year (2 Hen. IV., c. 15) required the sheriffs to burn to death the obstinate heretics delivered over to them by the ecclesiastical courts. And although the law relating to heresy was frequently modified in subsequent times, and the last case in which heretics were burnt occurred in the year 1612, the writ *de hæretico comburendo* was not abolished until the year 1677. An Act of that year (29 Ch. II., c. 9) puts an end to all capital punishment in pursuance of ecclesiastical censures, although it permits the judges of ecclesiastical courts to inflict ecclesiastical punishments such as excommunication, deprivation, or degradation, on persons guilty of "atheism, blasphemy, heresy, or schism and other damnable doctrines and opinions." Even if this Act had never been passed, it is unlikely that any person would have suffered death for his religious opinions. But the formal abolition of capital punishment for heretics marks the progress of the doctrine of religious toleration.

The Burning of Heretics.

To the personal ambition of Charles II. is due the establishment of our standing army. Prior to the Civil War there had been no permanent professional army. The Militia was the Constitutional armed force of the country. Troops for particular wars had indeed been raised and paid for by the Parliament, but they were disbanded at the conclusion of the campaigns for which they were enrolled. Some permanent force was, no doubt, maintained to garrison important fortresses; and corps of gentlemen-at-arms, yeomen of the guard, and gentlemen-pensioners were supported by the Crown, but more as a part of the Royal Household than as troops for service in the field.

G. LE M. GRETTON. The Army.

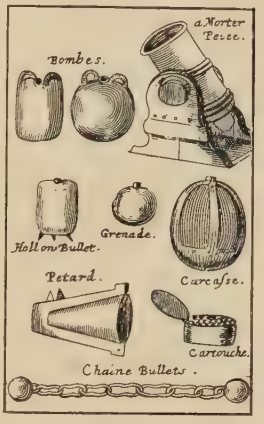
Rise of a Standing Army.

Under the Commonwealth, on the contrary, military force was supreme: an army variously estimated from 30,000 to 60,000 strong was under arms in the United Kingdom at the Restoration; and so much impressed was the king by the martial aspect of these Republican veterans that he was with difficulty restrained from enlisting them into the royal service. They were paid off and disbanded under hastily passed Acts of Parliament, which, however, reserved to the king the power to keep up specified garrisons, and to enlist for his service certain of Monk's troops who had aided in the Restoration. These corps now appear upon the roll of the British Army as the Second Life Guards and the Coldstream Guards. The First Life Guards and the Grenadier Guards have their origin in bodies of Royalist gentlemen raised by Charles II. during his exile in Holland. Under various pretexts fresh regiments of Horse and Foot were added year by year to Charles's army. At one time it was necessary to garrison Tangier, the African possession which the Stuarts so lightly flung away; at another to furnish and maintain a contingent of 6,000 men for the land operations against the Dutch, to which Charles's shameful vassalage to Louis XIV. committed him. In vain did Parliament protest against this rapid and unsanctioned increase in the numbers of the standing army; the misplaced lavishness with which the nation, in 1660, had bestowed grants upon Charles for his life, enabled the king to pay the troops without reference to the House of Commons.

ARMOUR OF JAMES II.
(*Tower of London.*)

During his short reign James II. so steadily pursued the

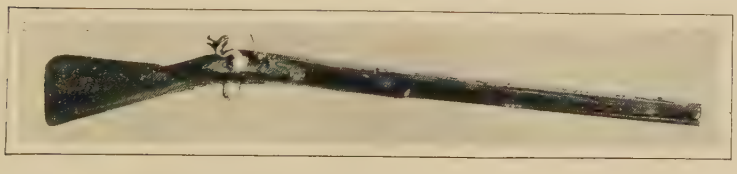
same policy that in 1688, in addition to the Household troops, he commanded six regiments of Dragoon Guards, four of Dragoons, and seventeen infantry battalions. To improve their efficiency he formed camps of instruction at Blackheath and Hounslow, where large numbers of regulars and militia were brought together to be trained in brigade and divisional movements. To obtain adequate supervision over colonels of regiments, the king appointed an "Inspector General, to exercise the forces and visit the garrisons." He revised the "Articles of War," a code of offences which, often in themselves trivial or absolutely unknown to the common law, are in a soldier serious crimes; and, like the military reformers of every time, he issued a new drill book. To encourage his officers to study actual warfare, he gave much leave of absence to them to travel on the Continent and take part in the perennial campaigns which then devastated Europe. But these various efforts to create an efficient army do not appear to have impressed the foreign critics who saw James's troops. In a significant passage in one of Barillon's despatches to Louis XIV., the ambassador reports "the commonest rules of war are here unknown; and with the exception of a few officers who have served in France and Holland, the remainder do not possess even the rudiments of the art of war." [1]



MINOR ARTILLERY.
("*English Military Discipline*," 1680.)

Yet, in spite of this severe and probably well-merited criticism, it must not be supposed that the improvements made **Weapons.**

[1] Scott, "British Army," iii., 579.



FLINT-LOCK MUSKET OF THE TIME OF JAMES II.
(*Rotunda Museum. By permission of the General Officer commanding Woolwich District.*)

by the Continental military powers during the latter part of the seventeenth century produced no effect upon our troops. On the contrary, for the British Army this period was fraught with change, and its efficacy as a man-killing machine was increased in many ways. Hand-grenades, small explosive bombs hurled into the ranks of the enemy by specially selected men, came into use. The invention of cartridges, containing the exact charge of powder and ball, enabled the infantry to load their muskets more rapidly, and to discard the inconvenient and dangerous bandoliers (cylinders of wood or other material, each containing a charge of powder), which before had dangled from the soldiers' cross-belts. The archaic match-lock was gradually, though very slowly, superseded by the flint-lock musket, and a bayonet was invented which could be attached to the muzzle without plugging up the barrel itself. Thus the value of the weapon, as a fire-arm and a pike combined, became at once doubled. Before this invention, only two-thirds of the men of an infantry regiment carried muskets; the remainder were armed with pikes, from thirteen to eighteen feet in length, shod with an iron spike. The duty of these pikemen was to protect the musketeers against cavalry on the march or in the field, as they staggered under the weight of a heavy match-lock, an equally heavy rest, twelve bandoliers, a powder-horn, and a heavy pouch flapping against their bodies, a bullet in their mouths, a lighted rope-match in their hands, and a sword at their belts. In addition to their pikes, the spearmen carried swords, and wore defensive armour on back and breast. As headgear, the round iron "pott" of the Commonwealth was soon replaced by a hat, shaped like a

COLLAR OF BANDOLIER, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

(Rotunda Museum. By permission of the General Officer commanding Woolwich District.)

modern wide-awake and abundantly trimmed with feathers. In imitation of the royal livery, red was the favourite, though by no means the universal, colour of the coats, usually cut long and square in the skirts; while the knee-breeches or knickerbockers (for both seem to have been worn) appear to have greatly varied in hue. Lord Wolseley considers that many of the uniforms were more practical and workmanlike than those of the present Uniform.

FIGHT OF FOOT AGAINST FOOT.
(*A. Lovel, "Military Duties of Officers of the Cavalry,"* 1678.)

day; but this opinion can hardly apply to Charles II.'s Life Guards, whose costume is thus described:—

"The privates wore round hats with broad brims and a profusion of white feathers drooping over the hind part of the brim. They wore scarlet coats richly ornamented with gold lace; sleeves wide, with a slash in front and the lace lengthwise from the shoulder to the wrist; also white collars, which were very broad, and being turned over the vest, covered the neck and spread over part of the shoulders. They wore scarlet sashes round the waist, tied behind, also large raffles at the wrist, and long hair flowing over their shoulders. Their boots were of jacked leather, and came up to the middle of the thigh. Their defensive armour were cuirasses and iron head-pieces called 'potts'; their weapons short carbines, pistols, swords, with a carbine belt suspended across

the left shoulder. They rode long-tailed horses; on public occasions the tail was usually tied up, and, together with the head and mane, decorated with a profusion of ribands."[1]

Drill. The drill of the troops appears to have been very intricate, the multiplication of orders extraordinary. Thirty-seven words of command were deemed necessary to put the soldier through the drill of loading and firing his musket; nearly fifty were employed in the pike (*i.e.* bayonet) exercise; while no less than seventy-two separate orders were required to throw infantry into hollow square to receive cavalry. The infantry company was formed six deep, the pikemen in the centre, the musketeers on the flanks; and its chief practical evolution, in addition to forming square, consisted in "doubling," *i.e.* reinforcing its front, flank and rear. The "Exercise of Horse" differed but little from that of the foot; each squadron was drawn up in three ranks; and "doublings" were practised with the modifications suited to the difference between infantry and cavalry. Artillery can hardly be said to have existed at this period. The garrison gunners were often civilians who eked out their earnings at other trades with their pay of sixpence a day, and until 1682 were quite independent of martial law. In the field the guns were worked by these men, or by soldiers from infantry regiments.

Maladministration. Since the times of the Stuarts all ranks of society have enormously improved, and nowhere is this improvement more striking than in the condition of the Army. There were no barracks, so that in the winter the troops were billeted upon the inhabitants, alike to the discomfort of the civil population and to the detriment of military discipline. The example of shameless venality set by the Court spread through the Service; the civilian officials of the War Department cheated the officers, who, in their turn, shamelessly robbed the men under their command, The system of administration lent itself to knavery of every description. The colonels contracted with Government to supply their men with clothing and accoutrements; the captains drew pay for all the soldiers whose names appeared upon the roll, and whom they could produce upon the musters periodically held to verify the officers' returns. The captains, therefore, kept numbers of paper men upon their rolls, and resorted to kidnappers to make up their numbers when a muster became imminent. In

[1] "Historical Records of Life Guards," p. 7.

LIFEGUARDSMAN IN UNIFORM, 1661.

(*Cannon's "Historical Records of the British Army."*)

1676 the kidnappers' nefarious trade was so much curtailed by Act of Parliament that the captains became obliged to hire men for the reviews. Arms, clothing, horses were borrowed, civilian servants dressed up and placed in the ranks; so rampant became the evil that bodies of men actually made a trade of tramping the country to let themselves out as dummy soldiers for muster parades. Bribery reigned supreme in the highest ranks of the Army; officers had to pay largely for every step in promotion, and accordingly looked to recoup themselves out of their commands. The wage of the ordinary infantry man was eightpence a day; yet by judicious manipulation of his company's accounts, the captain expected to rob his soldiers and his country to the extent of £200 a year; while the colonel who, in addition to his pay, did not clear from £200 to £600 a year out of his regiment, was deemed a very poor man of business. Under such a system it is hardly surprising that a good class of recruits ceased to volunteer for the life-long service which was then almost universal in our Army. There was no limit of age at which men were allowed to enlist; and the standard of physical fitness for the Service must have fallen very low, for in James's reign we find an advertisement describing a deserter "with six fingers on the left foot, on his left hand two fingers growing together, the little toe of his left foot always sticking out of his shoe."

Discipline.

The punishments for military offences were barbarous, and their legality was at least doubtful, for no Parliamentary sanction was given to the proceedings of courts-martial until the year 1689, when the first Mutiny Act was passed. A soldier was liable to be hanged or shot, or even burned at the stake, for incendiarism. For blasphemy his tongue might be bored through. He could be sentenced to branding or to "running the gauntlet" of his regiment, as well as to imprisonment, or whipping by drummers. His officers and sergeants had power to beat him. Among minor punishments two were much in vogue. One was "riding the wooden horse," where the culprit was seated for hours astride of a pointed beam, his legs dragged downwards by weights of 60 lb. fastened to each foot. The second was "tying head and heels": the victim was made to sit on the ground with one firelock "under his hams, and another over his neck, which are forcibly brought almost together by means of a couple of cartouche-box straps. In

this situation, with his chin between his knees, has many a man been kept till the blood gushed out of his nose, mouth, and ears, and ruptures have also too often been the fatal consequences, and a worthy subject lost to the Service or rendered incapable of maintaining himself when the exigencies of the State no longer required his duty."[1] Notwithstanding the severity of these punishments, discipline, especially under James II., was distinctly bad. All ranks were arrogant towards civilians; officers claimed to be above the civil power, mutinies were frequent, desertions wholesale. As an instance of the former military crime the following extract from contemporary correspondence is interesting:—

> "A drummer of the Duke of Albemarle's, at Blackheath, being got drunk, and for it carrying to the horse (*i.e.* being carried to ride the wooden horse), the soldiers got together, and declared they saw no reason to punish him for what the officers had never been free from since their coming thither, and then took him from them, and rudely treated their officers, Col. Vane having a musket presented to his breast, and great disorder had like to have happened; but every Captain drawing off his men it was at last appeased, and the offenders to be punished according to the military orders now published."[2]

Parliament and the Army.

Parliament, jealous of the standing army, sought to impair the king's authority over it. By a curious anomaly in the Articles of War drawn up by James, it was specified that no punishment amounting to loss of life or limb be inflicted in time of peace; consequently deserters and mutineers were tried before the civil power; and upright judges, recognising the undefined legal position of the troops, raised and maintained as they were in defiance of Parliamentary remonstrance, declined to pronounce sentence of death upon soldiers convicted before them of mutiny and desertion. The efforts of James to turn his Army into an Irish and a Papist force only served to increase its demoralisation.

There is little to say about the land wars of this period. The constant fighting round Tangier served as a school of arms for the troops engaged; and the campaigns against the Dutch gave our men an opportunity of studying the art of war side by side with the French, then deemed the best troops in

[1] Walton, "History of British Standing Army," p. 572.

[2] Camden Soc., 1874, i., 86–87; and Scott, "British Army," iii., 308.

Europe. The battle of Sedgemoor, where Monmouth was crushed, was remarkable only as an instance of the grand fighting qualities of the British peasant. The yokels had for the most part served in the Militia, and had thus acquired some rudimentary knowledge of drill; many of the troops were newly raised; there was therefore far less difference between the civilians and the soldiers than would now be the case. But it must be remembered that the troops were led by professional officers; the rebels by religious fanatics. Yet the western ploughmen and miners bravely held their own for more than an hour against James's regular army, and only fled when their ammunition ran short and their flank was turned. Here was the raw material of that army with which a few years later Marlborough won Blenheim and Oudenarde, and gained for England a leading position among the great powers of Europe.

SCYTHES USED AT SEDGEMOOR.

(Tower of London.)

It has been mentioned that as early as 1653 Blake employed on board ship small-arm men (p. 374), who may be said to have done duty as marines. These were, however, engaged as a temporary measure. The first regular marine force, known as the Lord High Admiral's Regiment, was not established until 1664, soon after the Restoration. This regiment has some claims to be regarded as the lineal ancestor of the present Royal Marines, for, although it soon ceased to exist, and although the various marine organisations which followed it also ceased to exist ere the present force was created, the new organisations were always in some measure built up from parts of the *personnel* of the older ones, and thus what may be called "the marine tradition," often weak, but never entirely

W. LAIRD CLOWES. The Navy.

broken, really runs back as far as the beginning of the reign of Charles II.

Naval Activity.

The reign was one of almost continuous naval activity. Numerous expeditions were fitted out against the piratical states on the African coast of the Mediterranean, and, in addition, there were the second and third Dutch Wars, the former really begun in 1664—though not formally declared till 1665—and lasting till 1667; and the latter begun in 1671, and ending in 1674. Our possession, in the Mediterranean of Tangier, and in the East of Bombay (both portions of the

TANGIER ABOUT 1685.

(From an engraving by Oliver, after Hollar.)

Queen's dowry), greatly enlarged the sphere of English interests, and obliged us to keep large forces, and to withstand formidable attacks in waters where we had previously had no territory at stake. Tangier proved very costly, and although, if it had been retained, it would have been of the greatest value to the Empire as a naval station, it was weakly evacuated in 1683. Bombay was held. We had already acquired important commercial interests in India, but only with the acquisition of Bombay did we begin the territorial foundation of our great Indian Empire. And the capture in 1664 of New York by Sir Robert Holmes's squadron gave us new interests in America,

THE ENGLISH FLEET, UNDER THE JOINT COMMAND OF PRINCE RUPERT AND THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE, OFF VLIELAND, AUGUST 8–10, 1666.

(From an engraving by W. Hollar.)

MARIN COUNTY

while the same gallant officer's conquests on the West Coast of Africa gained there also for us fresh responsibilities. The naval expedition, headed by Sir John Narbrough, to the South Seas led to no extensions of dominion, but served to keep alive in the navy a spirit which in the merchant service was still better fostered by men like Dampier, who, then beginning his sea-life, himself later became a naval officer.

Life in the Navy: Teonge's Diary.

The social life of the navy, at a time when events of such importance were in progress, is a subject of the greatest interest, and, happily, there has been preserved a very perfect picture of it in the diary of Henry Teonge, chaplain on board Her Majesty's ships *Assistance*, *Bristol*, and *Royal Oak*, 1675–79. Teonge was rector of Spernall, Warwickshire, and was fifty-four when, leaving his son to do his duty ashore, he temporarily joined the navy, chiefly, as he admitted, to relieve himself from the importunities of his creditors. Having an acute and observant mind, a love of good cheer and good company, and a taste for song and poetry, he seems to have got on very well among his new associates, and has certainly left a most charming account of them and their ways. The wardrobe necessary for a navy chaplain of those days was not extensive. Teonge had a cloak, which he pawned before joining, an old coat and breeches, an old pair of hose and shoes, a leather doublet (which he had worn for nine years), an "old fox broadsword," and a good black gown, and apparently nothing else. He was well received on board the *Assistance*, 56, in Long Reach, and having been welcomed with "part of 3 boules of punch (a liquor very strainge to me)," went to bed apparently very much the worse for his excess. Indeed, the whole ship's company was in like case, the vessel as she fell down the river being full of riotous women, singing, "loath to depart," and drinking punch and brandy. At the mouth of the river, "seeing a merchantman neare us without takeing the least notice of a man-of-warr, wee give him a shott, make him loare his top-gallant (*id est*, put off his hatt to us), and our gunner presently goes on board of him, makes him pay 6s. 6d. for his contempt, abateing him 2d. because it was the first shott." In the meantime, the good chaplain steadily increased his worldly possessions. "Early in the morning," he says, "I mett with a rugged towell on the quarter-deck, which

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

SIR JOHN NARBROUGH'S VOYAGE, 1669–1670.

I soone secured. And soone after," adds Teonge, "Providence brought me" various articles of domestic use, which were "all very helpfull to him that had nothing." On his second Sunday at sea, he says, "I preached my first sermon on ship-board; where I could not stand without holding by boath the pillars in the steareage; and the Captaine's chayre and others were ready to tilt downe, sometimes backwards, sometimes forward." All women, including the captain's wife, were put ashore at Dover, the departure of the ladies being honoured "with 3 cheares, 7 guns, and our trumpetts sounding." The anti-Dutch feeling and the jealousy of the flag crop up very early in the diary. The *Assistance* tacked towards a Dutch man-of-war, "which they soone perceiving (like a cowardly dogg that lys downe when he sees one com that he feares), loares not only his top-sayle, but claps his sayle to the mast, and lys by." After a little giddiness, Teonge began to find himself quite at home, "no life at the shoare being comparable to this at sea, where we have good meate and good drinke provided for us, and good company, and good divertisments; without the least care, sorrow or trouble; which will be continued if wee forget not our duety; viz., loyalty and thankfullness." The officers dined at noon. Off the Isle of Wight, "2 seamen that had stolen a peice or two of beife were thus shamed: they had their hands tyd behind them, and themselves tyd to the maine mast, each of them a peice of raw beife tyd about their necks in a coard, and the beife bobbing before them like the knott of a cravatt; and in this posture they stood 2 howers." As she went down Channel, the ship pressed men out of traders to make up her complement. "And towards evening wee ly on the deck, and drink healths to the king and our wives in boules of punch." In the Bay, he tells us, "we overhaul the seamen's chests, and order only 2 for a messe and the rest to be staved, lest they trouble the ship in a fight." Off the Rock of Lisbon "our noble Capt. feasted the officers of his small squadron with 4 dishes of meate, viz., 4 excellent henns and a peice of pork boyled, in a dish; a giggett of excellent mutton and turnips; a peice of beife of 8 ribbs, well seasoned and roasted; and a couple of very fatt greene geese; last of all a greate Chesshyre cheese; a rare feaste at shoare. His liquors were answerable, viz., Canary,

Punishments.

A Feast.

Sherry, Renish, Clarett, white wine, syder, ale, beare, all of the best sort; and punch like" (*i.e.* as plentiful as) "ditchwater." The ship in due course made Tangier, the English-built defences of which are described. Off Gibraltar, so Teonge declares, "every on that hath not yet beene in the Straites pays his doller, or must be duckt at yard arme." Off Malaga the captain began to exercise his men with their muskets. At Alicante the officers went ashore to see a bull-fight. In the Gulf of Lyon he notes: "This day we have a fayre on our quarter deck: viz., our purser opens his pack, and sells, to the value of 30 pounds or more, shirts, drawers, wascots, neckcloats, stockings, shooes, and takes no money for them; this is newes." The supplies were, of course, as now, charged against the men's pay. A little later: "wee fix our chasing sayle, or water sayle, at the poope of our ship, to try how twill doe against wee have occasion to make use of it." On Monday mornings the boys who had misbehaved themselves during the previous week were "whipt with a catt with 9 tayles for their misdemeanurs, by the boarsons mate." At Malta a boat came off and "asked if wee had a bill of health for prattick, viz., entertaynment: our Capt. told them that he had no bill but what was in his gunors' mouths." While lying in

TRIPOLI ABOUT 1675. (*By W. Hollar.*)

the harbour, "to show our strength all our ports are opened, and all our gunns thrust out, as though we were going to fite; and our ship cloathed through out with new wast-cloaths, and new sayles." The *Assistance* arrived off Tripoli a few days after Sir John Narbrough's bombardment of that town. A fortnight afterwards, the fleet being still blockading the place, Teonge notes: "This morn by on of the clock our pinnace and 3 more went a cruising; and in a frolic Sir John himselfe, with those that were in the boats, went all upon the Turk's shoare, and there displayed the English coulors, and cam on board againe." From Tripoli the ship was despatched in search of four Tripolitans, which had run the blockade. At Zante a seaman, named Skinner, "for goeing on shoare without leave, had his leggs tyd together, his hands tyd to a greate rope, and stood on the syd of the ship to be hoysted up to the yard arme, and from thence to dropp downe in to the water 3 times; but he lookeing so very pittifully . . . was spared." Off Candia the captain gave a dinner-party in his cabin. The ship tossed so much that the principal joint, a rump of salt beef, was placed on the deck. "And we all sat closse round about the beife, som securing themselves from slurring by setting their feete against the table, which was fast tyd downe. The Leiuetenant set his feete against the bedd, and the captaine set his back against a chayre which stood by the syd of the ship. Severall tumbles wee had, wee and our plates, and our knives slurrd oft together. Our liquor was white rubola, admirable good. Wee had also a couple of fatt pulletts; and whilst wee were eating of them a sea cam, and forced into the cabin through the chinks of a porthole, which, by lookeing behind me, I just discovered when the water was coming under me. I soone got up, and no whitt wet; but all the rest were well washed." A captain's fore-cabin arrangements were clearly not quite what they are now. At Scanderoon, "the Consull, Mr. Low, cam on board to welcom us, and brought foules and herbs to us. At his going off we gave him 5 gunns, and our trumpetts sounding 'Mayds, where are your harts,' etc." When the Pasha of the place visited the ship, "our Captaine haveing notice of it, put her in a posture as if wee were going to fight, viz., our trumpetts sownding, pendant—all colours—flying; our gunns all run out

of their ports; garlands lay in all places filled with shott, round and dubbleheaded; tubbs full of cartrages and wadds stood by, and cowles full of water, etc.; and a fyle of musketteers stretched from the stand to the greate cabin." In port, opportunities were as often as possible seized for scraping the ship and tallowing the decks, masts, and yards, and on Saturday evenings, whether in port or at sea, there was always a great deal of drinking. The account of the funeral of the boatswain, who died at Scanderoon, is noteworthy. "He had a neate coffin, which was covered over with on of the King's jacks, and his boarson's sylver whisle and chaine layd on the top (to show his office) betweene 2 pistolls crost with a hangar drawne. At his going off the ship he had 9 gunns, which were fyred at a minut's distance. And 8 trompetts sownding dolefully, whereof the 4 in the first ranke began, and the next 4 answered; so that ther was a continued dolefull tone from the ship to the shoare, and from thence to the grave. Halfe the ship's company, with their musketts in the right posture, going after the corps, with all the officers of all the ships that were there, I mye selfe goeing immediately before, and the trumpetts before me. . . . I buryed him according to our Common Prayer booke. . . . When he was buryed he had 4 peales of muskett shott. And as soone as we were out of the church yard the trumpetts sounded merry levitts all the way." Honoured visitors to the vessel always, it appears, "dranke Snt. George in a rummar as they went over the ship syd." After the death of the boatswain "our Captaine calls all hands up: and called Mr. Nathaniel Berry, and gave him authority to exercise the office of boateswaine, and bad all take notice of it; also gave him a cane, and bad him use it with discretion." In the next storm, says Teonge, "we received but small detryment, but the losse of good beife and porke, which stood at the head of the ship to be watered; and so it was, for twas all driven away, tubbs and all." Christmas Day at sea was thus kept: "At 4 in the morning our trumpeters all doe flatt their trumpetts, and begin at our Captain's cabin, and thence to all the officers' and gentlemen's cabins: playing a levite at each cabine doore, and bidding good morrow, wishing a merry Christmas. After they goe to their station, viz., on the poope, and sound 3 levitts in honour of the morning. At 10 we goe

Christmas at Sea.

to prayers and sermon; text, Zach. ix. 9. Our Captaine had all his officers and gentlemen to dinner with him, where wee had excellent good fayre: a ribb of beife, plumb-puddings, minct pyes, etc., and plenty of good wines of severall sorts; dranke healths to the King, to our wives and friends; and ended the day with much civill myrth." On Twelfth Night, "wee had a greate kake made, in which was put a beane for the King, a pease for the queen, a cloave for the knave, a forked stick for the coockold, a ragg for the slutt. The kake was cutt into severall peices in the great cabin, and all putt into a napkin, out of which every on took his peice, as out of a lottery: then each peice is broaken to see what was in it, which caused much laughter, to see our leiutenant prove the coockold, and more to see us tumble on over the other in the cabin, by reason of the ruff weather." But if there was good fellowship aft, there was strict discipline on the lower deck. "This day," says the chaplain, writing off Pantelaria, "David Thomas, and Martin, the coock, and our master's boy, had their hand stretched out, and with their backs to the rayles, and the master's boy with his back to the maine mast, all looking on upon the other, and in each of their mouths a maudlen-spike, viz., an iron pinn clapt closse into their mouths, and tyd behind their heads; and there they stood a whole houre, till their mouths were very bloody: an excellent cure for swearers." On the anniversary of Charles the First's death, "wee shew all the signs of morning as possible wee can, viz., our jacks and flaggs only halfe staff high; and at 5 a clock in the afternoone our ship fyred 20 gunns; the trumpetts at the close ringing the bells on the trumpetts very dolefully, and also the gunns fyreing at halfe a minute distance. Then the *Dartmouth* fyre 18 guns at the same distance, and their trumpetts also the same; and our 2 murchants fyred 16 a peice. After all our trumpetts sounded 'Well-a-day,' the *Dartmouth* did the same, and so wee ended the day mornfully." Mr. Teonge left the Thames in July, 1675. In April, 1676, he writes in his diary: "I made my sheetes; and this is the first night that I lay in sheetes, since I cam from England." The *Assistance* went thrice to the Levant, but did not fall in with the Tripolitans. On the way home she met four French men-of-war and a settee, The French admiral, Teonge says, "sent his pinnace to salute us.

Twelfth Night.

Discipline for Swearers.

and asks us if we wanted anything: our Captaine sayd he wanted nothing that he would be beholding to such rogues as they were for. The gentleman that cam was an English man, whoe desyred our Captaine not to take it ill, for that they had order from the French King to furnish the English with whatsoever they wanted. Our Captaine gave them thanks, and sayd he wanted nothing." A few days after this uncourteous display of British independence there was a terrible storm, of which Teonge relates: "About 4 in the morning the seas groe far more outragious, and breake clearly over our quarter deck; drive our hen-cubbs overboard; and washed on of our seamen cleane off the crotchett yard. A second sea cam and threw down all our boomes; brake boath pinnace and long boate on the decks. A third cam, and flung our anchor off the ship syd, flung the bell out of his place, brake off the carving, and pulld 2 planks a sunder in the midst of the ship, between decks, and just against the pump. Our forcastle was broake all downe longe before. Now the men are all dishartened, and all expect nothing but the losse of ship and life. Our larboard gunnhill all broake up, a whole planke almost out betweene decks; men swimming about in the wast of the ship; and greate seas often breaking over us." Yet by good seamanship and resource the vessel was saved. She reached England without further mishap, took out her guns, powder, and shot near Gravesend off Half Way Tree, and, proceeding to Deptford, paid off, "the rottenest frigot that ever cam to England."

Equally full of interesting matter is the record of Teonge's next voyage as chaplain, first of the *Bristol* and afterwards of the *Royal Oak;* but enough has been already quoted to show the general nature of the naval life of the period. The officers were rough, hearty, insular fellows, hating and despising all foreigners, content with little luxury, honest, and coarse-minded, as well as coarse-mannered. The "custom of the sea," already perfectly well established, was not very different, save in being more cruel and less civilised, from what it is now.

Naval Reforms under James II

James II., besides being a brave and capable naval commander, was an ardent and far-seeing naval reformer; and he had an admirable assistant in Samuel Pepys, who, from 1673, when James, then Duke of York, was Lord High Admiral, was for many years Secretary of the Navy. Many of his other subordinates were, unhappily, more interested in their own welfare

than in that of the service. Before he had the advantage of Pepys's help, the Duke reformed the Navy Board, which, by commission under the Great Seal, was appointed to consist thenceforth of a Comptroller, a Surveyor, a Treasurer, a Clerk of

JAMES DUKE OF YORK, LORD HIGH ADMIRAL.
(*After the painting by Sir G. Kneller.*)

the Navy, and three Commissioners, each with their separate and well-defined duties. A little later, in 1663, he fixed an established number of men for ships of war of the several rates, and defined the number of servants allowed to captains and other officers. In the following year he established an allowance of table money, whereby flag-officers, without expense to themselves, were enabled

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

to entertain foreigners and other people of distinction, and so to keep creditable state abroad, and he also first appointed a Surgeon-General to the fleet. In 1666 he made the salutary innovation of granting gratuities to captains who had been wounded in action. In 1668 he furthered the passing of an Act for the enclosing and planting with oak trees for the Navy of 11,000 acres of waste lands in the Forest of Dean. In 1670 he supported the granting of a charter to the Hudson's Bay Company. And in 1673 he introduced the practice of allotting cabins to officers, the greater number of whom had not previously possessed any; established a system of half-pay for captains; and made the first important experiments in sheathing men-of-war. After Pepys joined him, his reforms and innovations were still more numerous. In 1674 he ordered commodores to wear broad-pennants. In 1675 he procured an order in Council conceding half-pay to certain masters in the Navy. And he drew up regulations, many of which still govern the practice of the service, and which, for very many years after his death, remained practically unaltered. In 1683, moreover, he established the Victualling Office. The victualling of the Navy had previously been done by contract, and had been a perpetual source of grave abuses. He gave the business into the hands of commissioners, who, by their agents at the ports, contracted for all provisions abroad as well as at home. They also supervised the naval bakehouses and brewhouses, accepted bills drawn abroad by pursers for the service of His Majesty's ships, and audited and passed the pursers' accounts. After his accession, James appointed four additional Commissioners of the Navy, in order that more minute attention might be paid to the docks and storehouses; granted the first patents for the distillation of fresh from salt water; introduced a rule directing all commanding officers to deposit copies of their journals with the Admiralty; built the first bomb-vessel to throw shells; and reorganised the scale of pay for captains, who, he was of opinion, suffered somewhat from the vigorous and unflinching manner in which he had put a stop to their long-enjoyed privileges in the matter of certain perquisites. The new scale gave a captain of a first-rate, in pay and table-money, £523 15s.; the captain of a third-rate, £348 5s.; the captain of a fifth-rate, £209 10s.; and the captain of a sixth-

rate, £174 a year. During the whole of his public career in England, both as Lord High Admiral and as King, James never ceased to give all his attention to the welfare of the Navy, and, although he reigned less than four years, he left the fleet, which, at his accession, had numbered 113 sail, the stronger by about sixty vessels great and small. If all his subordinates had supported him as well as Pepys did, this fleet would have been a splendid one.

Naval Strength.

The nature of the vessels of which James's fleet consisted may be judged from a brief analysis of the Navy list of 1684.

AN ENGLISH SECOND-RATE OF 1670.
(After Vandevelde.)

There were then 9 first-rates, of which the largest was the *Britannia*, of 1,715 tons and 100 guns; 14 second-rates, of which the largest was the *Duke*, of 1,546 tons and 90 guns; 39 third-rates, of which the largest was the *Grafton*, of 1,184 tons and 70 guns; 42 fourth-rates, of which the largest were the *Golden Horse*, a prize, of 722 tons and 46 guns, and the *Woolwich*, of 716 tons and 54 guns; 11 fifth-rates, of which the largest was the *Sapphire*, of 346 tons and 32 guns; 8 sixth-rates, of which the largest was the *Greyhound*, of 175 tons and 16 guns; 5 sloops; 12 fireships; 18 yachts; 8 miscellaneous small-craft; and 8 hulks, chiefly prizes, the total burthen being 101,273 tons. Improvement had been steady, if somewhat slow,

during the Jacobean and Carolean period. The form of ships' bottoms had been altered greatly for the better; and the practice of sheathing them with lead had assisted their speed at sea, though, owing to the galvanic action which was thus set up with rudder-pintles and other ironwork, and which was not then understood, the system met with but partial adoption, and was soon again disused. Bluff bows and square high sterns

MODEL OF H.M.S. *BRITANNIA*, 1682.
(*Trinity House, London. By permission of the Elder Brethren.*)

had begun to give way to sharper forward lines and sterns more taper and less lofty; and the experience of several hotly contested wars had caused us to discard much of what was worst in our own methods of construction, and to imitate all of what was best in foreign designs.

It is remarkable that although James II. was himself a sailor, as well as an enthusiastic naval reformer and a good friend both to officers and seamen, his fall was largely brought about by the action of the service, within which, indeed, there

The Navy and the Revolution.

were very few who championed his declining cause. Some, certainly, resigned rather than give in their allegiance to the new order of things, but the Navy as a whole went over to William and Mary without much hesitation. James was not able to collect, for the defence of his realms, a single squadron upon the loyalty of which he could rely, nor did he carry with him into exile a single English man-of-war. In the Army he had a considerable following for many a year. In the Navy, where he might have expected a much larger one, he had none worth mentioning. This was due to two facts. One was that the Navy was intensely Protestant. The other was that the most distinguished flag officers, and all those leaders who in the Navy had the greatest influence and commanded the deepest confidence, were politically opposed to the principles of James's policy. Dartmouth was an exception. He adhered to the king, and suffered for his devotion. But the profound Protestant feeling of the Navy was stronger than its natural loyalty. Sir Roger Strickland, Rear-Admiral of England, who belonged to the Roman faith, could not get men to man his flagship, and so could not remain in the service.

Naval Mismanagement.

But, although James II. kept the Navy as much as possible under his own eye, and although he had an admirable helper in Pepys, there was, as there had throughout the Stuart period been, much peculation and malversation among the Admiralty subordinate officials, especially in the dockyards and in the departments; for, writing to Lord Dartmouth, almost at the moment of the landing of William, Pepys says: "I must pray your Lordshipp, as Master of the Ordnance, to forgive me the dischargeing myself of what I cannot but hold myselfe accomptable for to the King in you as Admirall of his fleet, by observing to you that, however matters may be represented to you from the office, there is not one shipp now behind you from whose commander I doe not daily hear of want of gunns, carriages, shot, or something else relating thereto." Sir John Berry, at the same time, complained: "There is not any round shot come to the *Elizabeth*. I have no flaggs to answer signalls, nor pendants: they have sent me only two blew flaggs: what they mean by that I know not." And Pepys laments: "How it has come to pass I know not . . . but soe it is, that the King has understood from Captain

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

Constable that the *St. Albans* has four ports on the quarter-deck which the establishment has provided no guns for. . . . It is a little uneasy with me to believe that there can have been any such mistake in the establishment." As for Strickland, even before he discovered that he could not get men to serve with him, he objected that his ship, the *Mary*, was "so very crancke"; and having been given the *Cambridge* instead, he presently found her "so foul and ill-fitted" that he begged to be re-transferred to the *Mary*. Many vessels broke down; others proved dangerously leaky. It is not very astonishing. Corruption was the fashion of the age, and testimony that funds granted for specific purposes were seldom, if ever, wholly applied to those purposes, is unfortunately only too abundant. The consequent unpreparedness of the fleet was mainly responsible for the negative result of the battle of Bantry Bay and for the frankly lamentable result of the battle of Beachy Head, at the beginning of the next reign. In neither case were the admirals and captains to blame.

REGINALD HUGHES. Architecture and Art: Wren.

The first half of the seventeenth century may, with but a slight adjustment of the dates, be correctly termed the era of Inigo Jones. The second half of the century may, with even more propriety, be termed the era of Christopher Wren. Inigo Jones died in June, 1652. Wren was then a youth of twenty, but he was already famous for his mathematical gifts, and on his way to a fellowship at All Souls', Oxford. His original bent seems to have been to astronomy, and he was early elected professor at Gresham College. But his talents in other fields must have been widely bruited, for John Evelyn speaks of him in 1654 as "that miracle of a youth, Mr. Wren." Architecture, and particularly ecclesiastical architecture, was naturally at a standstill during the Civil War and under Cromwell; but after the Restoration, Charles decided to go on with various works commenced by his father. Finding Denham, the then incumbent of the office of Surveyor-General, wholly incompetent, he applied, on what is surmised to have been the advice of Evelyn, to Wren. He was called on by the king to execute repairs in Old St. Paul's, and, while studying for these, was also engaged on building Pembroke

Chapel at Cambridge. His uncle, Bishop Matthew Wren, had been imprisoned in the Tower; and when, at the Restoration, he regained his liberty, he determined to commemorate his release by giving a new chapel to his old college. His nephew supplied the designs, in which, following the tradition of his great predecessor, he endeavoured to obtain beauty by proportion alone. The building has now been restored out of all knowledge, but as designed by Wren it was undoubtedly harmonious and pleasing. The year before the dedication of Pembroke Chapel Wren was commissioned to fulfil the desire of another prelate, Archbishop Sheldon, at Oxford; and the ease with which he surmounted the difficulty of covering an area of seventy feet by eighty with a roof without any central support shows that he had by this time, though how we do not know, completely mastered the technical difficulties of his business.

The works at St. Paul's do not seem to have been proceeding very fast when the Plague of 1665 stopped them altogether. Wren improved the moment to pay a visit to Paris, a city famous for the work of Le Mercier, and where Mansard was actually planning the Invalides. Thither Bernini, too, had been summoned by Louis XIV. to provide designs for the Louvre; so that the moment of Wren's visit was happily chosen. It is an odd coincidence that the most successful design in France, of this period, should have been that of an amateur, the physician Perrault, while Wren, another amateur, was about to astonish the world in England. Just at this juncture there came the fortunate calamity of the Great Fire, which afforded an epoch-making opportunity for the display of his talents. "He restored London," says Horace Walpole, and "the noblest temple, the largest palace, the most sumptuous hospital in Britain, are all works of the same hand." The list of his achievements is stupendous. In or near London he built St. Paul's Cathedral, above fifty parish churches, the Monument, Temple Bar, a royal exchange, the western tower of Westminster Abbey, and Marlborough House, besides Chelsea Hospital, perhaps the poorest, and Greenwich, perhaps the finest, of his secular buildings. In Oxford he built the Tom Tower, or Campanile, at Christ Church; the Sheldonian Theatre, and the Ashmolean; and at Cambridge, Pembroke Chapel and the library of Trinity. He worked,

Restoration of London.

INTERIOR OF ST. JAMES'S CHURCH, PICCADILLY.

besides, at Winchester and Hampton Court, at Windsor, and elsewhere. And in all this mass of work, in his least as in his most successful labours, he shows himself, notwithstanding his intense individuality, not only a true descendant of Palladio, but the greatest exponent in all Europe of the doctrine that architecture is proportion.

St. Paul's Cathedral.

The most famous of all his works is, of course, the great Metropolitan Church of St. Paul's. The foundation stone was laid in 1675, and the building was practically completed in thirty-five years. It is, of course, not according to Wren's original design. Internally that design would, no doubt, have been more satisfactory than the one finally adopted, for it would have shown a series of prospects, gradually increasing in magnificence, from the entrance to the great central dome. Beyond these would have been nothing, for the small choir would have hardly counted; so that the present anti-climax would have been avoided. Externally, however, it is superb. The roof is of wood, over a stone vault, but that is a common, almost a universal, feature in Gothic churches. Used as this roof is in St. Paul's, it has given rise to the criticism that St. Paul's is not a dome at all, but a tower; and it is true that the interior dome has little relation to the exterior. The lantern is, in fact, carried on a vast cone of brickwork, built up from the drum of the inner dome; and the outside, perfectly admirable as it is, has no constructive justification. But, after all, artistic purism may surely be silent in the presence of such a masterpiece of outline. Discussions on the originality of artistic work are not very profitable, and it is impossible to know whether Mansard's design for the dome of the Invalides, not completed till after 1680, helped Wren at St. Paul's. So, too, of the coupled columns of which Wren made use, and which, in some sense, form a distinguishing mark of his style: did he get a hint from Perrault, who undoubtedly applied them to the façade of the Louvre? These speculations have a certain importance in regard to the question of originality, but between St. Paul's and the work of Mansard and Perrault there is all the difference between genius and ability.

Wren's Scheme of Decoration.

That Wren intended to rely, to some extent, on colour for the decoration of St. Paul's is certain, though how far he intended to go is uncertain. He left on record his intention "to beautify the inside of the cupola with Mosaick work," and that portions of the apse and the domes of nave, choir, and

St. Bride's, Fleet Street.

St. Mary-le-Bow.

TWO OF WREN'S CHURCHES.

transept were intended to have similar decoration is evidenced by the fact that he left their surfaces unfinished, or only finished in plaster. The area thus left to be covered amounts to about 26,000 square feet, which, if Fate approve and Sir W. B. Richmond, R.A., survive, will, by the early years of the present century, be covered, as intended by the seventeenth-century architect. That Wren should have contemplated any scheme of colour decoration is in itself proof of his independence, for the taste, and still more the religion, of England had a decided preference for whitewash, and naturally found the monochromes of Sir J. Thornhill altogether preferable to the architect's mosaics. But it is not in the Cathedral alone that Wren shines as a genius in church architecture. Few interiors in any style of the Renaissance are more beautiful than St. Stephen's, Walbrook. The spire of St. Mary-le-Bow is another wonder, for it goes far to demonstrate that the grace of a Gothic steeple can be obtained by means which are purely classical. His ingenuity was indeed unbounded, and of this Greenwich Hospital, though it was not wholly completed till the reign of George III., is a leading instance. Here he was hampered by the necessity of working in a fragment of the old Tudor palace, and the whole of the new palace built by Webb (Inigo Jones's pupil) for Charles II. This he accomplished with supreme success, and the colonnade, composed of his favourite coupled columns, with the domes over hall and chapel, is really magnificent. Before it was finished,

ST. VEDAST, FOSTER LANE, CITY OF LONDON.

Greenwich Hospital.

however, the heavy hand of Vanbrugh was brought in to mar the grace and symmetry of Wren's work. Wren did much for William III., as well as for his predecessors and for Queen Anne; although little was done, and that not very well done, for Hampton Court. Yet his designs for that palace show that if he had had his way, he would have converted it into one of the most grandiose in Europe; for he designed two colonnaded wings, three hundred feet long, on each side of the hall, and a grand approach through the horse-chestnuts of Bushey Park. It is

Hampton Court.

THE FOUNTAIN COURT, HAMPTON COURT.

somewhat difficult to decipher, at this day, what parts of the existing building belong to Wren and what to his successors. But he certainly finished the east front, with its four Corinthian columns, and the beautiful Fountain Court, on the cloister of which his initials occur.

Wren's career does not admit of being split into periods. He was at work on the Cathedral, as we have seen, at least as early as 1663, when we find his name in the commission to restore the church. He was still working at Hampton Court in 1718. His commanding personality, acting during so long a period, left its imprint not only on architecture, but on the

Wren's School.

architects of two generations. His pupil, Hawksmoor, then became the builder of St. George's, Bloomsbury, and of the towers of All Souls' at Oxford. Gibbs, who designed St. Mary-le-Strand, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and the Radcliffe at Oxford, also imitated him, though perhaps not so perfectly as Kent, the architect of Holkham, whose worship of Inigo Jones must have

THE TWIN TOWERS, ALL SOULS' COLLEGE, OXFORD.

made him keenly appreciative of the talent of Jones's architectural heir. Besides these, James, who built St. George's, Hanover Square; Campbell, who designed Wanstead House; Archer, who is responsible for St. John's at Westminster; and Cooper, the architect of Bath;—belonged to his school. None of these were men of great talent—indeed, the ablest and most individual architects of the generation after Wren were Vanbrugh the

dramatist, and the Earl of Burlington the virtuoso. As regards the latter, Kent resided in his house for many years, and played profitably the part of "ghost" to his noble patron, as Campbell claimed to have done at an earlier date. But the association was certainly fortunate, for it gave to the world the famous volumes of their "Inigo Jones." Between them they refronted Burlington House, subsequently ruined by injudicious alterations.

Sir John Vanbrugh was an architect of more original temper, though singularly insensible to beauty, either of outline or detail. The epitaph—

> "Lie heavy on him, earth, for he
> Laid many a heavy load on thee"—

is trite enough, but it is an excellent criticism on his style. A feeling for mass is the chief merit of Sir John Vanbrugh, and if he had only been employed to build Bastilles, or Pyramids, or colossal tombs, he might have left a great reputation. As it is, he has left only remarkable country houses, such as Blenheim Palace and Castle Howard. It was said that his selection as architect of Blenheim was due to a

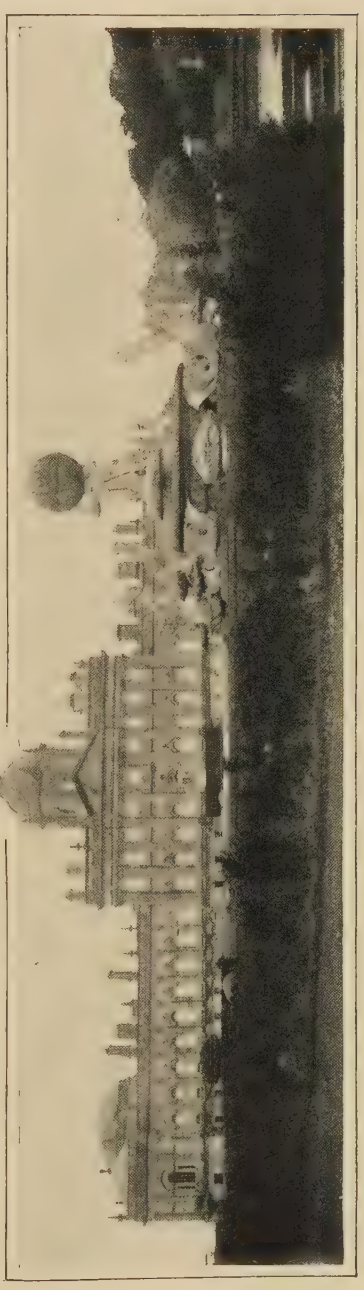


Photo: Bedford & Sons, Driffield.

CASTLE HOWARD.

quarrel between the famous Sarah and Christopher Wren over Marlborough House; but, at any rate, he became a sort of rival of the older man, and his general acceptance points to the fact that the English, as a nation, had then—as, perhaps, they have now—no critical appreciation of any form of art which is strongly tinctured with classicality. At Blenheim Vanbrugh had, in fact, a unique opportunity. Unlike Wren

Blenheim.

—who, at St. Paul's, and Greenwich, and elsewhere, was hampered by royal and clerical interference, and by the necessity of conciliating divergent religious animosities, by the parsimony of his patrons, and by the limitations of space at his command—Vanbrugh had an unrivalled site, a free hand in his design, and ample supplies of money. In bigness, Blenheim certainly leaves nothing to be desired, and the thickness of the casement mouldings, the air of gloomy solidity, are unsurpassed. But no feeling for proportion can be discovered. Mr. Ferguson, his most favourable critic, points out that the order is so gigantic as to dwarf everything near it, and that

Castle Howard.

the lines are confused and wanting in repose. Castle Howard is, no doubt, better, though here again Vanbrugh has in the centre used columns of a size appropriate for the dwellings of giants, and columns of exactly the same kind, but adapted to the use of men, in the wings. He was much less successful at Seaton Delaval and Grimsthorpe, where the large coarseness of his details becomes "offensive from the smallness of what they are intended to decorate." The best that can be said of Sir John Vanbrugh's designs is that they are not merely the still-births of memory; on the contrary, they are thoroughly characteristic and individual. This, no doubt, is something, and it entitles Vanbrugh to consideration in any sketch, however slight, of English architecture. But it is difficult to conceive anything further removed from the subtly calculated perfection of ancient art. English architecture reaches, in Vanbrugh, the edge of the pit. A method which depends on the austere graces of order and balance and proportion cannot be applied by a rule of thumb, and there is no trace of any other rule in his work. The impossibility of having a living classical style in England seems demonstrated by this: that only in the hands of genius has it ever been tolerable. From such hands, it is true, we have had noble examples;

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

but directly it has passed from them it has become, even with men of ability and character, lifeless, meaningless, and unattractive.

Painting under the Commonwealth.

After the breaking out of the strife between king and Parliament, the only art that commanded the attention of the well-to-do had been that of war. Nor had the Puritan ascendancy under the Commonwealth been much more favourable to artists. "The sectaries," it has been said, "ran into the extreme against politeness." It is certain, however, that Cromwell, who loved music, admired also the art of the painter. He secretly arranged the purchase of the cartoons and other works in the royal collection. He also patronised Peter Van der Fas—a Dutchman born at a place called Soest, probably the village of that name near Utrecht, not the Soest in Westphalia. He seems to have come to England in 1643, and is better known by the name of Lely, a sobriquet adopted by his father. It was while sitting to Peter Lely that the Protector insisted that he was not to be flattered in his picture, and to have bidden him "remark all these roughnesses, pimples, warts, and everything as you see me; otherwise, I will never pay a farthing for it." Cromwell's patronage was not confined to Lely, and his favourite artist was Robert Walker. This man to some extent filled the position of official portraitist under Cromwell, and, after the Government seized Arundel House, was given a residence there. He painted not only the Protector himself, but Ireton, Fleetwood, Keeper Keble, and Lambert. The fact that Lambert, a Parliamentary general and a friend of Cromwell's, was himself an amateur painter, is perhaps the most suggestive fact connected with art in Cromwell's reign. If we except Lely, whose chief work was done later, Walker alone, of the Commonwealth artists, left more than a name. Several works of his have been identified, which show him to have possessed a dry but individual talent. The rest—Mascall, Fairfax, Loveday, and Wray—are mere names. Of course, other painters of Charles I., such as Richard Gibson the dwarf, and Samuel Cooper the excellent miniaturist, who, his admirers declared, was greater than Vandyck, continued their work in the succeeding reigns; but with the exception of Cooper, who painted pretty nearly all the magnates of the Commonwealth, they more properly

Lely.

belong to the reigns of Cromwell's predecessor or of Cromwell's successor.

Painting at the Restoration.

At the Restoration, Peter Lely took possession of the artistic throne vacant by the deaths of Vandyck and Dobson. He had received favours from Charles I., and the office of Sergeant Painter, although practically worthless, was conferred on him while the Civil Wars were raging. From the date of his arrival in England in or prior to 1643, he gave himself to portraiture, which he practised with extraordinary success until his death in 1680. Most of his portraits are three-quarter lengths, a majority of them of ladies dressed "in silken night-gowns, fastened with a single pin." He was, however, a considerable master of drapery, though in an extremely artificial way. He had a considerable business amongst male sitters, too, and painted a certain number of mythological and sacred subjects, which, like "Jupiter and Europa," "Susanna and the Elders," appealed to the taste of the time. His is a low form of art, but it is admirably in keeping with contemporary manners. When we look at the long rows of his ladies at Hampton Court, this accomplished mannerist perfectly explains to us the feeling of the shocked and zealous Puritan who published, two years before Lely's death, "Cooke's Just and Reasonable Reprehensions of Naked Breasts and Shoulders."

English Painters.

Lely was, as we have seen, a foreigner—and, indeed, after Dobson, there is no considerable English name among painters until we reach Hogarth. A few Englishmen, however, have just escaped oblivion — Isaac Fuller, for instance, who certainly did not lack a *vates sacer*, for no less a person than Addison wrote a Latin poem on the altar-cloth (now lost) that he painted for Wadham College. He was further employed to paint a series of large pictures of King Charles's escape after Worcester, which the king presented to the Parliament of Ireland. He also had a considerable vogue as a decorator of ceilings and panels in taverns. Robert Streater was a contemporary whose work ran on similar lines, though Evelyn calls him "that excellent painter of perspective and landscape." He was employed a good deal at Oxford, and Pepys has the following entry relating to him:—

"Went to see Mr. Streater, the famous history painter, where I found Dr. Wren and other virtuosos looking upon the paintings he is making for the new theatre at Oxford; and, indeed, they look as they would be very fine, and the rest think better done than those of Rubens at Whitehall; but I do not fully think so. But they will certainly be very noble, and I am mightily pleased to have the fortune to see this man and his work, which is very famous; and he is a very civil little man, and lame, but lives very handsomely."

Of Lely's English pupils only a few attained anything like eminence. Of these the least obscure were John Greenhill, on whom Aphra Behn wrote an elegy; Anne Killigrew, the paragon of whom Lely made an unusually individual portrait; and Mary Beale, who, like Fuller, had poems written in her honour. Of those who were uninfluenced by the great Court painter, the name of Michael Wright has survived. His fame was to some extent founded on a series of portraits of the judges, for which, in the first instance, Lely had been commissioned. The story is curious, as showing the position of a successful painter in the seventh decade of the seventeenth century. The citizens of London, grateful for the services of the twelve judges in settling the litigation which arose after the Great Fire, resolved that their portraits should be placed in the Guildhall. To this end they applied to Sir Peter, and he accepted the commission; but finding that the judges would not come to his studio to sit, he declined to proceed. The commission was then transferred to the less exigent Wright, who received for the portraits no less than £60 apiece.

Foreign Painters in England.

Charles II. did not inherit his father's artistic tastes, his feeling for beauty being purely animal. During his exile, however, he and his courtiers had seen the splendours of Louis XIV.'s Court, whereof Le Sueur and Lebrun were the luminaries. Besides, many English noblemen made acquaintance, in Flanders and the Low Countries, with their still flourishing schools of painting, and on their return home not unnaturally introduced the fashion of employing Dutchmen and Flemings in preference to Englishmen. As a result, the list of foreign painters who flourished in some sort in England under Charles II. and his brother is far longer than that of their English colleagues. Abraham Hondius, the animal painter, Simon Varelst, the flower painter, Verrio, the decorator (who, however, was a Neapolitan), Peter Roestraten, Gerard Soest,

MELANCHOLY AND RAVING MADNESS.

(Guildhall Museum. By permission of the Library Committee to the Corporation of the City of London.)

Edema, Gaspard Netscher, the two Vandeveldes, Largillière, and Sybrecht, all made a longer or shorter sojourn in England, and left examples of their skill behind them. It cannot be said, however, that they did anything to influence, much less to develop, the native art of this country.

Cibber and Grinling Gibbons.

Sculpture might be passed over in silence but for the great name of the Holsteiner, Gabriel Cibber, and the greater one of Grinling Gibbons, who, though born in Amsterdam, had an English father. It is uncertain when Cibber arrived in England, but it was probably shortly prior to the Restoration. He is remembered by the two fine statues of Raving and Melancholy Madness, formerly at Bethlehem Hospital. We know little of his training, though he seems to have been in the employment of the younger Stone. These figures make it clear that somewhere and somehow he had mastered the difficulties of his calling, for at any rate his art is mature art, and one sure of its effects. Grinling Gibbons is a much more individual talent, and fortunately much more of his work has come down to us. He at first found employment in carving cornices and such things for builders, and it is likely that he would have never risen beyond this sordid business but for the happy accident of his having been discovered at Deptford by Evelyn. Under date 1671, January 18th, is the following entry in his diary:—

"This day I first acquainted His Majesty with that incomparable young man Gibbons, whom I had lately met with in an obscure place, by mere accident, as I was walking near a poor solitary thatched house in a field in our parish (Deptford), near Say's Court. I found him shut in, but looking in at the window I perceived him carving that huge cartoon of Tintoret, a copy of which I had myselfe brought from Venice, where the original painting remains. I asked if I might enter; he opened the

door civilly to me, and I saw him about such a work as for curiosity of handlinge, drawing, and studious exactness I had never seen before in all my travels. I questioned him why he worked in such an obscure and lonesome place; he told me it was that he might apply himself to his profession without interruption, and wondered not a little how I had

VESTRY OF ST. LAWRENCE JEWRY, WITH CARVING BY GRINLING GIBBONS.

found him out. I asked him if he was unwilling to be made knowne to some greate man, for that I believed it might turn to his profit; he answered that he was but as yet a beginner, but would not be sorry to sell off that piece; on demanding his price, he said £100. In good earnest, the very frame was worth the money, there being in nature nothing so tender and delicate as the flowers and festoons about it, and yet the work was very strong; in the piece were more than 100 figures of men, &c. I found he was likewise musical, and very civil, sober, and discrete in his

discourse. There was only an old woman in his house. So desiring leave to visit him sometimes, I went my way.

"Of this young artist, and the manner of finding him out, I acquainted the king, and begged that he would give me leave to bring him and his works in Whitehall, for that I would adventure my reputation with his Majesty, that he had never seen anything approach it; and that he would be exceedingly pleased, and employ him. The king said he would himselfe go to see him. This was the first notice he had of Mr. Gibbons."

PETITION CROWN. (*Three-quarter scale.*)

The beauty of Gibbons's wood carving, and his really exquisite, though realistic, treatment of flowers and foliage, were appreciated by the king. He gave him an appointment in the Board of Works, and large orders for carving at Windsor and elsewhere. Gibbons continued working in England for half a century. He survived the Stuart dynasty, not dying till 1721. Of his statues, only one or two of doubtful authority remain, but the altar-piece at Trinity College, Oxford, and the tomb of Viscount Camden at Eton, show that he could excel in more than one manner. At Chatsworth, at Burleigh, at Houghton, and elsewhere, there are, or were, superb examples of his carving, though probably his masterpiece is in the Great Room at Petworth, in Sussex. Here the profusion of ornament, fruit, flowers, birds, and all sorts of still-life, festooned from ceiling to wainscot, is positively tropical, and the lavishness of invention is not more remarkable than the

SILVER CROWN. (*Three-quarter scale.*)

1688]

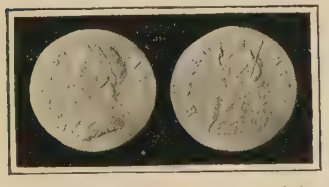
certainty of hand. He had many pupils and assistants, but neither rival nor successor, for his was one of those exceptional talents that, although they command admiration, yet establish no school, and found no tradition.

A GUINEA. (*Three-quarter scale.*)

Coins.

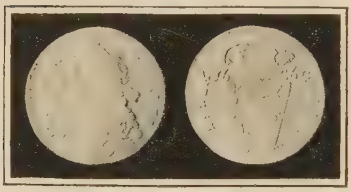
The desire to reverse and annul everything, whether admirable or not, that was done in the interregnum may explain the fact that the coins issued by Charles II. in his first two years were hammered, not milled, the types being those of Charles I. In the year 1662, however, the subject of coining by the mill and press was discussed in the Council, with the result that Blondeau was recalled, and Simon and Roetier were ordered to make competitive designs. The latter was a Fleming, whom Charles had probably known in exile, and his design was preferred. Simon seems to have quitted the service of the Mint in disgust, though apparently still employed on odd jobs, and in the year following (1663) he produced his beautiful pattern-piece, known as the Petition Crown. This master-piece is supposed to have been made by the artist in the hope of obtaining his reinstatement as Crown medalist; but, if so, the hope was not fulfilled; at least not entirely, though he engraved a royal seal as late as 1664. The new gold pieces were of the value of one hundred, forty, twenty, and ten shillings, the twenty-shilling piece being popularly called a guinea, from the African company which supplied the gold, its origin being indicated by

COPPER HALFPENNY OF 1672. (*Three-quarter scale.*)



FARTHING. (*Three-quarter scale.*)

the elephant and castle stamped on the five-guinea pieces beneath the king's bust. Crowns and, a little later, half-crowns were struck in silver, and shillings and sixpences, but smaller denominations ceased to be issued except for Maundy purposes. Usually the king's bust is laureated on the obverse, and the four shields are disposed cross-wise, England at the top and France at the bottom. The great numismatic event of the reign of Charles II. was the issue of a genuine national copper currency. Patterns had been made in 1665, with the king's head on one side, and the inscription *Carolus a Carolo*, and on the other Britannia, with the comically inappropriate boast *quatuor maria vindico* [I claim four seas]. They did not then become current, but seven years later a regular issue of them took place. By that time, however, a sarcastic speech of a noble lord had effected the erasure of the legend. A copper farthing was also issued, and an office for their distribution was set up in Fenchurch Street. Many royal warnings and proclamations against the use of tokens were issued, but, as usual, with scanty results. In the last years of the king tin and pewter farthings were issued, having a piece of copper in the centre, and the words *nummorum famulus* (servant of the coinage, *i.e.* a mere token) round the edge, as a preventive to forgery, a precaution absolutely unavailing.



IRISH HALFPENNY OF 1686. (*Three-quarter scale.*)

Except in name and effigy James II.'s English coins differ in no respect from those of his brother, although his Irish currency of brass and the coins made of old cannon, known as gun-money (p. 850), and his white metal crowns, and groats and pennies, have endeared his memory to the numismatists of the sister isle.

W. S. ROCKSTRO. Music.

DURING the troubles which followed the death of King Charles I. the cultivation of English music was utterly extinguished. Not only was progress impossible: it was equally impossible, in face of the open hostility of the Puritans, to

maintain the high level that had been already attained. The cathedral and collegiate libraries were sacked by the Roundheads, the great organs were destroyed, all singing worthy of the name was prohibited in the desecrated churches, and dramatic music was publicly condemned as a snare of the Evil One.

WESTMINSTER CHOIR-MEN.
(*From F. Sandford.*)

But, with the Restoration of King Charles II. a new era began in the history of English art. It was no longer possible to re-unite the thread of development at the point at which it had been severed; for, in every great city on the Continent, a new style had in the meantime sprung into existence, and this new style was already bringing forth abundant fruit on lines which it was impossible either to oppose or to ignore. The only hope, therefore, lay in the frank adoption of the new point of departure as a basis of future operations. King Charles II. had himself cultivated a warm affection for the more modern style, both of vocal and instrumental music, during his residence in France, where the genius of Lulli was then working wonders for the advancement both of sacred and dramatic music; and he openly encouraged the performance of what was then looked upon as music of a very advanced character, both in the Chapel Royal and in his own private band. And thus it was that what is now known as the

CHOIR-MEN OF THE CHAPEL ROYAL.
(*From F. Sandford.*)

School of the Restoration became firmly established in England within a very few years after his return from exile.

Henry Cooke.

The new order of things began with the reorganisation of the choir of the Chapel Royal at Whitehall, under Captain Henry Cooke, a former chorister, who, on the breaking out of the rebellion, had joined the Royalist army, but had not forgotten the art he had formerly practised, and was well fitted for the great work he was now called upon to perform. His first care was to provide a supply of "children" for the choir, and among these he secured three who not only possessed beautiful treble voices, but were also gifted with true musical talent of very high order. These three were Pelham Humfrey, Michael Wise, and John Blow, all of whom rose, later on, to be leaders of the newly formed School.

Pelham Humfrey.

When Pelham Humfrey's voice changed, the king sent him to Paris, in order that his education might be completed under the best masters of the period. He returned to England, in the autumn of 1667, "an absolute Mosieur," as Pepys tells us in his Diary, "full of form and confidence and vanity." But, whether vain or not, his talent was indisputable; and, though then but twenty years old, he was able at once to maintain his position as a leader of English art in its then advancing condition. On the death of Captain Cooke, five years later, the king appointed him "Master of the Children," and nominated him "Composer in ordinary for the Violins to His Majesty," conjointly with Thomas Purcell. Thenceforward his career was a brilliant one; but he did not long enjoy his well-earned honours. He died in 1674, at the age of twenty-seven, leaving behind him a large collection of compositions, both sacred and secular, many of which are still sung in our cathedrals, with an effect in no wise diminished by age, for their sterling worth and characteristic originality enable them to maintain their ground against all later changes of taste or fashion.

Blow, Wise, and others.

John Blow and Michael Wise, if gifted with less brilliant genius than Pelham Humfrey, exercised an influence scarcely less remarkable upon the advancement of art, and achieved a reputation no less lasting than his own. Their successors in the choir—Thomas Tudway, William Turner, Jeremiah Clarke, and William Croft—worthily maintained its excellence. But among these later choristers was one who raised the School to so

SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

(By permission of the Rev. F. W. Galpin, M.A.)

high a level that no other composer then living was able to compete with him.

Purcell.

Henry Purcell, the greatest musical genius that England has ever produced, was born in St. Ann's Lane, Old Pye Street, Westminster, in 1658. His father, Henry Purcell, was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal; his uncle, Thomas, was Pelham Humfrey's coadjutor in the direction of "His Majesty's Violins." Henry Purcell, senior, died in 1664, but Thomas took charge of the orphan, and educated him as his own son. The child was admitted as a chorister by Captain Cooke when he was six years old, and so precocious was his talent that, five years later, he composed an ode for the "Celebration of His Majesty's Birthday." From that time forward compositions followed in rapid succession. Many of the anthems he wrote, even at this early period, still remain in use; and it is not too much to say that no trace of childish weakness can be detected in any one of them. At the age of seventeen Henry Purcell produced a work which has always been reckoned among his finest compositions —his first opera, *Dido and Æneas*—a veritable masterpiece, remarkable not only for its innate beauty, but still more so from the fact that it clearly marks a new point of departure in the development of English dramatic music. The *libretto* was written by Nahum Tate, not in the then popular form of a drama, with incidental music, but in that of a true opera—a *Dramma per la Musica*—sung throughout in continuous rhythmic melody and recitative. No attempt in this direction had been previously made in England. It was the first grand opera ever written in conjunction with an original English poem. Unhappily, English audiences were not yet prepared for works of this admirable character, and later on Purcell found it necessary to curb his genius in accordance with the spirit of the age, and to adapt his music to dramas in which the dialogue was spoken. But the music he wrote even in this less exalted style was in itself most beautiful; and at the present day we are still charmed with his matchless melodies written for the theatre, no less completely than we are held in thrall by his sublime compositions for the Church. Indeed, it is almost impossible to decide in which branch of art he attained the highest degree of excellence, though it is as a composer of cathedral music that he is now best known and most fully appreciated.

Henry Purcell died in 1695, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He must rank as the greatest composer of English birth who has ever lived; for his still greater successor Handel, though a naturalised Englishman, was born in Saxony.

THE HON. ROBERT BOYLE, BY FRIEDRICH KERSEBOOM.

(By permission of the Royal Society.)

THOMAS WHITTAKER. Science: Boyle.

One of the chief initiators of the new direction of scientific activity to systematic and minute experimental research was Robert Boyle (1627–1691). His share in the formation of the Royal Society, which at the beginning of this period received its charter, has been already referred to. Boyle's first appearance as an author was in 1660, in which year he published at Oxford a

volume entitled: "New Experiments Physico-Mechanical touching the Spring of Air and its Effects." A devotional work, entitled "Seraphic Love," appeared in the same year. Boyle's experiments established the law of relation between volume and pressure of gases known in England as "Boyle's law." He had the priority over Mariotte, by whose name the law is known on

Photo: University Press, Oxford.

ELIAS ASHMOLE.

(*Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*)

the Continent. His scientific importance is, however, considered to be rather in persistent devotion to the experimental method—a devotion inspired by Bacon—than in epoch-making discoveries. His investigations in chemistry were of great importance in destroying pseudo-scientific views, and in laying a basis of ascertained facts; but the time of the foundation of chemistry as a science was later.

Robert Hooke (1635–1703), who was associated with Boyle in the construction of his air-pump, was a man of great abundance of scientific ideas and of great inventive power, but somewhat wanting in power of persistent thought. In 1662 he was appointed curator of experiments to the Royal Society, an office which he filled during the rest of his life. His investigation of vibrating strings is especially noteworthy. He made many optical discoveries, and adopted a form of the undulatory theory of light. He approached, though he did not actually attain, the Newtonian doctrine of universal gravitation. From

Hooke.

REMAINS OF THE DODO, FROM TRADESCANT'S COLLECTION.

(*The University Museum, Oxford.*)

him came the suggestion of using the pendulum as a measure of gravity.

To this period belongs the foundation of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The gift was made by Elias Ashmole, in 1677, of the collection of "rarities" he had inherited from his friend John Tradescant, keeper of the Botanic Garden at Chelsea, and son of John Tradescant, a Dutchman with an interest in natural history. The elder Tradescant had come to England about 1600, and had begun to make the collection continued by his son. To this collection Ashmole made additions, archæological and other, of his own. The whole—filling, it is said, twelve waggons—was removed to Oxford in 1682, when the building that had been provided for it was completed. The

The Tradescants and Ashmole.

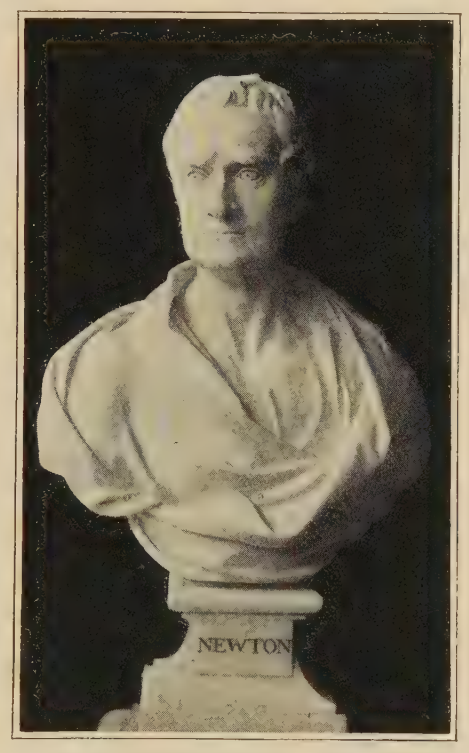
Ashmolean Museum, though at first important especially in relation to natural history, has since become exclusively an archæological museum.

Newton. What makes the period of pre-eminent scientific importance is the publication of Newton's "Principia." Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727) was born at Woolsthorpe, in Lincolnshire. From an early age he displayed an equal interest in mathematics and in physical experiments. In 1667 he became Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; in 1669 Lucasian Professor of Mathematics. In 1672 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society on the proposal of Ward. He more than once sat in Parliament as a representative of the University. In 1705 he was a candidate, but was opposed by the non-residents as being a Whig in politics, and was thrown out. In the same year he was knighted by Queen Anne. He had been appointed to a wardenship of the Mint in 1694, to the mastership in 1697. In 1703 he was elected to succeed Lord Somers as President of the Royal Society, and was annually re-elected during the remainder of his life.

Newton's earliest published discoveries were in optics. In 1672, shortly after his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society, he read a paper on the composition of white light. The light of the sun, he had found, when passed through a prism of refracting substance, becomes broken up into rays of various colours. This is due to their differences of refrangibility. To each degree of refrangibility a particular colour is inseparably joined. In the course of his optical researches Newton also gave a theory of the colours of thin and thick plates and of the inflection of light, and investigated double refraction, polarisation, and binocular vision. The emission theory, which he put forth as a general explanation of optical phenomena, has, however, now been displaced by the undulatory theory.

It is supposed that it was at Woolsthorpe, in 1666, that the theory of universal gravitation flashed upon Newton's mind. The story is that, on seeing an apple fall from a tree, the thought occurred to him that the attraction of the earth, by which the apple was pulled down, may extend as far as the moon. The reason, accordingly, why the moon does not take a direction tangential to its orbit, but perpetually deviates from this, is that the moon, like the apple, is pulled by the earth. Its fall,

compounded with the movement tangential to its orbit, gives its actual path. Voltaire, who had it from Newton's niece, is the authority for this story. Whether the suggestion occurred exactly as related or in some other way, what is essential in Newton's great conception is very well given by it. The moon's motion having been thus conceived, terrestrial gravity now presented itself as, perhaps, simply one case of a cosmical force having everywhere the same formula. The law according to which bodies are attracted to the earth could be conceived as possibly a universal law of all particles of matter. The question was, could a formula be given that would explain at once the descent of terrestrial bodies to the earth, the motions of the moon in its orbit, and the motions of the planets round the sun?



NEWTON. BY ROUBILLAC.
(*Trinity College, Cambridge.*)

Galileo had founded scientific dynamics; and Kepler, by his laws of the planetary motions, had prepared the way for a complete mechanical explanation such as Newton now conceived. From Kepler's laws Newton calculated the general formula known as the law of inverse square. This, in its complete extension, is that every particle of matter attracts every other with a force directly proportional to the product of the masses and inversely to the square of the distance. The problem now was to apply this law, first to the moon and the earth, and then to

Newton's Law.

the planetary motions, taking the known force of gravity at the earth's surface as the basis of the calculation. Is the deviation of the moon from the tangent of its orbit such as it ought to be if terrestrial gravity, and that alone, is the cause of the deviation? In other words, the velocity of a falling body at the earth's surface being ascertained, is the velocity of the moon's "fall" such as is required by the law of inverse square? At the first attempt Newton found, by calculation from the amount of terrestrial gravity, that the moon ought to be deflected from the tangent fifteen feet in a minute. Actually, it is only deflected thirteen feet. He put aside his calculations for a time, but kept the subject in mind. At length Picard's new estimate of the measure of the earth, communicated to the Royal Society in 1672, having removed the discrepancy, he took up the problem again. In 1684 the question of gravity was discussed between Sir C. Wren, Hooke, and Halley. Newton alone was able to furnish a demonstration that the orbit of a planet (according to Kepler's first law) will be an ellipse on the assumption of the law of inverse square. So far as this part of the theory was concerned, however, all who took part in the discussion had the expectation that the law of inverse square would turn out to be the true formula. Hooke even claimed that he could demonstrate it. Newton now set to work on the "Principia," which was in great part composed during the years 1685–6. It was to have been printed at the expense of the Royal Society, but Halley finally took the risk of publication and saw it through the press. The whole work, entitled "Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica," was published about Midsummer, 1687. In the "Principia" the theory of universal gravitation was laid down and mathematically worked out. All the empirical laws relating to the moon and planets that had already been ascertained were now demonstrated as particular cases of a perfectly general law.

The "Principia."

By the English astronomers of the early part of the century there had been some preparation for Newton's great work. Jeremiah Horrocks, for example, who was the first to observe a transit of Venus (1639), had the idea that terrestrial gravity is itself a cosmical force, but combined this notion with erroneous views about the causation of celestial phenomena derived from Kepler. Some of his papers were published posthumously in

1662, the remainder, with extracts from his correspondence, by Wallis in 1672. He, as well as Tycho Brahe, contributed to the account of the moon's motions, and so furnished material for Newton's lunar theory.

Newton's doctrine of gravitation, in spite of the completeness and consistency of its explanation of cosmical motions, at first found objectors even among those who had adopted the "mechanical philosophy." Leibnitz, who held that mechanical

NEWTON'S SCHOOLROOM, THE KING'S SCHOOL, GRANTHAM.

explanations ought to be carried through consistently in physics, contended that Newton's theory brought back old ideas of "occult causes." It did not derive all motion from pressures and impacts, but supposed "action at a distance." The Newtonian doctrine, however, as it was found to explain all the facts, in time expelled theories like that of Descartes, which, though more in agreement with the original form of the modern "mechanical philosophy," broke down in detail. The attempt to get beneath the law of gravitation by explaining it as a result of pressures of a medium or impacts of particles has often been made, even in

our own days, but never yet with success. Newton's law still remains the deepest scientific principle attained in the explanation of cosmical motion.

Fluxions.

The great discovery to which Newton's name is attached in pure mathematics—the infinitesimal calculus, or "fluxions," as it was at first called—is known to have suggested itself as early as 1665. There are papers in his handwriting dated that and the following year, in which the method is described. The germ of the method may be found in ancient geometry; and several modern mathematicians had been working towards it. An important step, as has been mentioned (p. 396), had been taken by Wallis. What was needed was a notation that could make perfectly general the method involved in separate sets of operations applicable to particular kinds of problems. This was discovered by Newton and by Leibnitz. Upon the question whether Leibnitz made his discovery independently of Newton, an acrimonious controversy went on for many years. Leibnitz's method was published in 1684, Newton's not till 1687. On the other hand, Newton's claim to priority in discovery is, and always was, uncontested. It is now generally recognised that Leibnitz made the discovery independently, though later. His notation is admittedly superior, and has since been universally adopted. The introduction of this notation alone, it is allowed by modern mathematicians, would give him rank as an independent discoverer.

Newton's Works on Prophecy.

Newton's works on "The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms," and on "The Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John," may be mentioned here, though they did not see the light till after his death. It is interesting to note that, among earlier mathematicians, Harriot had occupied himself with Old Testament criticism, and was supposed to hold heterodox views, and that the earliest work of Napier was on the Apocalypse.

THOMAS WHITTAKER. Philosophy.

THE imposing system of Hobbes was as powerful in stirring up reaction as it was in its positive influence. In England, indeed, this effect was for two generations predominant. Among the representatives of the reaction are to be numbered the philosophers known as the "Cambridge Platonists." The most

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

distinguished names in this school are Henry More (1614–1687) and Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688).

The Cambridge Platonists.

The doctrine of both these thinkers is a kind of Christian Platonism, not without original elements, especially in ethics. More's philosophy has a greater admixture of mysticism. Between God and matter he places a series of spiritual forms, by which all bodies, even those which are thought to be merely physical, are penetrated. The higher among these are souls. The "world spirit," which fills all things, is not God, but an instrument of God. Between the "reason" and "impulse" of man there is an intermediate power called the "boniform faculty." Thus the Platonising system of inserting mediating powers between the lower and the higher is carried out in ethics as in metaphysics.

RALPH CUDWORTH.
(*Christ's College, Cambridge.*)

Cudworth.

Cudworth's chief work—"The True Intellectual System of the Universe, wherein all the Reason and Philosophy of Atheism is confuted, and its Impossibility demonstrated" (1678)—was meant to be only the first of three parts. To the same projected work belongs the "Treatise Concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality," published by Bishop Chandler in 1731. Cudworth's metaphysic, like More's, is essentially Platonising. He contends for final causes in physics, and for an explanation of organisms, not by pure mechanism, but by a "plastic nature." Moral principles, in his view, have a validity and a self-evidence equal to that of mathematical axioms. They are innate rational principles, and are not derived from sense, but from the Divinity.

Cumberland.

Richard Cumberland (1632–1718), who became Bishop of Peterborough in 1691, opposed Hobbes's account of human nature on psychological grounds, contending that man has primitive social and benevolent impulses over and above the selfish impulses that Hobbes seemed alone to recognise. In his work "De Legibus Naturae Disquisitio Philosophica" (1672) the principle of universal benevolence is made the supreme principle of morals. Unlike More and Cudworth, he has in common with Hobbes the experiential as opposed to the *à priori* point of view. His opposition, therefore, is not to Hobbes's method and general conceptions, but to that which seemed to him a distorted view of the facts. His ethical result has, indeed, been described as "Hobbism made altruistic."

Glanvill.

Joseph Glanvill (1636–1680) is also to be numbered among the opponents of Hobbes. In his "Vanity of Dogmatising" (1661) and "Scepsis Scientifica" (1665) he attacks philosophical dogmatism, especially the Aristotelian and Cartesian forms of it. He argues, in particular, against the certainty of causal relations. Sequence, he points out, does not prove necessary connection. Like others before and since, he used philosophical scepticism in the interests of religious belief. With his scepticism he managed to combine a belief in the reality of sorcery. This did not prevent him from feeling interest in the advances of natural science, shown by championship of the Royal Society against its opposers.

The influence of Descartes now begins to appear in English thought, though no distinct Cartesian school is formed. Among the first to come under the influence were the Cambridge Platonists, to whom the purely metaphysical side of Descartes' thought appealed. At Cambridge, Cartesian text-books of physics were used till after the publication of Newton's "Principia." Locke, though in his "Essay" he opposed what he took to be Descartes' doctrine of "innate ideas," got his critical impulse from him, and communicated it to later English thinkers.

W. H. HUTTON. The Universities.

THE period of the Interregnum saw many changes in Oxford. The University was for a long time under the rule of a Parliamentary Commission, and only those Heads and Fellows retained their offices who would accept the existing *régime* and

TITLE-PAGE TO "SADUCISMUS TRIUMPHATUS," BY JOSEPH GLANVILL, 1681.

The Interregnum.

swear to the Solemn League and Covenant. The first Board of Visitors, appointed on May 1st, 1647, was a Presbyterian body. Its most important member was Dr. Reynolds, Dean of Christ Church and Vice-Chancellor, and it set about the reform of the University after the Presbyterian model. Gradually, as the Independents came to the front in the State, so they came to rule in the University. On June 15th, 1652, a new body of Visitors was appointed by Cromwell and the Parliament. Dr. John Owen, who had replaced Reynolds at Christ Church on his refusal to take the Engagement, was head of the new Board. With him were Dr. Goodwin, President of Magdalen, and Dr. Conant, Rector of Exeter. In 1650 Oliver Cromwell was elected Chancellor, and he ruled the University through his friend Dr. Owen with a firm hand. A third set of Visitors was appointed in January, 1653–4, which continued in power till after the death of the Protector. The intervening years were troublous. At first the officials of the University had to be turned out, and the process was not rendered more gracious through the part played in it by the bitter and violent lawyer William Prynne. Mrs. Fell had to be carried out of the Deanery at Christ Church by force, and set down in the great quadrangle to consider her position. With men the methods were more drastic but less amusing. All who would not submit were ejected. The Directory replaced the book of Common Prayer in the cathedral and the college chapels. A few loyal laymen, such as Dolben, Allestree, and John Fell, kept up the Church services; and some Churchmen, such as the famous Orientalist, Edmund Pococke, Laud's lecturer in Arabic, retained some part at least of their honours in the University. But these were exceptions. Soldiers were employed to remove delinquents five miles from the city. Cromwell and Fairfax overawed the University. The former declared that he intended to encourage learning, and the latter did something to preserve and augment the treasures of the Bodleian Library. But the greater part of these years were spent in attempts to control the Heads and Fellows, to procure constant teaching, to reform and rule the University after very stringent and doctrinaire methods. After nine years of visitation, the University at last ventured to suggest that enough time had elapsed to "purge and correct all humours and malignities," to point out that nearly five hundred

FELL, DOLBEN, AND ALLESTREE.

(By permission of the Dean and Governing body, Christ Church, Oxford.)

Fellows had been ejected since the end of the war, and to beg for a return to something of the old system. The *genius loci*, in fact, insensibly affected those who had been "intruded." Even new Oxford was soon weary of the petty changes which pedants tried to further; and the University, even before the return of its loyal sons, worked for and welcomed the Restoration as heartily as any other body in England. Clarendon himself admits that Oxford, even in its darkest years,

The Restoration.

> "yielded a harvest of extraordinary good and sound knowledge in all parts of learning; and many who were wickedly introduced applied themselves to the study of good learning and the practice of virtue, and had inclination to that duty and obedience they had been taught; so that when it pleased God to bring King Charles the Second back to his throne, he found that University abounding in excellent learning, and devoted to duty and obedience little inferior to what it was before its desolation."

Antony Wood, as is natural in so rigid a loyalist, writes very sharply of the manners and learning of the period. More credit, perhaps, may be given to his description of the social life at Oxford under the Puritans.

> "They would avoid" (he says) "a tavern and alehouse, but yet send for their commodities to their respective chambers, and tiple and smoake till they were overtaken with the creature. And yet of all men, none more than these were ready to censure the boone Royalist or any person that they saw go in or out of a tavern or alehouse. Some, I confess, did venture, but then if overtaken would in their way home counterfeit a lameness, or that some suddaine paine came upon them. They would also entertain each other in their chambers with edibles, and sometimes (but seldome) at a cook's house that had a back way, and be very merry and frollicsome. Nay, such that had come from Cambridge, and had gotten fellowships, would be more free of entertainment than any, and instead of a cup of college beare and a stir'd machet, which use to be the antient way of entertaining in a college at 3 or 4 in the afternoon, they would entertaine with tarts, custards, cheesecaks, or any other junkets that were in season: and that fashion continued among the generalitie till the Restoration."

Among such folk it was no wonder that there was of "preaching and praying too much; and, if not for necessaries, some would carry on those exercises a whole week together."

Clarendon Chancellor.

With a Restoration came a new commission, which restored the ejected Fellows and Heads; and within the year Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, was chosen Chancellor of the University. In this capacity he left, perhaps, the most permanent traces of

his work. He took in hand the restoration of the ancient discipline, and himself was always most keenly interested in the curriculum of the students. He thought that the University should teach the *beau monde* as well as mere scholars; and he sought to revive the Latin and English plays, from which in his youth boys learnt adroitness, familiarity with the classics and an easy and confident carriage. He desired to see, also, an academy of riding and fencing and dancing, such as young men in France resorted to. He was himself a *virtuoso*, a connoisseur of pictures, and "a great lover of books," and from none of his honours did he depart more sadly than from his Chancellorship, when he yielded his office in December, 1667, in a pathetic letter to the Vice-Chancellor.

The Reaction.

Oxford under Charles II. and James II. was scrupulously loyal and orthodox. The "restored"

"took care" (says Wood) "to put themselves in the most prelatical garb that could be . . . to restore all signs of monarchy in the University, the Common Prayer, surplice, and certain costumes . . . . to reduce the University to the old way of preaching and praying; to make the interval-way—which was long, tedious, and too practical (not without puling, whining, and ugly faces)—neglected and ridiculous, and especially to be avoided by those young preachers initiated in the Presbyterian and Independent discipline, which they saw inclining much (for hopes of preferment) to the prelatical."

The organs were brought back to the college chapels, and the Church preachers soon began to drive out Presbyterian doctrine. Even dress showed the change, for some would "strip them of their puritanical cut and forthwith put on a cassock reaching down to their heels, tied close with a sanctified surcingle." Anti-monarchical books, such as those of Milton and Goodwin, were taken from the libraries and burnt. When Juxon died he was buried with great pomp in the chapel of St. John's College, after a public lying in state in the Divinity School, and shortly afterward's Laud's body was removed from London to rest, as he willed it, in his own college.

On the whole, the new appointments were good. Clarendon kept Charles from any outrageous breach of decorum. But the Royal nomination which practically forced Sir Thomas Clayton upon the Fellows of Merton and their Visitor led to a stormy period in the history of that college, and to constant appeals to

Sheldon as Chancellor.

the archbishops. Sheldon succeeded Juxon as archbishop, and like him, was an Oxford man. His influence was much felt in the University. He gave, in 1664, £1,000 towards the building of the new University theatre, which still preserves his name; and he succeeded Clarendon as Chancellor in 1667. Year by year Oxford under his rule became more loyal. The day of King Charles's death was observed as a Church holyday. Charles II.

THE SHELDONIAN THEATRE, OXFORD.

several times visited Oxford, and in 1681 Parliament met there during a time of great national disturbance (p. 481). The House of Lords sat in the Geometry School, and the Commons sat in the Convocation House, but only for seven days; for on March 28th Charles, about seven in the morning, sent for his robes and crown privately—"the former they say in a sedan, the other under a cloak"—and straightway dissolved the Parliament. In July, 1683, the University marked its sympathy with the strong Royalist reaction through which the country was passing by publicly condemning to the flames copies of Buchanan,

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

Hobbes, and other "rebellious and seditious authors"; and in the next year John Locke was expelled from Christ Church.

The Catholic Reaction.

The accession of James II. was loyally welcomed, and the University itself raised a troop of horse and several companies of foot to meet Monmouth's rebellion. Hardly was the rising suppressed before an organised movement to Romanise the University was seen to be proceeding from the Court. Obadiah Walker, Master of University College, in August, 1686, had mass said publicly in the college; and he became a byword to all Oxford, "Obadiah Ave-Maria." Dr. Samuel Parker, who was now known to be very pliant in the king's hands, was made Bishop of Oxford. The king required the University to elect a Romanist as moral philosophy reader; and he soon publicly lectured against the Reformation. Massey, Dean of Christ Church, opened a Roman Catholic chapel within the walls of the House. Finally, the king strove to force a Romanist on the Fellows of Magdalen as President. The stout resistance that they made—the expulsion of the Fellows, the admission of the Roman Catholics, the short tenure of the presidency by Parker, and the eventual restoration of the lawful President and Fellows—belong to the history of the nation. But we can trace, in the excited letters of the time and in the caustic comments of Antony Wood, the extraordinary turmoil into which the University was cast. Feeling in Oxford was intensely loyal and yet strongly Anglican.

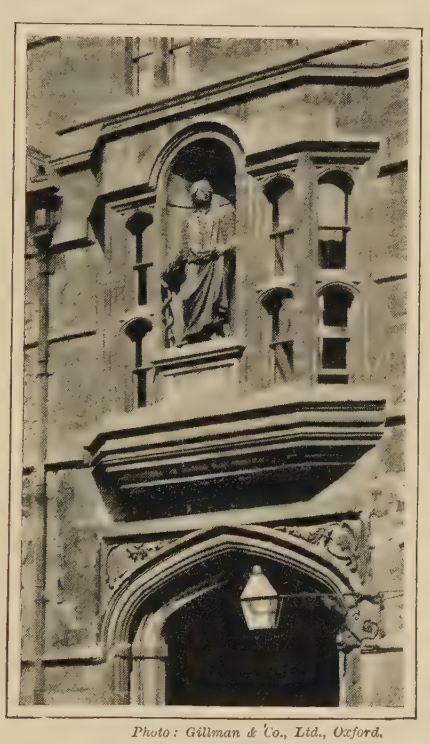


Photo: Gillman & Co., Ltd., Oxford.
STATUE OF JAMES II.
(Given by Obadiah Walker to University College, Oxford.)

Riots constantly broke out in opposition to the aggressive demonstrations of the Romanists, and Bishop Parker found that his clergy, to a man, refused to join him in thanking the king for his Declaration of Indulgence. Oxford was loyal, but it was foremost in resistance to the illegal acts of King James, and it was the Oxford resistance which most strikingly witnessed to the need which England felt for "William the Deliverer."

Oxford Life.

Through all these years University life went on much as it had gone on before the Civil Wars. There are the same complaints of laxity among authorities and students, the same occasional attempts at reformation. Among the seniors a school of practised antiquaries was springing up. Loggan was producing from the University press his magnificent series of views of the Oxford of his day. Antony Wood, the prince of scurrilous yet learned diarists, was writing his famous Histories of the University, and collecting every scrap of archæological lore or of scandal against his contemporaries that was floating about. Undergraduates lived, it would seem, much as they would. Stephen Penton, for instance, who was in residence from 1659 to 1670, speaks as if the progress of the student depended on himself rather than his tutor. "A lecture now and then was a great condescension . . . . but God's grace, the good example of my parents, and a natural love of virtue, secured me so far as to leave Oxford (the troubles coming on) though not made more learned, yet not much worse than I came thither." Yet he confesses that matters were much improved later, and, though he gives much prominence to the sports and amusements of the place, he admits that at a later visit, probably in 1681, he saw no disorder, and that the tutors were very courteous in their entertainment of visitors. Curious side-lights, too, are thrown upon Oxford manners by the account-book of an undergraduate, 1682–86, James Wilding, who was first at St. Mary Hall and then at Merton. He paid 7s. 6d. at matriculation, and immediately afterwards 11s. 6d. for "fresh fees and drink." He gave wine parties, and had to pay for mending his clothes afterwards. But this was not his only recreation. He paid 2d. to see ye Rhinoceros, and the same sum to see ye Turk. He made an expedition to Abingdon which cost 4s., and another to Cambridge for 12s. 6d. He bought a lobster for 2d., and

Undergraduate Life.

for once paid 4d. for a boat on the river. He lost 4d. at cards, and spent 2s. 6d. at ye Musick night. He took a friendly interest in science, for he paid 1s. 3d. to see ye Laboratory, but he also enjoyed an hour at the coffee-house, and gave 3d. to ye Maid at ye Kill Bull. He did his best always to keep well with those in authority; he frequently gave the porter 6d.; and he was not slow in acknowledging the services of the cook and the kitchen-women. Two payments occurred at the end of each term with undeviating regularity—2s. 6d. to his barber and 10s. to his tutor. Among these curious illustrations of the social life of the period, it is interesting to observe that Mr. Wilding's library contained over one hundred volumes—a number which would not be despised nowadays—and all books, moreover, which would imply honest and serious study.

Cambridge.

Much that has been said of Oxford would apply also to Cambridge. The Restoration ran the same course, and the social life of each University was similar. But Cambridge was at first less warm in its welcome to the restored Church. The Puritan College of Emmanuel still refused the surplice, and used the Directory on alternate weeks with the Book of Common Prayer. But Cambridge soon won fame which caused its Puritanism to be forgotten. The era of the Restoration was the age of the Cambridge Platonists (p. 561). Cambridge philosophy taught England, and Henry More, it was said, "ruled all the booksellers in London." Cambridge was no less famous in the natural sciences, and the Royal Society, founded in Oxford, had some of its most distinguished members from the sister University.

Royal influence was felt as strongly at Cambridge as at Oxford, and the University actually sank so low as to elect the Duke of Monmouth its Chancellor. James II. did not confine his schemes to Oxford, and Cambridge presented as bold a front against his intrusions. Sancroft, who had been Master of Emmanuel, was still keenly interested in his old home. A degree was refused to a Benedictine, and the University had to answer for its boldness before Jeffreys. But this was not till the reign was near its close, and the Revolution soon brought back quiet to the authorities of Cambridge.

W. H. HUTTON. The Caroline Divines.

THE period 1661–1688 is in some ways the most important part of the era of the great writers and administrators who are known as the Caroline divines. It is true that in many respects the work of Andrewes, of Laud, of Cosin, of Hammond, was far more lasting and important than that of their successors; but the age of the Restoration gave opportunity for fuller expression to the principles and theories which are to be found in the earlier writers, and the doctors of the English Church under Charles II. and James II. had in some respects a wider view than their predecessors, and, at the same time, unquestionably a more immediate and striking effect on their own generation.

Hammond, when, by his "Practical Catechism" and his "Paræenesis," he had served his generation and the next, fell on sleep before the Church was restored. Sanderson, great as a casuist and preacher, lived to direct a great diocese. Jeremy Taylor, of whom we have already spoken, taught the piety and the worship of the next age. Others now arose to carry on the work which they and their forerunners had begun. Chief among them were Edward Stillingfleet, Isaac Barrow, and George Bull. Besides the work of these great men, the activity of Churchmen was shown in philosophy, in the writings of Cumberland, Cudworth, Locke, and the Cambridge Platonists, and in the growth of a school of "Latitude-men," who were later to exercise great influence on the religious history of England.

Under James II. theology was less active. Practical needs of defence occupied the energies of the Church. At the same time the clergy were not absolutely unanimous, and Dr. Samuel Parker, Bishop of Oxford, may be fitly taken as the ablest representative of those whose desire for toleration took the form of an acquiescence in the measures of the Romanist king.

The Latitudinarians.

The "Latitude-men" gave expression to the strivings after comprehension, in which Baxter joined with Churchmen like Dr. Wilkins, Bishop of Chester. The attempt was checked for the time by the decision of the House of Commons to receive no Bill having comprehension for its object, and the Latitudinarians turned to literature. The books of Simon Patrick ("The Friendly Debate"), Edward Stillingfleet ("Irenicum," and "The Unreasonableness of Separation"), and Samuel Parker ("A

COURT OF CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

Discourse of Ecclesiastical Polity") all had important bearing on the questions which were gradually coming forward for solution. Of these the "Irenicum" is the most Latitudinarian, and the "Ecclesiastical Polity" the most sharp against Dissenters. Stillingfleet regards the form of Church government as immaterial, and as left unsettled by the Apostles; Parker is concerned rather to show the obligation flowing from the recognition of the supreme power of the State; but both leave Nonconformity practically indefensible. In both cases, and, indeed, in a great part of the theological writing of the time, it is interesting to trace the wide influence of Hobbes. His statements may be criticised, his arguments ridiculed or confuted by the religious writers, but many of his conclusions have insensibly woven themselves into the very texture of the mind of the Caroline age.

South. Robert South stands hardly in the first rank, but he has never been surpassed, and not often imitated, in his own style as a preacher. He was a stout defender of orthodoxy, and a very hard hitter of his opponents. Men admired him, as they have admired some modern preachers, for the sharp things he said; but they admired him more for his irrepressible and inimitable humour. A sermon of South's is a perpetual succession of jocularities; and the churches in which he preached resounded with the laughter of the congregations. But his ridicule was always directed against pretence, or falseness, or self-assertion, or pride—never against anything high or noble. He was an earnest, self-denying ecclesiastic, and entirely without aims for his own advancement. He remained content with preferment which was considered slight in comparison to his genius, and died a poor man, having spent his income on good works.

Stillingfleet. Edward Stillingfleet was hardly less famous as a preacher. The scandalous Pepys heard him with respect, and says that "the bishops of Canterbury, London, and another believe he is the ablest young man to preach the Gospel since the Apostles"; and Burnet considered him the most learned man of his age. Two of his chief works were written before, or just after, the Restoration—the "Irenicum" and the "Origines Sacrae"; but he continued writing and preaching till his death, some years after the Revolution. His learning and acuteness

amazed his contemporaries. He appeared as the antagonist of Locke and the defender of Laud, as a philosopher, theologian, and preacher, and in all with distinguished success. His "Origines Sacrae," an assertion of the Divine authority of the Scriptures, and his "Origines Britannicae," are still referred to; and it must be admitted that he had no inconsiderable knowledge of antiquity, both literary and historical. But his work was not of a nature permanently to affect posterity. He served his age, and served it well.

ISAAC BARROW.
(*Trinity College, Cambridge.*)

Beveridge and Scott were writers famous in their day, and both received the enthusiastic praise of Addison. But Isaac Barrow was a man of much higher stamp. The extraordinary width of his knowledge and scope of his interests, no less than the solid power of his work, give him a claim to be ranked among the greatest of English writers. Barrow, says a critic who will hardly be accused of exaggeration, displays in his sermons "a strength of mind, a comprehensiveness and fertility which have rarely been equalled." [1] The great Earl of Chatham made his great son study the same works with deep attention, and it was from them probably that he learnt the method of close and exhaustive reasoning to which so much of his success as a speaker was due. Isaac Barrow was more of a cosmopolitan than any theologian of his day. He had lived

Barrow.

[1] Hallam, "Literature of Europe," iii., 295.

in Italy, at Smyrna, at Constantinople. He was a keen student of contemporary life. "He understood Popery," said Abraham Hill, "both at home and abroad; he had narrowly observed it militant in England, triumphant in Italy, disguised in France." He was a Greek scholar of the first rank: he was hardly less famous as a mathematician. When Charles II. made him Master of Trinity, he said "he had given the post to the best scholar in England." But, great as he was in learning of every kind, he was greatest as a preacher. The extraordinary length of his discourses, at which even his own generation protested, gives them the character of treatises rather than sermons, and it is clear that he was nothing if not complete in his treatment of the subjects he took up. But they cannot be considered dull. The style is strong, nervous, and impressive, and there is a force and directness about the argument which compels attention and sustains interest to the end. It is impossible to read his works without the feeling of being in the presence of a commanding personality. If Cambridge did not undergo struggles as severe as those of Oxford during this period, she served the nation as nobly by the great men whom she trained, and among these no one stands higher than Isaac Barrow.

Bull. George Bull was another of whom the English Church was justly proud. Long recognised as one of the most learned writers of his day, it was not till his seventy-first year that his merits were rewarded by his appointment to the bishopric of St. David's. A thorough student and a devoted parish priest, he was at the same time one of the humblest of men, and the honours which to others seemed tardy were in his eyes unexpected and excessive. He received the rare honour of a formal letter of thanks from the great Bossuet and the French bishops for his defence of the Catholic creeds. His most famous works are his "Defensio Fidei Nicenæ," his "Harmonia Apostolica," and his sermons, particularly that treating of the Fall. As an historical and theological vindication of the work of the Nicene Council as the necessary and inevitable consequence of the teaching of the Bible and the Church, Bull's defence has never been superseded. It was recognised at once as a great book, and the judgment of England was confirmed by that of foreign nations and posterity. The "Harmonia Apostolica," an explanation of the doctrine of justification, and of the agreement

between St. Paul and St. James in their treatment of faith and works, has been considered to have as great practical value. Scarcely less attention has been bestowed on his discussion of the Fall. It was the fashion to think lightly of his sermons, because they wanted the florid eloquence in which the age delighted; but his friend Robert Nelson defended him very happily by saying that

"he had a way of gaining people's hearts and touching their consciences, which bore some resemblance to the apostolical age; and when it shall appear that those bright preachers, who have been ready to throw contempt upon his lordship's performances, can set forth as large a list of persons whom they have converted by their preaching as I could produce of those who owed the change of their lives, under God, to the Christian instruction of their pious prelate, I shall readily own that they are superior to his lordship in the pulpit, though, considering what learned works he published in the cause of religion, and what an eminent pattern he was of true primitive piety, I am not inclined to think that his lordship will, upon the whole of his character, be easily equalled by anyone."

GEORGE BULL, BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.
(Exeter College, Oxford.)

But influential as were Bull's personal exertions, no sermons exercised influence so wide as that of the anonymous book, "The Whole Duty of Man, laid down in a plain and familiar way for the use of all, but especially of the meanest reader." It sprang at once on its publication into an extraordinary popularity. It was read by every class, and recommended by every school, and for a century it remained by far the most popular religious work in English. It appears impossible to identify the writer, or to ascribe any other works with certainty

to the same hand (p. 497). It is a sober, practical, thoughtful treatise on practical religion, a marked contrast in tone to the general character of the Restoration period. It had no charm of style; its matter was quiet, devout, and orderly. Its popularity, no doubt, was due to its plainness, and to the sobriety of its Church tone.

With the reign of James II. we pass through a period of transition in the history of the English Church. Of this the one bishop who supported the king may serve as a fit representative.

Parker.

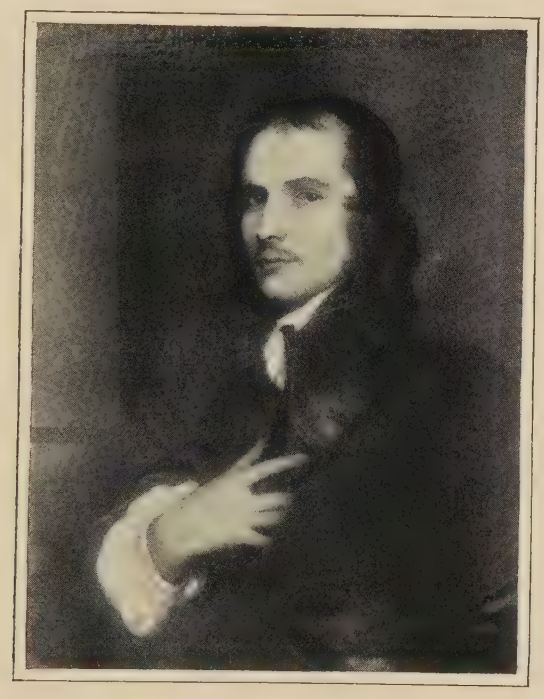
Samuel Parker was a man rather of ability than of pious character. His contemporaries, disliking his arguments and disgusted with his preferment, were ready to accuse him of the meanest time-serving, and of a complete indifference to the real interests of religion. But it is impossible to deny the clear powerfulness of his mind or the trenchant vigour of his style. Few of the attacks on the Nonconformists, in which this age was prolific, show more bitter and, it must be admitted, effective, satire than the "Discourse of Ecclesiastical Polity." Parker was a philosopher as well as a controversialist, and the criticisms of Plato and Aristotle which his "Tentamina" and "Disputationes de Deo," as well as his "Free and Impartial Censure of the Platonick Philosophie," contain are by no means void of merit. In the region of ecclesiastical history, again, he was no mean proficient. But most of all is he commended to modern thinkers by his little tract containing reasons for the abolition of the Test Act. With a lucidity and clearness and an absence of either cant or terror which is rare among the writers of his time, he points out the absurdity of requiring from members of the legislature a sworn declaration as to a difficult point of controversial theology. Parker's head, it may be, was sounder than his heart, but it is impossible to withhold our admiration from the sanity and foresight of much of his writing. He had certainly, on some points, a wisdom which both High Churchmen and Latitudinarians lacked.

With Parker's death and the changes brought about by the Revolution, the attention of ecclesiastical writers was turned to other subjects, and in the laxity of William III.'s reign, and the political enthusiasm for Church principles which

marked that of Anne, we see little of the dignity or the power which made the Caroline theologians famous in English literature.

GEORGE SAINTSBURY. Literature.

THE exception or limitation which has been noticed in the preceding chapter—the necessity of leaving out purely theological and philosophical contributions to English literature



ANDREW MARVELL.
(*By permission of Fairfax Rhodes, Esq.*)

The Current Tendencies.

during the period—applies with almost increasing force in the present section. For the bent of the English mind during this time drove very strongly in these two directions, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to circumscribe it so as to separate its production in these respects from its production in others. The great names of English literature between the outbreak of the Civil War and the Revolution are intimately connected with these extra-literary subjects. Marvell is a Puritan—an

odd and exceptional kind of Puritan—who has betaken himself to politics: Butler is an adversary of the Puritan who has bided his time, and who delivers himself of his long-accumulated observations and satire. Milton, had he not written in this time, would have been little more than a curiosity for scholars, though scholars would never have made any mistake about him. But the whole of his work now was of the nature of a survival. So also was Sir Thomas Browne's and that part of Walton's which dates from it. On the other hand, the great name of Dryden, which dominates not merely the whole of this section, but at least half of the next, carries with it more than a flavour of philosophy and theology. The purely secular and non-philosophical kinds—fiction, drama, and others—did not take their new forms till comparatively late, and even the drama did not settle itself into something characteristic till Charles II. was dead and his brother was nearly or quite expelled.

Nevertheless, there will still be much to say even if we leave out Hobbes and South and Tillotson—even if we content ourselves with what was said in the last section of the last chapter about Temple and Evelyn and Pepys. Of the "oldsters" we need not say very much more. The production of Sir Thomas Browne, other than posthumous, was finished: Marvell exchanged his exquisite lyrics for a kind of political satire, which those who think that anything written against "tyranny" is good may approve, but which criticism reduced to non-political terms must admit to have been both coarse and dull. Cowley, short-lived as he was, had outgrown his own age, and was to undergo from a characteristic figure of the next, Rochester, the sentence (which may have been, as Dryden discreetly says, "profane," but which has a good deal of truth in it) that "he was not of God, and so he could not stand." Herrick and Vaughan were recluses, of whom nothing is heard and little known. Hobbes is forbidden us, and had written his best. Only Milton remains, and certainly the residue is no mean one.

Milton. If it were possible—which it pretty certainly is not—to reduce the operation of the poetical spirit to strict calculation, the work of Milton during this time would be something so incalculable that any purely scientific calculus would rule it out altogether, and declare that it never existed. It may please

some to think that the procedure of the Shakespeare-Bacon people would be much better in place with the author of "Paradise Lost." What more improbable than that a man of over fifty, who for twenty years had been mainly, if not solely, occupied in theological and political controversy, who had been a paid civil servant, who had taken the side opposed to culture, to romance, to the muses, should write such things as "Paradise Lost" most of all, as "Paradise Regained" hardly less,

BUST OF JOHN MILTON.
(*Christ's College, Cambridge.*)

as "Samson Agonistes" even more than "Paradise Regained"? How much more probable that somebody else—Coventry, the youthful Halifax, Sir Edward Seymour, or (which opens great possibilities) Sir Christopher Milton, the judge and the poet's brother — wrote them? Why not attribute them to his daughters, who are traditionally supposed to have written at his dictation, and who may have executed a noble vengeance on their tyrannical father by substituting for something of his as dry as the too famous treatise which served as text, and nothing more, to Macaulay's Essay, these wonderful and immortal poems?

This, however, is a history, and concerned with facts. Until a Milton Society shall have been formed to teach us better, it will be necessary to assume that John Milton, between the Restoration and his death, wrote, or at any rate published, the three poems already referred to, the first of which has, in the opinion of the majority of judges, whether they be right or wrong, won for Milton the second place in the English literary hierarchy. It is equally unnecessary here to do more than to speak in generalities about "Paradise Lost," the peculiarities of which are so very much those of the other two pieces that we need say nothing special about them. And about this great poem—for that it is a great poem there can be no dispute among the competent—there are certain things which may be separated from the ocean of competing and, in part, conflicting criticism about it as judgments of the "common sense," in the right meaning of that woefully degraded phrase; that is to say, of the joint opinion of persons whose opinion is worth listening to. In the first place, it is hardly disputable that "Paradise Lost" has the vastest and most ambitious scheme of any poem ever conceived. We may for this or that reason put it below the "Iliad" and the "Divina Commedia," but most of us must agree that even the "Divina Commedia," much more the "Iliad," takes a lower place in regard to conception. "The Siege of Troy," taking it at its own poet's valuation, was but a kite-and-crow battle, which has served as the occasion of immortal poetry. The "Commedia," which some may think the greatest *poem* of the three, is in scheme somewhat parochial and personal. But "Paradise Lost"—however much we may read, between the lines, the personalities and even the parochialities without which perhaps poetry cannot exist—escapes on the question of scheme and grasp any such criticism as this. *Ex hypothesi* at any rate, it concerns the whole human race, and more than the whole human race. If we knew nothing of its author, we could only by the most laborious study, combined with the wildest guess-work, fit it to any personality or to any time. It hovers between earth and heaven, touching both.

"Paradise Lost."

To fill such a scheme perfectly was, no doubt, impossible, and many faults have been, not a few may fairly be, found with the execution. There is a vast initial assumption, which

perhaps becomes even vaster when its ramifications are carefully traced and fully understood. The inferiority of Milton to Homer and Dante cannot be better shown than by the notorious fact that no modern has had difficulty in appreciating Homer, though his world of thought is more than half inaccessible to us, and that few English Protestants or Anglicans have any difficulty in understanding Dante, while hardly a single foreigner has really grasped Milton, except M. Scherer, who was partly English by blood, and, so long as he had any religious creed, wholly Protestant. The inferiority of Milton to Shakespeare is similarly shown by the fact that the so-called insularity of our genius has not prevented in Shakespeare's case, as it has prevented in Milton's, this general appreciation. Milton's Position.

Perhaps (there is strong argumentative ground for thinking so) the men who can thus only be understood by their countrymen are in the second, not the first class. But of such men, who stands higher than the author of "Paradise Lost"? If we take him with Racine, the typical Frenchman over whom the French shake their heads and say, "Ah! but you must be French to enjoy him," what third party, what competent and impartial judge, would dream of doing anything but putting Milton highest? In what is, after all, the first requirement of the poet, the capacity of writing his own language poetically, no one is above him in the whole literature of the world but the three just mentioned, while of those whom this and that critic might put level with him — Æschylus, Lucretius, Catullus, Virgil, Spenser, Wordsworth, Shelley, Hugo, Goethe, Heine—there is not one in respect to whom other critics will not start up and cry shame at the parallel. And in one respect Milton stands alone in his management of a great poetic medium. Shakespeare, because of the vast license of the English stage and its mixture of verse and prose, here stands out of the comparison, and we know nothing of Homer's predecessors. But no one—not Sophocles with the iambic trimeter, not even Virgil with the Latin hexameter, hardly even Dante with the Italian hendecasyllabic—has achieved such marvellous variety of harmony independent of meaning as Milton has with the English blank verse. All three perhaps had a better lexicon—it is permissible to think

Milton's choice of words anything but infallible. But no one with his lexicon did such astonishing feats.

Butler's "Hudibras."

There are few odder or sharper contrasts in English literature than the contrasts between Butler and Milton. They were nearly of an age—Butler was but four years Milton's junior, and died but six years after him. They were both men of the older and departing generation when, after the return of the king, Butler produced his only and Milton his chief works. Both had a strong touch of scholasticism in them. Both were English to the core in their limitations as well as in their excellences. But whereas Milton had almost every quality of the heart and mind except humour and amiability, Butler, a man perhaps not less unamiable (he could not have been more), seems to have been a humourist pure and simple. He had lived mainly, if not solely, with the Puritan party, and it does not appear that he had very strong personal grudges to repay them. They certainly did not do less for him—to whom they owed nothing—than did, later, the Royalists, who owed him the most ferocious and victorious literary *revanche* over their enemies that any party ever enjoyed. But the Puritans were more vulnerable to the higher ridicule than any party has been in England until quite recently; and in Butler that Renaissance tendency to irony, which we have noted more than once already, and which reached its highest pitch of more or less good-natured melancholy in Burton and Browne, took more negative and atrabilious form. Like almost all humourists, he was a strong Tory—not, it would seem, from any reasoned conviction, still less from any sentimental tradition—but because the humourist must needs see the humour of it, and anything

HUDIBRAS AND RALPHO IN THE STOCKS (*ed.* 1710).

new is, of necessity, more rawly humoursome than anything old. Later, Butler wreaked his not at all maudlin gall and his mockery of the world on the Royal Society, on the "heroic" plays, on divers things, with a good deal of impartiality. Earlier (till far into middle life indeed, for when the first part of "Hudibras" was published he was fifty-one), he had

SAMUEL BUTLER.

(*Bodleian Picture Gallery, Oxford.*)

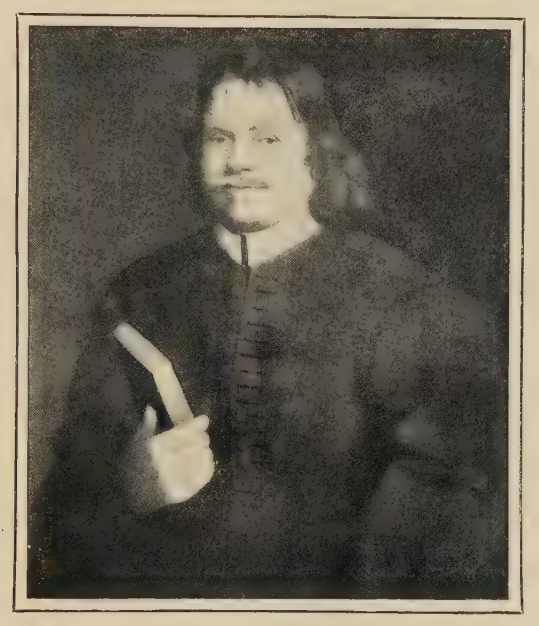
vented the whole of it on his Puritan masters and associates, had kept these victims simmering for years in the concentrated and eternising juices of his acrid ridicule. Of late years the poem has had hard measure—measure, perhaps, more really discreditable to those who do not relish it than to itself. In the first place, the Puritan yoke is an "extinct Satan"; there is no such temptation to acclaim this sovereign satire on it

as there was when the neck of England was still galled. In the second place, it is noticeable that pure, hard, intellectual satire and irony — humanised neither by indignation on the one side nor by mere playfulness on the other—is more apt to lose its hold on all but a select few than any other literary kind. In the third, it may be feared that the ever-decreasing standard of knowledge (which has sunk as the standard of what is called education has risen) has made "Hudibras" more and more hard to be understanded of the people. Not merely is it full of direct allusions which require pages of explanation to the modern man, but the whole stuff and substance of it is shot and warped with threads of the older social culture—threads which are now mere thrums to most people. Yet the book is a very great book. Its wonderful skill of doggerel verse and acrobatic rhyme, the inexhaustible abundance of its fantastic imagery, its learning, its fancy, its pictorial skill—great as they all are—yield, perhaps, to the fashion in which the persons, things, systems ridiculed are made to render themselves ridiculous — to the pitiless mastery with which the puppets work out their own failure and contempt. There are many more lovely books of English literature than "Hudibras"; there are, perhaps, not so many of which it can be said that they are intellectually greater.

Bunyan. The third (or, if we can count Marvell, the fourth) of the great writers of the period in whom the Puritan influence is, in action or reaction, directly perceptible, John Bunyan, is almost as great a contrast to Butler as Butler is to Milton. He had no lack of humour, like Milton, though what he had was somewhat cramped in display by his creed and breeding; he had no lack of kindliness or of spirituality, like Butler. But, differing from each in these several respects, he differed from both in another and almost equally important one—that he was a man of almost no education. Milton in the regular school and university curriculum of the time, Butler in his own leisure and his rather unusual access to great libraries, had built themselves up in almost everything that the time had to give of learning. Bunyan, a man of the lowest rank and of almost the lowest trade, could have attained, and did actually attain, to but little of the learning of the Gentiles. But the English Bible, a few theological

books, the habit of preaching, and his own matchless genius gave him such a style as cannot be paralleled in any other language. Even in German there is nothing quite like it, while in the southern tongues the purely vernacular writer is to seek altogether. There you are literary, or you are nothing. Bunyan is not in the very least degree literary, and yet he is literature.

He had been born in 1628, within the short term of years



JOHN BUNYAN, BY THOMAS SADLER.
(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

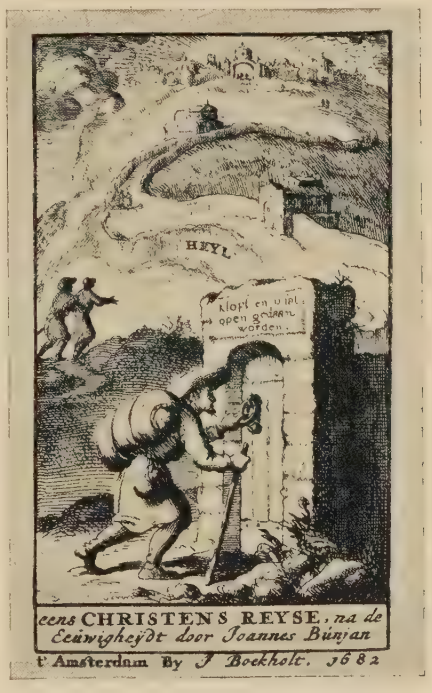
which, as we saw, witnessed the birth of all the greater new prose-men. His own prose was neither old nor new—something like it (soon, no doubt, to vanish, through board schools) may be heard among the poor to-day, and something not unlike it may be traced for generations earlier. In the very plain styles there is sometimes a danger of being deceived by an appearance of plainness. We know, for instance, that Cobbett, before beginning to write, made a careful and long-continued study of the manner of Swift; and we know that

His Prose.

the manner of Swift itself was the result of years of reading in many languages. With Bunyan, however, deception is hardly possible. He can have had no models save those named, and save for the Biblical influence, direct or transmitted, his style must be purely his own. Its intense raciness and flavour must, in the same way, be partly due to the comparative limitation of his thought and to its close connection with personal feeling. Those famous "experiences" which "Grace Abounding" has made known left an ineffaceable impression on his own mind, and his almost sole care was to reproduce that impression on the minds of others. The title of his famous masterpiece simply describes what he himself was always thinking of ever after his conversion — in his early, little-known years of quiet during the Commonwealth, during his sojourn in the Bedford prison, in his later freedom, or comparative freedom, of preaching and itinerancy. "The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to the Next" absorbed his thoughts, and when he was not directly describing it in immortal allegory, he was dealing with incidents and episodes thereof—contrasting the Pilgrim with those who refused his pilgrimage, smoothing away difficulties, clearing doubts, administering the counsels of a homely but not unsound theology to troubled minds. The incomparable narrative power which has secured him a lay popularity far wider than any other writer whose thought was solely set on things divine has reached, was by no means limited to the forms of allegorical expression, though Puritan thought had made this natural and almost unavoidable

MR. BADMAN BREAKS HIS LEG.
(*Bunyan, "Life and Death of Mr. Badman," ed.* 1688.)

to him. The little masterpiece of "Mr. Badman" is as straightforward as Thackeray, of whom in parts it strongly reminds us, and who, from internal evidence, had read it. Bunyan's realism is so intense that, as has often been noticed, we never feel the slightest doubt as to the liveliness of his allegorical personages. Even those simple label-names, to which the century was so much given, and which disgust modern readers even in the work of men so great as Jonson at one end of it and Congreve at the other, do not injure them in the least. We know Byends as well as if his name had been Tompkins; Mr. Worldly Wiseman is as real as if his double-barrelled name were familiar in any directory. In the "Holy War," no doubt, this thorough verisimilitude is not so much felt because the surroundings and machinery, as well as the personages and general aim, are abstract and immaterial. The unconscious fault of art in this — for it would have been just as easy for Bunyan to create interest and verisimilitude by painting the fortune of a single citizen in Mansoul as in Destruction — supplies an interesting and not discouraging warning that nature must be assisted by art if she is not to go wrong sometimes. But of the power of nature here there is no doubt. It has been held by those who do not profess the apparently indolent, but perhaps really wise, creed of literary fatalism—who cannot hold that the way things happen is the way they must have happened — that if Bunyan had



CHRISTIAN KNOCKS AT THE GATE.
(*From a Dutch edition of "The Pilgrim's Progress,"* 1682.)

written a little differently and for a somewhat larger public, he would have founded the English novel half, if not three-quarters, of a century before it was actually founded. It has been thought by others, with good reason, that Defoe, whose religious leanings and Nonconformist associations must have early acquainted him with Bunyan's work, cannot but have learnt something from this marvellous tinker. But all these are guesses. For us and for our object the important things are to observe that Bunyan just after the Restoration — the dates are: "Grace

BEDFORD GAOL AND BRIDGE.
(*From an engraving of about* 1750, *by F. Perry.*)

Abounding," 1666; "The Pilgrim's Progress," 1674 84: "Mr. Badman," 1680; "The Holy War," 1682; but a great deal, if not most, of his work seems to have been written in prison between 1660 and 1672—supplied English literature with two things: the first, a masterly vernacular style; the second, a fashion of making fictitious personages live, and move, and act, and speak in prose, which had never before been exhibited save in poetry, or at least in drama. Perhaps it is not quite superfluous to add a third point—that the attraction of his writing must have had no small influence in establishing

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

upon the English people that hold of religious writing, not strictly doctrinal or devotional in form, which has been maintained almost, if not quite, to the present day, and in regard to which it stands alone among nations. It is known, and it is interesting to know, that the long delay between the writing and the printing of the book arose from the doubts of Bunyan's pious friends as to the propriety of so mixed a mode. As to the popularity of it, when the book had once appeared, even they can have felt no doubts.

Dryden.

The contrast which has been already noted, which is so characteristic of this time, and which is due in the main to the presence in it of the two streams of subsiding but still vigorous Puritan enthusiasm, and of the rising flood of common sense and semi-rationalist thought, meet us more strikingly than before in passing from Bunyan to Dryden. This great man, the very representative of his period, and perhaps in that period more absolutely superior to all competitors in prose and verse alike than any man before or after him, has been already referred to more than once. He had been born nearly thirty years before the Restoration, had enjoyed the full advantages of the regular English education at Westminister and at Trinity College, Cambridge. He was a member of a good family in the ranks of the squirearchy (though, as was common at that time, some of its branches did not disdain retail trade), and he was himself possessed from his father of a small estate in Northamptonshire, the chief seat at that time of the Drydens, though they are said to have been of Border extraction. As a boy, he had contributed to a collection of funeral poems on the death of the young Lord Hastings, the composition being in the most extravagant style of Cowley or Crashaw, but not without sparks of promise. A kinsman of his on his mother's side had been in favour on the Parliament side, and Dryden, as we have seen, had as a second venture written in a far higher strain than before an episode on the Protector. But he had received no patronage or countenance from the party in power, and there is nothing to show that his own sentiments were at any time anti-Royalist. At any rate, when the Restoration took place he had not the slightest difficulty in declaring himself on the winning side, and it was not till much later—in the excited times of the

Popish Plot, the Exclusion Struggle, and the heats that led to the Revolution—that he was upbraided with apostasy. We know nothing of any compositions of his (save the two already mentioned) before Charles returned. But Pepys, who had known him at Cambridge, speaks of him in a way which seems to imply that he was thought to have poetical leanings, and there are traditions of his having done some hack work—which may not be identical with anything known of his—for Herringman, a popular bookseller. At any rate, from the date of the Restoration itself his star mounted rapidly, and suffered no occultation of fame, though some of fortune during the forty years before it set. "Astræa Redux," his welcome to Charles, though it is sometimes harshly spoken of, is, in fact, a very fine poem, and the "Coronation" of next year (1661) a still finer. In 1663 he married Lady Elizabeth Howard, eldest daughter of the Earl of Berkshire, against whom, though she happened to die in a state of mental alienation, we know nothing positive, the allegations as to the unhappiness of Dryden's married life being, it may be said with absolute security, based on no evidence whatsoever. In 1666 the really great poem of "Annus Mirabilis," on the various victories of that year over the Dutch, together with the Fire of London, appeared, and very shortly afterwards the poet took to regular play-writing, the only form of literature which then yielded a steady income. 1670 saw him installed in the combined offices of Poet Laureate and Historiographer Royal (vacant by the decease at different times of Davenant and Howell), and so, in a way, titular leader both of English prose and English verse. The titular superiority corresponded in a rather unusual degree to the real; but in order to set this forth we must to some extent diverge and digress, looking backwards rather than forwards.

Dryden's Early Verse.

To appreciate the early verse of Dryden (enough has been said of his prose, of which the examples during this period are a few prefaces, while his plays will be dealt with presently), it is all-important to consider what poets were writing, and in what manner. The flame-like lyric of the preceding period, which had shot and waved with such lovely colouring and such fantastic form, had quite died down, or flickered only in the songs of Rochester, Sedley, and Dorset; Herrick and

Vaughan were growing old silently in their Devonshire and Welsh retreats. Milton dwelt altogether alone, and was in no way of the time, though it is not the least of Dryden's glories that he was a fervent admirer of "Paradise Lost." The popular singers of the day (putting aside Marvell, who had taken to politics, and Cowley, who was only less out of the world than

Contemporary Poets.

JOHN DRYDEN.

(From the Kitcat Collection at Bayfordbury Hall, Herts, by permission of J. Clinton Baker, Esq.)

these others) were Waller, Denham, and Davenant, men well stricken in years, who had already (in times and manners which lend themselves to a good deal of minute criticism, but which need not occupy us here) anticipated the "school of good sense" in verse. The two former had especially bestowed efforts on the heroic couplet which, after the indications of still earlier poets, such as Sandys, they had tried to isolate, to imbue with the attractions of epigram and antithesis, and to

Waller and Denham.

furnish with a sort of balanced motion corresponding in no small degree to the balance of the prose sentence already referred to.

Davenant. Davenant, a man of less literary accomplishment than either, was possessed of a more restless and more original mind. The reputed godson of Shakespeare, and undoubtedly a "servant" (that is to say, gentleman attendant) of Lord Brooke, he had in his early days written some verses with the true Elizabethan fire in them, and divers tragedies, exhibiting the singular formlessness which, in the case of all but a very few veterans, came upon the drama in the reign of Charles I. He had also set himself to the composition of "Gondibert," a large epic poem in quatrains which attracted a great deal of admiration. Endowed by nature with the versatility which some—but by no means all—men of letters display, he had under the Protectorate itself succeeded in devising and getting licensed a kind of opera which evaded, or at any rate was exempted from, the general prohibition of stage plays.

Their Influence on Dryden. With all these three men Dryden must have been acquainted, and with Davenant he was especially intimate. His earliest poems bear the mark of the influence of all. The "Heroic Stanzas" that first announced, and the "Annus Mirabilis," which definitely settled, his poetical position, are both in the quatrain of "Gondibert," while elsewhere the couplets are something like those of Waller. Few competent critics, however, could have been at a loss to find indications that Dryden would go far beyond both his masters, and would still farther excel the sententious though scholarly monotony of Denham. Indeed, the very stiffness, the very harshness, of some of this verse of his first stage, should have been the most encouraging omen. Verse, like wine, announces a weak vintage and an early decay by too much finish in youth. And, besides this negative test (for rough verse, like rough wine, by no means always mellows to perfection), there were certain positive qualities and secrets discoverable in him. Even in "Astræa Redux" and the "Coronation" attempts were visible at the verse paragraph in couplet not entirely dissimilar from that which Milton had not even yet perfected, though he was soon to perfect, in blank. The poet makes cunning pivots and spring-boards

out of identical words, on which, without any disgusting repetition, the verse circles, from whence it leaps, and on which the reader's eye and ear travel easily and pleasantly to the close. The individual line often attempts, and sometimes gains, that magnificent thunder and roll which, to one who has once discerned it, is the very hall-mark of the Drydenian decasyllable. With such facilities he must have made his way at any time—how much more at that time, when the contemporary models we have mentioned were rapidly removed by death (except Waller, who lived longer, but produced nothing), when Milton was out of touch with the audience, and when there was no one else!

Dryden's Dramas.

It has been customary to lament that want of money, desire of popularity, the commands of the great, and other things turned Dryden, for fourteen years after the appearance of "Annus Mirabilis," into the channel of drama, for which (as far as such a thing can be said of a man who could master almost every literary kind) he had certainly no very special aptitude. Intrinsically, no doubt—though there are splendid things in them, and though, as wholes, *Don Sebastian*, *All for Love*, *Aurengzebe* and even the *Conquest of Granada*, are exceedingly fine—the great mass of Dryden's dramas are hardly readable except by students, and are not extremely delightful reading, for the most part, even to them. No doubt one would much rather that he had not written some of them at all. They fall, speaking roughly, into three classes. The comedies are the least characteristic, being on the models of Fletcher and Jonson, changed a little to suit the caprices of fashion by an admixture of French and Spanish farce and intrigue. Dryden has, indeed, inserted in them, on the model of Fletcher rather than Jonson (indeed, he might without much error be called a follower of Fletcher only), some very pleasant and hitherto rather undervalued flirtations between pairs of lovers. From these he has generally, though not always, had the tact to exclude the coarseness which too often disfigures these comedies, and they are really good. But his forte did not lie here.

Comedies.

The tragedies are far more remarkable. He slipped almost at once into, and for many years persevered in, the famous "heroic" tragedy, from which, in 1678, he returned to blank verse, in the splendid though daring variation on *Antony*

and Cleopatra called *All for Love;* while in it he later produced what is generally thought his dramatic masterpiece—the fine play of *Don Sebastian.* But as a blank-verse dramatist Dryden has the drawback of coming into competition with his betters. We admire his work, but we do not love it; we are always thinking of another music, of a higher strain, as we read him. No one has since written in English a tragedy that will bear comparison with *All for Love* and *Don Sebastian.* But when we turn from *Don Sebastian* and *All for Love* to *Hamlet* and *Othello,* the result is reversed.

Tragedies. In the "heroic" drama, on the other hand, Dryden is king, though the sceptre be too suggestive of pasteboard and the crown patched with, if not wholly composed of, tinsel. All ages have their literary follies, and it is at least probable that some of ours to-day will seem to the twenty-first century just as foolish as this seems to us. But it certainly was a very odd product. In the first place, it was the merest thing of shreds and patches. Nobody has been able to affiliate it, to the satisfaction of any competent critical court, on a single parent. There is something in it of the French classical tragedy and more of the French heroic romance, something of opera, something of the old English horror-tragedy, and some touches even (it is hard to avoid thinking) of the Italian mock-heroic style. One wonders how a very shrewd age could possibly tolerate its extravagance, till one remembers the unfairly forgotten fact that, by the mouths of Butler and Buckingham, the age did show its sense of the actual value of the thing about as shrewdly and sensibly as any one could desire. Put as briefly as possible, its theme was the common romantic stuff of love, ambition, misfortune, and so forth, told dramatically through the medium of rhymed couplets. The most extravagant language and situation were not merely permitted to, but demanded from, the poet: and Almanzor driving armies before him, first on one side and then on the other, in the *Conquest of Granada,* Maximin sitting on his fallen foe, and alternately blaspheming the gods and stabbing the cushion on which he was seated, seem to have satisfied the public as triumphs of intellect, passion, and poetry. Nor, as a matter of fact, is poetry—and that very high poetry of a kind—by any means absent from the stuff, especially in the plays of Dryden and of his

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

friend and coadjutor, Lee. But even if the lack of verisimilitude in rhymed speeches could ever fail to strike an English ear not deafened by fashion, the stamp of verse best fitted for declamation was so commonplace, the situations which suited it were so fulsome, the impossibility of giving the finer strokes of dramatic emotion in all this hubbub and hurly-burly so fatal, that it could not have lasted long. Dryden, who has given the most robustious example of it in the plays just named, gave the most finished and dramatic years later in *Aurengzebe*, and then dropped it. Nor were any hands less daemonically craftsmanlike than his likely to support what he had let go.

Yet for all this apparent loss of time, waste of power, concession to the *popularis aura*, and so forth, there were compensations. Dryden was not one of those men who are soon worn out, or who are likely to feel, when they come to their true vocation, the expense of their wasted efforts. On the contrary, beginning rather late than early, he did ever better and better work as he went on, finishing with his very best at almost the full threescore and ten—on the very eve of his death. And while he lost no freshness, he gained infinite practice. He had exercised himself, during these fourteen years of play-writing, in every kind of application of the heroic couplet—in blank verse, in lyric (for the songs scattered through his plays are numerous, are often happy, are sometimes exquisite)—and in prose (for he more and more copied the French plan of *examens*, or prose discussions and criticisms of his own pieces). At the end he was a perfect master of every literary weapon and tool of which his time comprehended the use. And then his chance came, and he took it.

Dryden's "Satires."

The occasions of the wonderful series of argumentative poems—which extends from "Absalom and Achitophel" to "The Hind and the Panther," including the masterly reflection of "The Medal," the inimitable personal lampoon (a lampoon *in excelsis*, and raised to the full dignity of poetry) of "Mac-flecknoe," and the unique religious, or rather rationalist, musing of "Religio Laici"—must be sought in the political sections of this book. It is said that the king had something to do with the suggestion of some of them. He was quite clever enough to have done so; and Dryden was undoubtedly a man who worked better from a suggestion, a model, or a

starting-point of some kind. But, be this as it may, the poetical merit of the whole set is marvellous. Satire, polemics, dissertation are very doubtful subjects for poetry, but they are all made poetical here. The model of the couplet adopted was almost wholly new; the treatment was as different from Butler on the one hand as from Marvell on the other. Whether, as in both parts of "Absalom and Achitophel" and in "The Medal," the strokes fall with sledge-hammer force on the persons and principles of the king's opponents; whether, as in "Mac-flecknoe," they dance round the victim with the flash and flicker of a rapier; whether, as in the two theological poems, the most intricate arguments flow in liquid verse from the poet's lips—the under-sense of command, of mastery, both of subject and medium, is always present. All sense of effort, much more all sense of failing effort, has long since disappeared. The poet does what he pleases with language, with persons, and with facts.

Photo: York & Son.
BUST OF DRYDEN.
(*Westminster Abbey.*)

If this were a history of literature, instead of a social history with glances in the literary direction, it would be unjust to dismiss the real dramatists of the Restoration (for, with one exception, those who have generally borne that name wrote long afterwards) with nothing more than a paragraph of mention. As it is, no more can possibly fall to their lot. The serious contemporaries of Dryden's first dramatic period were very numerous, but few deserve notice here. The most industrious, the least gifted, and perhaps on the whole the most successful was Crowne—"starch Johnny Crowne"—whom it suited the malignity of Rochester, and the bad taste of the time, to run against Dryden himself. The two most gifted were Lee and Otway, men of Bohemian temperaments and erratic lives.

The Real Dramatists of the Restoration.

Both had a fair start (they represented the two Universities, and Otway was a Christ Church, as Lee was a Trinity man), and both had genius; but Otway died starving, Lee mad, and both young. Lee, besides collaborating with Dryden in *Œdipus*, wrote many plays of his own, the chief of which are *Alexander* and *Sophonisba*, exhibiting the extremity of heroic rant, dashed and sublimed sometimes by real poetry. Otway, following Dryden's relapse into blank verse, produced in *The Orphan* a fair, and in *Venice Preserved* a famous, example of what may be called our middle tragedy. Elkanah Settle, a fourth writer of tragedy, has been embalmed for ever by Dryden, whom he had provoked, and who put the last touch to the Olympian unanswerableness of his satire by acknowledging a "blundering kind of melody" in the poor man.

ILLUSTRATION TO "THE PERJURED BEAUTY," BY APHRA BEHN, ed. 1735.

All these wrote comedies, as some of those about to be mentioned wrote tragedies; but the comic power of the time, which was very considerable, lay elsewhere. Wilson, a survival of the stage before the flood of the Rebellion, produced soon after the Restoration one or two pieces in which the Jonsonian style was refreshed by a distinct talent and some modern touches. Shadwell, another Jonsonian, who, like Settle, had the misfortune—or, rather, the misbehaviour—to come within the range of Dryden's immortalising satire, displayed in the humour-comedy an undoubted power of observation and no small ability. *Epsom Wells*, *Bury Fair*, *The Virtuoso*, *The Sullen Lovers*, are very far indeed from rubbish. Aphra Behn, one

Aphra Behn.

of the legendary figures of English literature, of whom everybody has heard, and of whom few, save students, know much, wrote, besides prose tales of a merit not contemptible, and in a style rather anticipating the narrative episodes of the great Queen Anne essayists, many plays—bustling, lively, and not much more indecent than their fellows, though a couplet of Pope's has labelled them as being so. All these, however, are far behind Etherege and Wycherley in the true *vis comica*. Both of these were men of some family and some fortune, Etherege escaping altogether, though Wycherley did not, the perpetual want of pence which, for some reason, though drama has never been the worst paid of literary kinds, seems to vex the dramatist more than any other public man. Wycherley, in *The Country Wife* and *The Plain Dealer*; Etherege, in *Sir Fopling Flutter* and *Love in a Tub*, introduced the sparkling dialogue and the shameless flaunting attitude of mere Hedonism, which have given a colour to Restoration comedy. Dates of production, and probably truth, assign the priority to Etherege; tradition, based on his own uncertain assertion, to Wycherley. The characteristics of the curious and not altogether respectable style which must be fathered on one or the other will be more fully noticed in the next chapter.

R. E. PROTHERO. Agriculture.

During the first four decades of the seventeenth century the prospects of agricultural improvement had steadily brightened. Numerous writers were studying the art and practice of farming. New materials for agricultural wealth were within reach; turnips were already grown in English gardens, and were recommended for field cultivation; the use of clover had been recognised and urged upon farmers. The increase of enclosures offered an opportunity for the introduction of new crops and new methods. Schemes were on foot to reclaim the fens; practical advice had been given for the clearing of forest land and the cultivation of wastes. Drainage had been discussed with a sense and sagacity which were not to be rivalled till the present century. Increased attention was paid to manuring; the merits of Peruvian guano were explained by G. de la Vega, at Lisbon, in 1602; liming and marling, practices which had died out since the fourteenth

century, were revived. An Act of Parliament was passed "agaynst plowynge by the taile," and "the barbarous custom of pulling off the wool yearly from living sheep" was declared illegal. Attention was paid to the improvement of agricultural implements. Patents were taken out for draining machines (Burrell, 1628); for new manures (1633, 1636, 1640); for improved courses of husbandry (Chiver, 1637); for ploughs (Hamilton, 1623; Brouncker, 1627; Perham, 1634); for implements for mechanical sowing (Ramsey, 1634, and Platt, 1639). On all sides new energies seemed to be infused into English farming. Progress, 1600-1640.

The promise of improvement was destroyed by the outbreak of the Civil War. Excepting those who were immediately engaged in the struggle, men seemed to follow their ordinary business and their accustomed pursuits. The story that a crowd of country gentlemen followed their hounds across Marston Moor when the two armies were drawn up in hostile array may not be true, but it is typical of the times. It was the want of incentive to improvement and the prevailing sense of insecurity, rather than the actual absorption of the population in the war, that caused the promise of agricultural improvement to perish in the bud. The period was one of extreme distress. Hartlib states that but for foreign supplies the people would have starved. The poor farmers, says Blith in 1651, "lived worse than in Bridewell." The area under corn cultivation diminished, and, though early statistics are generally untrustworthy, it is worthy of notice that Hartlib estimated that in 1648 not more than four million acres in England and Wales were under tillage. Inclement seasons added to the general distress. In 1648 and 1649 the summers were extremely wet, and, as Aubrey says, "deare years of corne." Wheat rose rapidly, till in 1648 it stood at 85s. the quarter, and, while the average price from 1647 to 1700 was only 49s. 10d., the average taken from 1647 to 1651 was 77s. 7d. Beef and mutton also rose 3¾d. per pound. At the same time the purchasing power of wages advanced little or nothing upon the 3d. a day of 1444. Effect of the Civil Wars.

In more settled times the prospects of farmers again brightened. Cromwell was an enlightened supporter of agriculture. The introduction of turnips into the field cultivation of

Recovery under Cromwell.

Huntingdonshire was in the eighteenth century still attributed to him. To him Blith dedicated his work on drainage, "The English Improver Improved." To his patronage Samuel Hartlib, whose "Legacie" is one of the most curious of early books on farming, owed the means of collecting his information. This latter work, though often attributed to the pen of Hartlib, is really only edited by him. It is in effect an answer given by several persons to the question, "What are the actual defects and omissions, as also the possible improvements, in English agriculture?" Some of the recommendations are sufficiently ridiculous. Here, for example, is his remedy for flukes in sheep: "Take serpents or (which is best) vipers; cut their heads and tayles off, and dry the rest to powder; mingle this powder with salt, and give a few grains of it so mingled to sheep." But for his advocacy of manures, of turnips, and of clover he is entitled to the gratitude of farmers. His list of manures includes twenty-one natural substances; but it need scarcely be said that for none of them is he indebted to chemistry, and that no attempt is made to restore to the soil the special properties in which it is impoverished by particular crops. He urges the adoption of roots, and the folding of sheep "after the Flaunders manner," as a means of enriching and consolidating sandy commons. But, though the foot of the sheep thus employed "turns sand into gold," the recommendation passed almost unheeded. He also advocates the use of clover and "Holy Hay, or Saintfoine," and informs his readers where they can be procured; "such as are desirous to buy any of the three-leaved grass, or lucern, spurry, clover-grass, and sinke-foile, what quantity they please, may have them at Thomas Brown's shop at the Red Lion in Soper Lane."

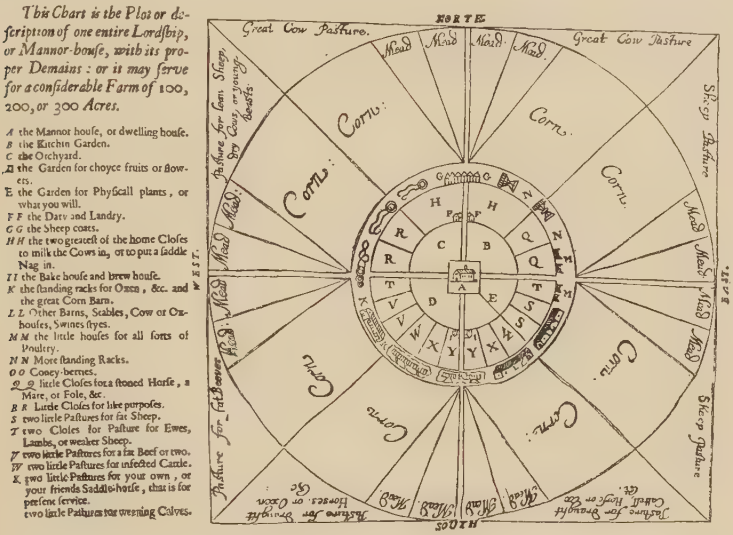
Stagnation under Charles II.

But practical progress was once more suspended by the political uncertainties and social changes of the last half of the seventeenth century. Agriculture languished, if it did not actually decline. It is a significant fact that between 1640 and 1670 not more than six patents were taken out for agricultural improvements. Country gentlemen ceased to interest themselves in farming pursuits. "Our gentry," notes Pepys, "are grown ignorant in everything of good husbandry." Without their initiative, progress was almost impossible. The farmers of the day had not the security of tenure, the

enterprise, capital, education, or intelligence to conduct or adopt experiments. It was a proverbial saying in Berkshire:—

"He that havocs may sit;
He that improves must flit."

The same experience was embodied in the popular saying prevalent in the Lowlands of Scotland. Donaldson, in his "Husbandry Anatomised" (1697)—the first Scottish treatise on agriculture—says, "If a tenant improves his land, the


This Chart is the Plot or description of one entire Lordship, or Mannor-house, with its proper Demains: or it may serve for a considerable Farm of 100, 200, or 300 Acres.
A the Mannor house, or dwelling house.
B the Kitchin Garden.
C the Orchyard.
D the Garden for choyce fruits or flowers.
E the Garden for Physicall plants, or what you will.
F F the Dary and Landry.
G G the Sheep coats.
H H the two greatest of the home Closes to milk the Cows in, or to put a saddle Nag in.
I I the Bake house and brew house.
K the standing racks for Oxen, &c. and the great Corn Barn.
L L Other Barns, Stables, Cow or Oxhouses, Swines styes.
M M the little houses for all sorts of Poultry.
N N More standing Racks.
O O Cooey-berries.
P P little Closes for a stoned Horse, a Mare, or Fole, &c.
R R Lardie Closes for like purposes.
S two little Pastures for fat Sheep.
T two Cloles for Pasture for Ewes, Lambs, or weaker Sheep.
V two little Pastures for a fat Beef or two.
W two little Pastures for infected Cattle.
X two little Pastures for your own, or your friends Saddle-horse, that is for present service.
Y two little Pastures for weaning Calves.
NORTH
EAST
SOUTH
WEST
Great Cow Pasture.
Great Cow Pasture
Sheep Pasture
Sheep Pasture
Pasture for Lean Sheep, Dry Cows, or young beasts
Pasture for fat Beeves
Pasture for Horses or Oxen
Pasture for Calves, Heifers &c
Corn.
Mead.

PLAN FOR LAYING OUT A FARM.

(*Hartlib*, "*Discourse for Setting out of land*," 1653.)

Landlord obligith him either to augment his Rent, or remove, insomuch that its become a Proverb (and I think none more true), *Bouch and Sit, Improve and Flit.*" It was not till the eighteenth century, when great landlords began to take the lead in agricultural improvements, that any substantial and general advance was seen.

Causes of Stagnation.

Here and there changes were made for the better. But such progress was purely local, and rarely survived the individuals by whom it was effected. Traditional practices were jealously guarded as agricultural heirlooms. Even ocular proof of the superiority of new systems failed to drive the John Trot geniuses of farming from the beaten track in

which their ancestors had plodded. Circumstances combined to render the force of custom tyrannical. On the open-field farms, where the rotation of crops and fallows were determined by the common rights of the whole village, no individual could move hand or foot to effect improvements. Unless a large body of ignorant, prejudiced, suspicious co-proprietors agreed to adopt turnips or clover, it was impossible to introduce them into cultivation. The enterprise of twenty farmers might be checked by the apathy or caution of one. Even if the new materials for agricultural wealth were successfully adopted by some enterprising tenant or landlord on an enclosed farm, it was unlikely that the experiment would be known beyond the immediate neighbourhood. Each village was self-sufficing. The inhabitants raised enough food for themselves, and were not concerned in the affairs of the next parish. Communication was difficult; even frequented roads were often impassable, except for a well-mounted horseman or a coach drawn by twelve horses. In this extreme isolation must be sought a fruitful cause for the slow diffusion of agricultural improvements. Another cause lay in the absence of any incentive to raise more from the soil than was requisite for the personal wants of the producer. There were but few markets. From no vast and crowded haunts of labour and trade rose the cry of artisans for bread and meat. As soon as the farmer had satisfied the needs of himself and his family, his object was achieved. Till the demand had been created by the rapid growth of population which resulted from the development of manufacturing industries, the supply was regulated by the domestic wants of the producer himself.

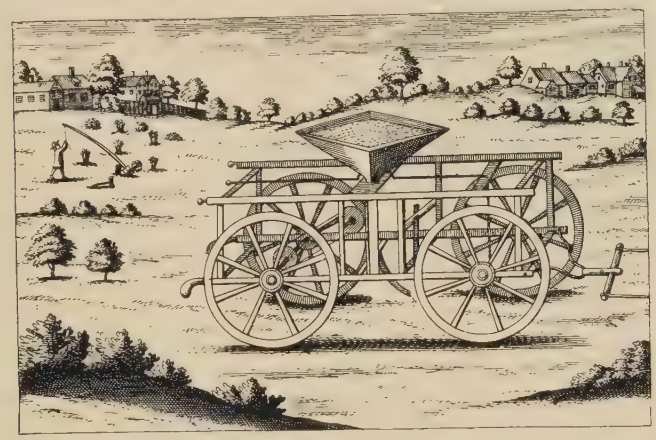
Writers on Agriculture.

Another cause for the neglect of the improvements which were being forced on the notice of farmers lay in the character of agricultural writers. In practice not a few had failed. Like ancient alchemists, they starved in the midst of their golden dreams. Tusser, teaching thrift, never throve. He spread his bread, says Fuller, with all sorts of butter, but none was ever found to stick thereon. Gabriel Plattes, the corn-setter, died in the streets for want of bread. Donaldson only became a book farmer when he had failed in practice. Arthur Young failed twice in farm-management before he

1688]

began his invaluable tours. Many of the early writers, in fact, earned for themselves reputations akin to those of the vendors of quack medicines. A contempt which was not wholly unjustifiable was partly the cause of the slow adoption of agricultural improvements. It was long before clover emerged "from the fields of gentlemen into common use." In 1686 clover and sainfoin are mentioned by Plot among the unusual grasses cultivated in Oxfordshire. "Farmers," says Tull, writing in the reign of George II., "if advised to sow clover, would certainly reply, 'Gentlemen might sow it if they pleased, but they (the farmers) must take care to pay their

Clover.



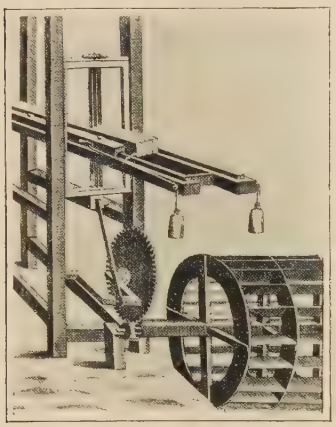
EARLY AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY, AFTER DESIGNS BY PLATTES.
(*Worlidge, "Systema Agriculturae,"* 1669.)

rent.'" Equally obstinate was the resistance to turnips. Blith (1652) derides their use, and says that they are only eaten by swine after they are boiled. His opinion was shared by his brother farmers. It was of little use that Worlidge ("Systema Agriculturae," 1669) urged on farmers the cultivation of turnips; or that Gabriel Reeve, in his "Directions" (1670), noted for the benefit of his sons the best means of improving "barren and heathy land"; or that Houghton ("The Improvement of Husbandry and Trade," 1681) described the benefits which he had himself witnessed in Essex from turnips as a winter food for sheep. Equally fruitless were the efforts of Tull. "I introduced turnips into the field," he says, "in King

Turnips.

Worlidge.

William's reign; but the practice did not travel beyond the hedge of my estate till after the peace of Utrecht." Potatoes were also recommended, within this same period, for field cultivation, but without success. John Forster, in his "England's Happiness Increased" (1664), urges the planting of the root, and Houghton (1681) supported him with the weight of his authority. But it may be safely said that clover and turnips did not become general in England till the latter half of the eighteenth century, and that potatoes owed their almost universal introduction to the efforts of the Board of Agriculture during the Napoleonic wars.



SAWMILL.
(*Evelyn*, "*Sylva*," 1679.)

One of the most interesting figures among the agricultural writers of the day is that of Thomas Tryon. It was characteristic of his class that he was a "Jack of all trades." He was a voluminous writer on an immense variety of subjects—against drinking brandy and "smoaking tobacco," upon brewing ale and beer, upon medical topics, dreams and visions, on the benefit of clean beds, on the generation of bugs, on the pain in the teeth. He also composed a "short discourse" of a Pythagorean and a mystic. His agricultural book, "The Countreyman's Companion" (1618), is chiefly remarkable for its account of that "Monsterous, Mortifying Distemper, the Rot," and for the remedies which he suggests for the preservation of sheep from the disorder. Thomas Tryon is an admirable representative of the class of agricultural writers who brought the book farmer into disrepute. But already true science was coming to the aid of the farmer. The "Terra" and "Sylva" of John Evelyn are known to every well-read agriculturist, and John Ray's "Catalogus Plantarum" marks an epoch in the history of botanical science.

Though no general progress in agricultural skill can be recorded in the years 1642–88, the period was one of pre-

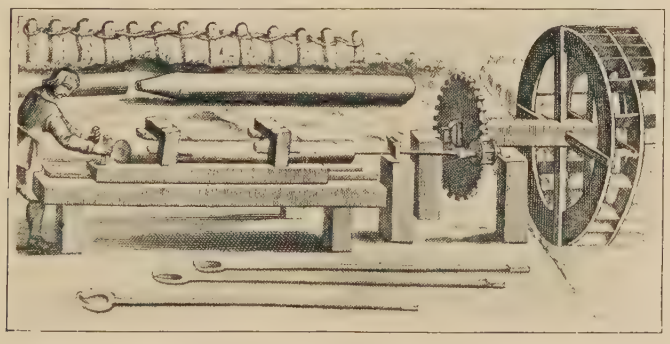
DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

paration. Not only were such pivots of improvement in farming as turnips and clover made known to farmers, but in two respects positive advance was made. In the reign of Charles II. the burden of feudal tenures was removed, and the disappearance of the wolf and the wild boar shows that, in spite of the revival of the forest rights of the Crown, wild uncultivated wastes were diminishing in area. It is, however, a conclusive sign that farming is not prosperous when the attention of the legislature is called to the industry. Petitions were presented against the denudation of country districts by the migration of the peasantry to the centres of commerce and trade. The petitions were not without effect. At the commencement of the reign an attempt was made to raise a revenue by permitting the import and export of corn subject to higher duties. This attempt was soon abandoned for the more familiar form of corn law, which endeavours to encourage tillage by raising prices to an artificial height. In 1688 bounties were offered for the export of corn, and between the years 1697 and 1767 upwards of six million pounds were paid in the form of bounty. For nearly a century England was made by the Corn Laws a corn-exporting country.

Signs of Advance.

Sir William Davenant, in his work on Trade, which was published in 1688, gives some curious statistics on the condition of English farming at the close of the reign of James II. Many of the early statisticians wrote merely from guess work. Davenant is an honourable exception, and, without

Statistics of Farming.



BORING AND SHAPING MILL.
(*Evelyn*, "*Sylva*," 1679.)

accepting the absolute accuracy of his figures, we may treat them as the result of the careful investigations of a competent observer. He estimates the total acreage of England and Wales at thirty-nine million acres, and the total area under cultivation, whether as arable land, pasture, or meadow, at twenty-one million acres. He calculates the arable land at nine million acres, and the permanent pasture and meadow at twelve million acres. The rent of the former averaged 5s. 6d. per acre, and the latter 8s. 6d. per acre. In this relative extent and value of arable land and pasture is summed up a century of agricultural revolution. Even at the present day, after a long reaction in favour of permanent pasture, arable and pasture land in this country are almost equally divided. It must, moreover, be borne in mind that Davenant's arable land means land which was tilled for corn, beans, and vetches, and that no other green crops were generally known to the farmer. Davenant goes on to calculate the live stock which the land carried. There were, he estimated, four and a half million cattle, twelve million sheep, and two million pigs. He also calculates—and the result, if it is accepted, will be somewhat surprising to those who deplore the modern extinction of the animal—that there were 24,000 hares and leverets. Finally, Davenant divides the population into various classes. From his tables it appears that there were 40,000 "Freeholders of the better sort," whose yearly incomes averaged £91; 120,000 "Freeholders of the lesser sort" (£55 a year); 150,000 farmers (£42 10s.); 364,000 labouring people and out-servants (£15); 400,000 cottagers and paupers (£6 10s.). The effect of the calculation is that, adding the larger landowners, nearly five-sixths of the total population of the country were, in 1688, dependent either directly or indirectly on the land.

G. TOWNSEND WARNER. Manufacture and Mining.

DURING the Civil War a series of experiments were being carried out which were to have more effect on the future of England than was imagined by men of the time. The iron trade was in difficulties for fuel: two loads of wood went to a load of charcoal, and two loads of charcoal were required to make a ton of iron. Hence there was fear that the needs

of the smelters would lead to the disforesting of England. Parliament had interfered with the wholesale destruction of wood; consequently the iron trade was not so prosperous as it might have been. In James I.'s reign Dud Dudley began to try to use pit-coal for smelting. He set up a furnace at Pensnet, and at the second attempt made three tons of iron. But the inventor's career was chequered. He obtained a patent, and among other things turned out the iron of which a fowling-piece was made. But his works were "ruinated," as he tells us, by floods, and when monopolies were abolished

The Iron Trade.

CHARCOAL BURNING.
(*Evelyn*, "*Sylva*," 1679.)

men tried to infringe his patent. He set up a larger furnace, twenty-seven feet square, at Hascobridge, and made seven tons of iron a week. From here he was again ejected, his "new bellows by riotous persons cut to pieces," and several actions brought against him which resulted in his being imprisoned for debt. When he got out he took in some new partners, and they swindled him. The Commonwealth put a new complexion on affairs, for Dudley was a Royalist, and Cromwell gave the patent to Buck and other Parliamentarians. They set up furnaces in the Forest of Dean, employed Dudley to build them, but failed to extract his secret. Buck abandoned the attempt in 1656, and Copley tried his hand. He failed

too, and in 1660 Dudley began petitioning for a renewal of his patent. Dudley's attempt was not very prosperous, but he succeeded on a small scale. He made three sorts of iron—grey iron, which he sold at £4 per ton, motley iron, and white iron. Bar iron he could sell at £12 per ton, whereas the price by the other process ranged from £15 to £18. He dwells on the advantages possessed by Staffordshire, where coal and iron lay close together, and enumerates the iron ores of the district as known at the time, the ironstone first measure, the black row graines, the dun row graines, the white row graines, the rider stone, the cloud stone, and the Cannock stone. He also knew, or says he knew, how to correct the brittleness of his iron "by fining or setting the finery less transhaw more borrow, which are terms of art," and how to get rid of sulphur, arsenic, bitumen, and antimony. Dudley's art, such as it was, seems to have perished with him, for little progress was made in coal smelting till well on in the eighteenth century.

Irish Iron. During this period the Irish iron foundries enjoyed some prosperity, although the rebellion was fatal to many. There were iron mines in Ulster, Tallow, Desartland, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Queen's County, and Roscommon. At Coote's works, at Mountrath, two ores—rock mine and white mine—were used in the proportion of one ton to two, and from this one ton of iron could be made. The bar-iron was sent down the Nore to Ross and Waterford, and thence exported to London, where it fetched £16 and £17 per ton. Coote was supposed to make a profit of £6 per ton. He employed 2,500 men in his three works—a large number were needed to cut and gather the wood and prepare the charcoal for fuel. The machinery in use was very simple; one great difficulty was with the blast. Double bellows were usually employed. The water blast was not much used; it had the disadvantage of pumping very damp air. In 1681 Yarranton introduced from Bohemia the manufacture of tin-plates, and in 1686 Chetwynd of Rugeley made rollers for gardens as big as 8 cwt. These were hollow, filled up with wood, but very brittle. Saltpans a ton in weight were cast at Birmingham. In Charles II.'s reign Roberts says there were eight hundred furnaces at work, but the statement was far in

BIRMINGHAM IN 1656, FROM AN ENGRAVING BY W. HOLLAR.

(*From Dugdale, "Worcestershire."*)

excess of the truth; they were widely distributed over the country, the greater number being in Sussex.

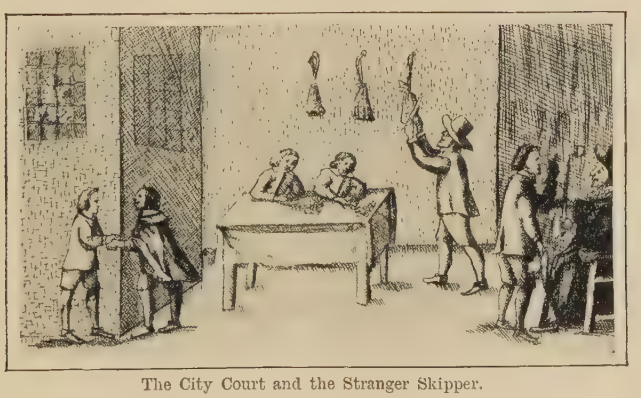
Coal. Such coal as reached London came almost entirely from Newcastle, as land carriage was so expensive. There was complaint that the price was enhanced by the Newcastle Corporation, which forbade coal-owners dealing directly with the shipmasters, and made all colliers come up to Newcastle to load. Ralph Gardiner, who attacked the Corporation for these restrictions, says that the coalowners had to sell their coal to the magistrates of Newcastle, they to the masters

THE EXCHANGE AND GUILDHALL, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

The Drawbacks of Newcastle. of ships, they to the woodmongers or wharfingers, and they to the consumer—a roundabout practice "as bad as a Welsh pedigree." The river Tyne was dangerous to navigate, and many vessels were lost in coming to Newcastle, when they might load conveniently at Shields; there was, further, a want of places to discharge ballast. Some owners, not being able to sell their coal, allowed their pits to be fired. He further accused the Corporation of unnecessary violence in the exercise of their privileges, having seized one Cliff, a ship's carpenter of Shields, who, not being a freeman of Newcastle, had presumed to get a ship off rocks in the river, "killed his wife, brake his daughter's arm, and attacked him in the Exchequer." The Corporation used to cast persons

Seizure of Goods for Breach of Market Rules.

A Trade Outrage.



The City Court and the Stranger Skipper.

ALLEGED MALPRACTICES AT NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

(*Ralph Gardiner, "England's Grievance Discovered in Relation to the Coal Trade,"* 1655.)

into their "common, stinking gaol," and were in the habit of disobeying "two or three habeas corpusses." To all of which the Corporation's answer was that such privileges as they exercised were legal, and that Gardiner had himself recently "broke the goale," and was a liar.

Difficulties in London.

If there were obstacles in the way of cheap coal at Newcastle, there were also difficulties in London. A coal merchant named Povey boasts of having bought and unloaded eighty-eight chaldron of coal in a day. This was in advance of what any other merchant could do. He was able to do it by means of an engine of his own invention—a floating pier, or bridge with "boxes on coach wheels" to carry the coal, which enabled him to unload close to shore at all states of the tide, instead of keeping vessels waiting at Billingsgate two or three days. He saved by this means nearly two shillings the chaldron in lighterage and porterage, and sold coal cheaper than other merchants. He says they conspired to accuse him of giving short weight. He was tried, "and, instead of acquitting me, the jury brought me in guilty of the indictment, and I was fined thirteen shillings and fourpence. The Bench declared they had done me great wrong."

A SCOLD.
(*Gardiner, op. cit.*)

The Staffordshire Coal Mines.

Dudley, in his account of the Staffordshire coal mines, says that within ten miles of Dudley Castle there were twelve or fourteen coal works, and twice as many not at work. Each got 2,000 tons a year, some more. In some cases the miners dug off the upper earth. Mines of this kind were called footrids, but in his day few of these were left. Most of the pits were from eight to twenty yards deep, and some forty. The three upper measures known were the white coal, then shoulder coal, toe coal, foot coal, yard coal, slipper coal, sawyer coal, and fristy coal. He estimates that at least 5,000 tons of slack were wasted annually, the miners sweeping it into heaps in the mines to stand on, while outside it was cast away as useless. It often took fire, and was a great nuisance. As

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

Dudley points out, it was all suitable for smelting iron. The total amount of coal raised in England in 1660 has been estimated at over 2,000,000 tons. Some copper and a good deal of tin was got in Cornwall, and copper and lead in Devon. Roberts describes Wales as well stored with mines of silver-lead ore, coal, and some tin, and Cumberland as possessing "mines of brass" and veins of silver and black-lead, but these were little worked.

The Woollen Trade.

The woollen trade was not making any notable advance. Contemporary writers are generally agreed that the trade was stationary. They were much exercised about the running, or illegal export, of wool; legislation was directed against the practice, but without effect. There was a considerable demand for English wool in Holland. The Dutch had also the advantage of Spanish wool after 1648, and the English weavers thought they could not compete successfully with them, especially in fine cloths. With a view to the woollen trade, an Act was passed (18 & 19 Car. II. c. 4) for burying in woollen. Even this did not do all that was expected, people "persisting in adorning their deceased friend's corpse with fine linen, lace, etc., though so contrary to our true national interest." In 1668 Brewer brought into England fifty Walloons, who taught an improved system of dyeing, whereby 40 per cent. could be saved. This seems the only important event in the history of the trade during the Restoration. The linen weavers were, as usual, sufferers by the jealousy of the woollen men, but the trade was growing. In 1669, 23,680 lb. of linen yarn were imported from Scotland. In 1686 a Scotch Act was passed for burying in that country in Scots linen. Men looked still more askance at the calico industry. Most of the calicoes, chintzes, and muslins were imported from India. It was felt unfair that such imported materials should take work from British looms. But calico-printing was introduced into England in 1676 by Flemish emigrants. In 1684 Charles II. granted a patent for dyeing linen, silk, and cotton cloth divers colours by old-size and other cements, but very little work was done. The greater part of the cotton imported was used for candle-wicks. Frame-work knitting of stockings was a considerable industry in London; some 1,000 frames were at work. In 1640 there were, however, only two masters' houses in Nottingham, and the first

frame was not set up in Leicester till 1670. Hose was made of worsted and silk. Worsted hose was made of three, four, and five-thread yarn, and silk stockings in fancy colours. Workmen in good work got three shillings a week; fancy workmen four shillings, working usually four days a week.

The Silk Trade.

The silk trade was the only one to make a considerable advance, and this was largely due to the immigration of religious refugees. In 1681 Charles II. granted letters of naturalisation, with leave to bring furniture, merchandise, tools, and implements. In that year alone 1,154 immigrants arrived. In 1685 James II. issued a similar edict. Refugees flocked in from Normandy, Picardy, Touraine, the Angoumois, and Lyons. Between 1670 and 1690 no fewer than 80,000 persons came to England. There was some jealousy in England, but, on the whole, the refugees were well received. The anti-Catholic feeling in the country inclined men to the side of the persecuted. In a tract on the immigrants, published in 1677, taking the form of a dialogue between *Content* and *Complaint*, *Complaint* says: "At this rate all the world would be invited hither"; and *Content* replies, "Amen, say I." About one-third of the refugees settled in and around London, in the districts of Spitalfields, Soho, Seven Dials, and Long Acre. Others went to Canterbury, Sandwich, Glastonbury, Norwich, Southampton, Winchelsea, Dover, Bristol, Plymouth, Exeter, and Edinburgh, and some even got so far as Ireland, where they were promised facilities in the linen manufacture. Wherever the refugees went, they followed up their old callings, and as many of these were new to England a great development of industry was the consequence.

The story of many of these new industries finds a more appropriate place in the next chapter. The stimulus to the silk trade, however, was immediate and widespread. During the early part of the seventeenth century the English silk trade was a small affair. France was the real home of the business; French weavers and French goods were ahead of anything else the West could produce. A large number of these skilful weavers came to England, and began to turn out alamodes, lustrings, brocades, satins, black and coloured mantuas, paduasoys, ducapes, watered tabbies, and black velvets; the manufacturers of lustrings were incorporated as

the Royal Lustring Company. The designs of brocades and figured silks were much improved by French Huguenots—Lauson, Mariscot, and Monceaux. A French working man brought also the secret of imparting a lustre to silk tapestries. High wages were offered to skilled workmen from Lyons. Under this impulse the trade increased enormously. In 1689 Child speaks of 40,000 families living by silk. In 1694 there were 1,000 looms at Blackfriars in Canterbury. A tract, called "The Case of the Silk Weavers," which is undated, but certainly belongs to the early years of the eighteenth century, speaks of the trade having increased twenty times since 1664. It embraced all kinds of black and coloured silks, gold and silver stuffs and ribbons, as good as those made in France. The black silk used for hoods and scarves was worth £300,000 a year. It was calculated that 100 lb. of silk would keep 930 persons in work for a week in broad and narrow weaving, stocking-frame knitting, and silver spinning. But the trade complained that the fashions were likely to come from France, so that home manufacturers could not make provision for a spring trade for fear of being thrown out by French novelties. "France has the first of the market, and England the fag end." Most of the silk used came from Italy; it was thought best to get silk from Italy, and not from the East, because for silk from the former payment would be made partly in woollen goods, while the East would have none of them, and demanded money. Old abuses still went on, particularly in the dyeing, and a right of search was given to commissioners. They could seize heavy dyed silks, *i.e.* those dyed on the gum. There was also some complaint that the weavers were often too poor to buy sufficient supplies of silk. The men of Spitalfields more than once thought themselves badly treated, and were "extremely riotous and tumultuous" against Indian silks.

Salt.

The history of the salt industry during this period offers an interesting illustration both of the way trades were used to bring a revenue to the Government and of the feelings of rival trades for one another. Under Charles I. the country was not self-sufficing, for in 1627 the French War caused the price to rise from 50s. the weigh to £12 and more. A good deal of salt was imported from Spain. In 1630 the export of salt was forbidden, but was allowed again in 1732, when salt

became more plentiful. At this time the chief centre of the English manufacture was at Shields, where salt was made by boiling down sea-water. The manufacture fell into the hands of monopolists, who enhanced the price, and Shields or "Newcastle" salt was sold in London from 1635 to 1638 at £4 15s. the weigh; the impost they levied was 48s. 6d. the weigh, and this caused salt to be sold at £5 10s., though the manufacturers of Bristol and Southampton were excepted from the tax. The exclusive patent expired in 1638. The saltpans fell into the hands of the original owners, but they found the high prices had much injured the trade. The output had diminished from 16,000 weigh annually to 8,000. With the outbreak of the war new troubles began. The salters were troubled by the Dean and Chapter of Durham, on whose land their works were built; and then, when they had satisfied the ecclesiastics, the action of the Commonwealth, who sold all lands belonging to Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, brought fresh difficulties on them. In 1648 Arthur Haslerig was allowed to take from them an excise of 4s. the weigh. They complained bitterly of the competition of Scotch salt, which was favoured by the excise, and petitioned that it should be reckoned as foreign salt. Oliver Cromwell ruined the trade by the union between England and Scotland, and put many saltworkers out of employment. The Restoration brought hopes of better days, but then the dispossessed Dean and Chapter came back again with demands for fines and arrears of rent. The industry was much crippled by these disasters, and the increasing activity of Cheshire and Worcestershire further depressed it. This did not prevent the saltworkers from maligning their rivals, declaring that French bay salt—that is, salt left by natural evaporation of sea-water—was "one-seventh dirt and nastiness, putrefied human bodies, dead-fish, and carcasses," while the "rock salt of Cheshire has so many bad qualities that most certainly Nature could never have intended it to be used."

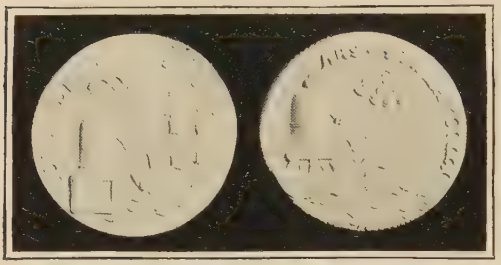
The Brine Springs.

During the tribulations of the men of Shields the industry at the "wiches," or brine springs, increased fast. In 1682 there were in Cheshire three chief centres—Northwich, Middlewich, and Nantwich. Northwich had six pits, and made 12,214 bushels of salt per week, using 4,800 loads of coal, with working expenses reckoned at £97 15s. At Middlewich were seven pits,

ANCIENT IMPLEMENTS FOR THE MANUFACTURE OF SALT.

(*Northwich Museum.*)

and in a week 4,300 bushels were made. At Nantwich, where the brine was weaker, there were three pits. The weekly output was 4,200 bushels, but much more coal was necessary. In Worcestershire the manufacture was carried on around Droitwich. There was a great pit at Upwich, thirty feet deep, where 450 bushels of salt were made each day. The brine here was so strong that lead pans had to be used instead of the usual iron ones. At all of those "wiches" the process used was substantially the same—long boiling in pans of various sizes, and various things, such as blood, white of egg, wine, ale, and ox-tallow put in to clarify. The main thing was to ensure the salt granulating properly, and to prevent it from re-dissolving. The Worcestershire salt kept best, while the Shields salt was the worst in this respect. This brine salt was free from the bittern which remained in the bay salt and made it unpleasant, but some people imagined that the bittern was an advantage in salting meat and fish.



MEDAL COMMEMORATING MORLAND'S PUMPING ENGINE.

Rock Salt.

All the existing trade united against the new rival—rock salt. In 1670 "a person was searching with an Auger for Coles" on the land of Mr. William Marbury, not far from Northwich, and lighted on a rock of salt which the instrument brought up as "hard as Allom, and Brine flew up more fierce than if it had been squirted out of a London Water Engin." When a shaft was sunk, the deposit was found to be twenty-five yards thick. No sooner was the manufacture of salt from rock-salt begun than the brine-men did all they could to hinder it. They protested that the discovery was unnatural, the salt was worthless, that the brine would be exhausted, the revenue cheated and impoverished, and themselves ruined. They prayed Parliament to impose heavy taxes on rock-salt, because of the natural advantages enjoyed by their rivals. Coal was dear

in Worcestershire, and cheap in Cheshire. It was easier to mine salt than to pump brine, and rock-salt could be carried about the country, manufactured anywhere, and so could cheat the excise. On the other hand, the rock-salt men said that the brine did not come from the rock-salt, but the rock-salt was deposited from the brine, that mining was more expensive than pumping, that the salt was good, and that the revenue would benefit as much from their industry as the other. In all, there was a good deal of reckless assertion, in which each party pretended to be looking at the good of the country, and really had its eye on its own pocket—a state of things which clearly illustrates what manufacturers hoped to get from State regulation of trade.

J. E. SYMES. Economic Practice and Theory.

In the early years of the Restoration period there was a considerable increase in English trade, with only one year of important depression. As the amount of each customs duty was fixed by Parliament at the beginning of Charles II.'s reign, the gross sum brought in by these import and export duties is a fair measure of the year's trade. We find that in the year ending September, 1661, the customs duties amounted to £361,356. For the next four years they averaged £507,774. The Plague, the Fire, and the Dutch War reduced them, for the next year, to £303,766. Then they rise, in successive years, to £408,324 and £626,998. After this there were fresh fluctuations, and the average for the four years 1685–1688 was £577,000.

Navigation Act of 1660.

Meanwhile, the carrying trade was passing more and more into the hands of English merchants. A new Navigation Act extended the principles adopted in 1651 (p. 378), and required "English" ships to be built, as well as owned and manned, by Englishmen. It also forbade aliens to be merchants or factors in English plantations, but it relaxed the restrictions on importation from Dutch fisheries. The consequences of the Act were somewhat similar to those of 1651. Ship-building was, however, stimulated, and our mercantile marine was doubled in thirty years. The result was probably worth the temporary inconvenience that it caused.

The financial system adopted at the Restoration was, to

Finance of the Restoration.

some extent, borrowed from Puritan legislation. Parliament began by deciding that the royal revenues should amount to £1,200,000 per annum, and then proceeded to consider how this sum should be raised. The old custom duties, including tunnage on imported wines, and poundage on other goods, whether imported or exported, were granted to the king for life. The excise was divided into two parts. (1) The Hereditary Excise was voted to the Crown in lieu of various feudal dues, some of which had been long disused, while others had fallen into abeyance during the Commonwealth. A Parliament of landowners naturally objected to any revival of these; and they threw upon the whole community a burden that should have been borne by the land-owning classes alone. This excise was to be a permanent source of royal revenues. (2) The Temporary Excise, on the other hand, was simply voted to Charles II. for life, like the tunnage and poundage. This excise was levied on coffee, chocolate, sherbet, and tea, as well as on beer and other strong drinks.

New Taxes.

The customs and excise duties, together with the revenue from the royal demesne, which now amounted to only £100,000 per annum, fell far short of the £1,200,000 that had to be provided. The deficit was partly met by a house tax, proportioned to the number of stoves in each house, and accordingly known as "hearth money." Other taxes were voted from time to time. Thus, in 1668, fresh duties were imposed on French wines. In 1670 both the customs and excise duties on strong drinks were extended, and taxes were imposed upon proceedings in the law courts. There were also several poll taxes, subsidies, and assessments granted in the early part of Charles II.'s reign; but towards its close the fixed revenue considerably exceeded the £1,200,000 Parliament had intended to provide, and the king also drew a secret income from Louis XIV. This fact helps to explain his being able to dispense with Parliaments during the years 1682 to 1685.

Introduction of Banking.

The growing complexity of English commerce, and the steady increase of loanable capital, led to the introduction of the banking system into England. In Italy there had been deposit banks since the fifteenth century, but as the banks did not lend out deposited money they naturally made a charge, and never gave interest. The seventeenth century saw the

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

establishment of banks in Amsterdam, Hamburg, Rotterdam, and Sweden; but in England there was no public bank till after the Revolution. Until the reign of Charles I. English merchants deposited any surplus bullion or money in the Mint, at the Tower; but in 1640 the king, being in great need of money, seized the £120,000 that had been so deposited. This money was repaid, but the merchants had taken alarm, and thought it wiser to keep their own money. This practice, however, involved serious risks and difficulties, and so the habit grew up of confiding it to the goldsmiths, whose business compelled them to take special precautions against thefts and embezzlements. The next step was to lend out such deposits at interest. The Protector took to applying to the chief goldsmiths, who had now begun to be known as bankers, to advance him money till the taxes came in. Charles II. followed this example. As soon as Parliament had voted supplies, he would send for the "bankers" and ask them for advances. For these loans he generally paid eight per cent., but as the goldsmiths had to pay their clients six per cent. their profits were not excessive. In the year 1672 the amount so advanced to the king was £1,328,526. This sum represented deposits from 10,000 different persons. The fact that the bankers were able to lend so much proves that loanable capital was rapidly accumulating. Suddenly the Exchequer was closed, and the goldsmiths were told that they would have to be satisfied with interest. But no interest was forthcoming till 1677. From that time, however, until 1683 the creditors received six per cent. A period of financial confusion followed, but the amount was ultimately included in the National Debt, which, indeed, may be said to have arisen from the fraudulent action of the Government in 1672.

Economic Theory.

Turning now from economic history to the history of economics, we find the number of pamphlets on economic subjects steadily increases as the seventeenth century advances. Most of these were, however, written for some specific purpose —to defend or attack a monopoly or privilege, or to advocate some particular legislation. The writers were mostly either busy men, engaged in mercantile pursuits and anxious to promote their own interests, or else politicians whose aim was to increase the royal revenues. They did not trouble to

define the terms they used, and in most cases they have evidently not been at the pains to think out for themselves the principles underlying the growth of national or individual wealth. Like their predecessors, they attach an undue im-

Who am I. who am I like. what nobody
Sure I'me the Picture of a Patenty
Raggs P.
Wine P.
Pinnes Pat
Salt
Color
6000
8000
Loe here ye he, whose Hogs head now doth vent
Naught but Peccavies, since the Parliament.
Wolfe like devourer of the Comon-Wealth
That rob by Patent, were it not by stealth
All Fish, comes to his hooke Tobacco wine & raggs
Make full his Coffers with his numbred bagges
Coales, Salt & Butter, pipes, Cards, Lynns, and Soape
Are free to buy, and sell leave him the Knave:
Hee feares no damning, this doth make him start,
That Patents damned are, this breakes his hart.
Strong Verses support him that hath serv'd us all.
And now we live, to see this strong man fall

SATIRE ON PATENTEES.
(*By W. Hollar.*)

portance to money, often forgetting that it is a means, and not an end; but, nevertheless, they now place the encouragement of shipping almost, if not quite, on a level with the accumulating of gold and silver. In this they seem to show an instinctive realisation of the part which our Navy, our

colonies, and our shipping were to take in building up the greatness of England. It is especially from this point of view that the pamphleteers dwell so much on the importance of the fisheries, and their suggestions on the subject show considerable variety. Some would give bounties to our fishermen. Others want to build ships like those employed by the Dutch. Others would revert to the policy of encouraging Lenten observances. Others, again, advocated the direct prohibition of importation from the Dutch fisheries, and this policy was adopted in the

AMBASSADORS FROM BANTAM, 1682.

(Sutherland Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

Navigation Act of 1651. By this and other means the Dutch were almost completely ousted from the herring and the Newfoundland cod fisheries.

Another group of seventeenth-century pamphleteers attack or defend the privileges of the East India Company. Of this group, the most important was Sir Thomas Mun, the son of a London mercer. He was early engaged in the trade with Italy and the Levant, and he afterwards became a director of the East India Company. His very considerable experience of the practical working of commerce gives an interest and importance to his writings which their obvious bias and mistaken

Thomas Mun, 1571–1641.

theoretical basis does not altogether destroy. He was a pronounced advocate of the "Mercantile" theory—the belief that the advantage of a foreign trade is practically measured by the favourable "balance of trade," and the consequent inflow of gold and silver. In his "Discourse of Trade" (1621), however, he argued that the East India Company re-exported many of their imports at a profit, and that thus what in the first instance drew money from England ultimately brought in a larger treasure. Moreover, the greater cheapness of the sea route diminished the amount of gold that would otherwise

THE EAST INDIA HOUSE IN 1648.

be paid for Indian goods brought overland. In his "England's Treasure" (printed in 1664, but probably written in 1632) he carried further the argument in favour of allowing the exportation of the precious metals.

Sir Josiah Child, 1630-1699.

Soon after Mun's death the East India Company found a still more powerful defender in Sir Josiah Child, who had the chief control of the company's affairs in England during most of the reigns of Charles II. and James II. Child perceived that silver and gold were only commodities, although used to measure the value of other commodities. He realised clearly the commercial advantages of free trade, but defended the monopoly of the company on the ground that it was conducive to national power, though not to national wealth. This is

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

only one instance of Josiah Child's insight. Unlike most capitalists, he boldly maintained that high wages were a proof of national prosperity. His "New Discourse of Trade," published originally in 1665, was gradually expanded, till it came to include the following subjects, among others: Trading Companies, Navigation Acts, Our Woollen Manufactures, the Balance of Trade, Colonies, Methods of giving Employment to

SIR JOSIAH CHILD.
(*Hope Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

the Poor, and a System of Arbitration among Merchants. On these subjects Child's observations are ingenious and suggestive, but, like all his contemporaries (with the partial exception of Nicholas Barbon), he labours under the disadvantage that he is attempting to deal with the *Art* of Political Economy before the subject had been fairly faced as a *Science*. His suggestions are therefore empirical, but the empiricism is that of a shrewd and experienced business man.

Sir William Petty, 1623-1687.

A still more versatile economist is Sir William Petty. He was in turns professor of anatomy at Oxford, and of music at Gresham College, physician to the army in Ireland, and Surveyor-General in the same country. He started iron works, lead mines, and sea fisheries. He invented a copying machine and a double-bottomed sea-going boat. Finally, he wrote on almost all the prominent economic questions of the day, but more especially on taxes and on money. Petty also advocated a

SIR WILLIAM PETTY. (*Engraving by J. Smith, after J. Closterman.*)
(*Sutherland Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

more thorough and general collecting of statistics, as a basis of economic discussion. "Until this be done," he wrote, "trade will be too conjectural a work for any man to employ his thoughts about." Nevertheless, Petty employed his thoughts about trade with considerable success. He was the first economist to formulate the often-quoted analogy, "Labour is the father, and active principle of wealth, as lands are the mother" ("Treatise of Taxes and Contributions," 1662). He arrived at remarkably sound conclusions as to the functions of money and the forces that determine the rate of interest, and

he did more than any of his predecessors to expose the fallacies of the "Mercantile" theory.

Nicholas Barbon, c. 1640-1689.

But of all the seventeenth-century economists, Nicholas Barbon perhaps best deserves the title of forerunner to Adam Smith, for Barbon, unlike his contemporaries, really tried to define those fundamental terms, the meaning of which was taken for granted by most of the pamphleteers, with the natural result of much looseness of thought:—"*To be well fed, well clothed, and well lodged, without labour of either body or mind, is the true definition of a rich man.*" ("Apology for the Builder," 1685). Here we have the fundamental assumption of modern political economy. The idea of money is almost banished from the definition of wealth. The "economic man" is brought before us in his unamiable simplicity. Labour, from the economic point of view, is simply an evil. In Barbon's "Discourse of Trade" (1690) he goes on to divide wares into natural and artificial, an approximation to the modern distinction between "land" and the products of labour. On value Barbon is equally suggestive. The "price to the artificer" depends, according to him, on the cost of materials, the time spent in working them, and the value of the art and the skill of the artificer. This is a better analysis of the cost of production than had yet been made. Barbon is equally careful to insist on the fact that market prices depend immediately upon supply and demand. Further on he insists that "*the prohibition of any foreign commodity doth hinder the making of so much of the native,*" a striking anticipation of an essential doctrine of modern free traders that a check to imports acts as a check to exports. Unfortunately, Barbon had formed an utterly erroneous idea of how the exchange value of money was determined. He regarded it as a mere creation of law, and advocated a debasement of the coinage. He was the founder of the first fire insurance company and one of the first land banks. He is said to have been a son of Praise-God Barebone, from whom Barebone's Parliament was named. He was a Doctor of Medicine of Utrecht University, and a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and sat in the House of Commons in 1690.

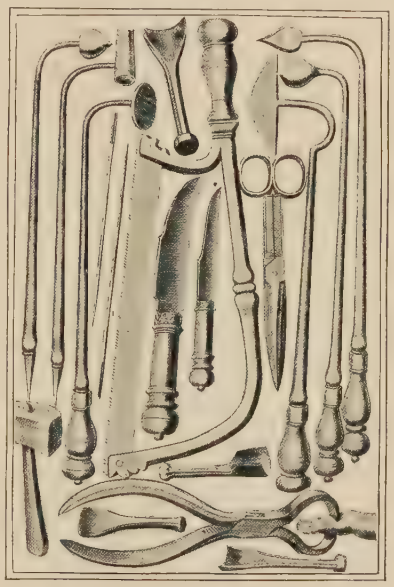
Of the other seventeenth-century economists we have not space to speak; but it is worthy of notice that hardly any

of them touched upon the question of the distribution of wealth, which is now regarded as the most important and interesting branch of economics. For them production—that is to say, the increase of the total national wealth—was the great question. Many of them, indeed, limited their thoughts to the wealth of the State, as distinguished from that of the nation. They were thinking of how the royal revenue could be best increased, rather than of how the nation as a whole could become wealthier.

CHARLES CREIGHTON. Medicine and Public Health.

To judge fairly of the specially English developments of medicine and surgery would require a somewhat full history. But it may be said in general that the notable paucity of writings and original observations in England, as compared with Italy, France, Germany, and the Netherlands, from the Revival of Learning to near the middle of the seventeenth century, should not be set down altogether to a backward state of the English profession. The College of Physicians of London, from its origin in the reign of Henry VIII., did much both for the scholarship and academic respectability of medicine, and for that somewhat tentative kind of progress by means of experience or empirical wisdom which is distinguished, by the name of Hippocratic, from the formal systems of doctrine based upon philosophical or scientific principles. In the sphere of pure science the London College was far from unproductive. One of its best presidents, Dr. Gilbert, who was also physician to Queen Elizabeth, wrote a memorable book, "De Magnete," which contains the discovery of terrestrial magnetism (vol. iii., p. 698). In the next reign the College in Knightrider Street was, year after year, the scene of those famous demonstrations on the heart and vessels by Dr. Harvey, physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, which made a new departure in physiology (p. 116). The glimpses that we obtain of the medicine of James I.'s reign, in the case-books and disquisitions of Sir Theodore Mayerne (not published until long after), are of a practice neither archaic nor effective. The manual of practical surgery, called "The Surgeon's Mate," which was written by Woodall primarily for the use of the ship surgeons of the East India Company, makes no pretensions to be the work of a learned man, such as

the great Italian anatomists and surgeons, Fallopius, Ingrassias, or Fabricius, might have produced; but, as a handy book for use in emergencies, it speaks well for the efficiency and resource of contemporary surgery in London. On board ship there was not much room for the elaborate compoundings of the apothecary, and some of Woodall's medicinal recipes are simplicity itself. On shore, however, and especially in practice among the rich, so many ingredients entered into potions, electuaries, and the like, and so much mystery attended the art of combining them, that a physician's credit depended largely upon the reputed value of his formulæ and an apothecary's profit upon their complexity. In the plague of 1636 the College of Physicians recommended a certain plague-water, in an expensive and a cheap form, for the rich and the poor respectively. It is now held to be unprofessional to write a prescription which shall be intelligible to none but an apothecary who is in the confidence of the physician, but as late as the eighteenth century there were physicians of the first rank who retained the property of their formulæ.



SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS.
(*Woodall, "Surgeon's Mate,"* 1639.)

In 1618 the College of Physicians, under the presidency of Dr. Atkins, took the important step of issuing a pharmacopœia, in which certain drugs were recognised as "officinal." In Paris there had been hot disputes shortly before that date over the question of recognising certain metallic remedies, especially antimony, the Paracelsist or chemical school advocating their use, and the Galenist or traditional school opposing. The London faculty were more tolerant, so much so that Mayerne (or Turquet), whose chemical leanings were obnoxious to the rigid orthodoxy of Paris, found

The First Pharmacopœia.

it convenient to transfer his practice to the English capital, where he speedily rose to the leading place.

Medical Science in England.

It was not until the Restoration that English practical medicine took its great modern start, and, as an indigenous product, began to be received with consideration in Europe. But for a generation before that the English had made their mark in anatomy and physiology. In the sixteenth century the great schools for these subjects were abroad, as at Padua and Paris. At Padua there had been a remarkable succession of anatomists from 1539—Vesalius (a Belgian), Columbus, Fallopius, and Fabricius ab Aquapendente, with the last of whom Harvey (p. 115) studied for five or six years (1598–1604). Harvey's science was largely the methods of Padua turned to account by a clear-headed Englishman. But before his death (in 1657), and doubtless in part from his teaching and example, there had arisen a considerable native proficiency in exact anatomy, represented by the writings of Glisson, Wharton, and Highmore, each of whom has given his name to some part or tissue of the body in the received terminology of all countries. Those scientific lights did not all shine in London; Glisson practised for some years in Colchester (being professor at Cambridge) before he came to London, and Highmore all his life at Sherborne. Among the few who wrote (learnedly and sensibly) on medicine in that age were physicians practising at Norwich, Bristol, Chester, and the Hertfordshire town of Buntingford. Primrose, who wrote against Harvey and on many other subjects, practised at Hull.

Medicine after the Restoration.

The small group of men whose informal meetings for scientific discourse led to the incorporation of the Royal Society (p. 396) were in large proportion physicians, and the *Philosophical Transactions* of the society continued for many years to be the medium of publication for the rarities and curiosities of medical practice. Still more important for the prestige of English medicine after the Restoration were the writings of three practical physicians—Drs. Willis, Sydenham, and Morton. For the first time since John of Gaddesden's "Rosa Anglica," but with far more credit to English originality, the writings of English physicians were reproduced as text-books time after time at various foreign presses—Lyons, Geneva, Venice, Amsterdam. Sydenham, whose "Opera Omnia" were

reprinted oftenest, both in the original Latin and latterly in English, French, and German translations, held the position of a master for two or more generations after his death. His great vogue was not because he was encyclopædic in scope or philosophical in method, for there are many chapters in medicine

BIHAM OR BEAM HALL, OXFORD.

that he touched on but casually, and he did little more than sketch his general pathology in an occasional introduction or preface. But he was one of the first to give effect to Bacon's idea that diseases might be viewed as natural kinds, and described in full detail, or, as we now say, clinically, after the manner of natural history, and not merely as illustrations of this or that doctrine, to which something of the objective reality

would have to be sacrificed for consistency or harmony's sake. Sydenham was, of course, subject to theory, as we all are; more particularly, he was a thorough-going partisan of the cooling and lowering regimen, carrying blood-letting to such lengths that an apologist for him in the next century is obliged to meet the accusation that he was "a bloodthirsty man." But he had the art of drawing a true and faithful picture, as in his famous description of gout, which he knew well from personal experience, and in his accounts of many other maladies from time to time prevailing.

THOMAS WILLIS.
(*By permission of the Dean and Governing Body, Christ Church, Oxford.*)

Willis and Morton were both secured to the service of medicine, and diverted from their first love, the Church, by the troubles of the time — the former because, being a Laudian, he fell on the evil days of the Commonwealth; the latter because, being a Puritan, he fell on the evil days of the Act of Uniformity. Morton's writings, although much used abroad, fell far short of a complete exposition of medicine, being confined to the subject of fevers (including small-pox) and the varieties of consumption. Willis not only wrote specially on fevers and on diseases of the nervous system, but in his "Pharmaceutice Rationalis" he covered the ground of treatment as in a text-book, and that, too, in so fruitful and suggestive a manner that Radcliffe, the fashionable London doctor of the generation after, was currently said to have learned all he knew within the covers of Willis's works.

Surgery. The surgery of the Restoration, seen at its best in the "Severall Chirurgical Treatises" (1676) of Richard Wiseman, makes a peculiarly modern impression. A surgeon of our own time may have nothing to learn from Wiseman, but he will find himself separated from him by no great gulf. This pleasing

COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

effect is due in part to the language in which he wrote—the English of the age of Dryden—and in part to the fact that surgery in its subject-matter comes always closer than internal medicine to palpable realities, which are the same in all ages and are intelligible across great spaces of history. In one thing only do we associate the great name of Wiseman with an old-world superstition. As sergeant-surgeon to Charles II. he passed

THOMAS SYDENHAM, M.D., BY MARY BEALE.
(*By permission of the Royal College of Physicians.*)

the subjects who were to be cured of scrofula by the royal touch, and assisted at the ceremonial. The selection of subjects was based upon the precedent of the Emperor Vespasian, who, on being entreated by a poor man from the crowd at Alexandria that he would touch his bleared or blind eyes with spittle, took the precaution of first asking the imperial physicians to find out whether the case was indeed curable. The first king in English annals whose touch was much sought after, Edward the Confessor, was so reputed for sanctity that not only scrofula and blindness, but even leprosy, were charmed away. When

The King's Touch for Scrofula.

James I. came from Holyrood to Westminster, and was in due time called upon to exercise the royal touch, he desired to break off the practice as an outworn superstition. But he was answered by his English ministers that to do so would be to abate the prerogative of the Crown, and so the practice continued more than a century longer—until the Hanoverian dynasty came in. William III. not only shared James I.'s impatience of the superstition, but took leave to express the same. At the Restoration it was in so great request that Charles II. could hardly have refused to touch, even if he had been a less good-natured prince than he was. On 28th March, 1684, says Evelyn, six or seven were crushed to death in the press of people at the Court surgeon's door to get their children passed for the royal touch. The ceremony was one of the spectacles that the gay world went to see. Charles II. sat in state in the Banqueting House, attended by the surgeons, the chaplains, and the Lord Chamberlain. The opening prayers and the Gospel having been read, the children were brought up in order to the steps of the throne, where kneeling they were stroked on either cheek by the king's hands, the chaplain saying over each, "He put His hands upon them and healed them." When they had all been touched, they came up again in the same order, and each had a white ribbon, with a medal of angel-gold hanging from it, put round the neck by the king. Then followed the Epistle, special prayers (in the old Prayer-Books) and the Benediction. Pepys superfluously remarks that the king performed his part "with great gravity." Touching for the evil was one of the last public acts of James II. (a Jesuit for his chaplain), at the very time when William of Orange was landing in Torbay. To the last there appear to have been medical men who believed in it, for when the infant Samuel Johnson was brought up by his mother to be touched by Queen Anne in 1712, it was by the advice (so Boswell was told by Hector) of a Lichfield physician, Sir John Floyer.

TOUCH-PIECE FOR THE KING'S EVIL, 1685.

Public Health: Retrospect.

The incident in the public health after the Restoration that overshadows all others is the Great Plague of London in 1665. This was the last of many great epidemics of the same disease in the history of the capital, and it is of special interest not only for its magnitude, but also as raising the question why it was the last. In many towns of England, Scotland, and Ireland the Civil Wars had brought a great revival of that old infection. There is, perhaps, no other period of eight or ten years in the history since the Black Death of 1348–49 in which so many great urban outbreaks of plague occurred together. Some of these began during sieges, or followed close upon them, as at Bristol, Newark, Lichfield, Leeds. Others were indirectly caused, or were aggravated, by the military stir, as at Chester, Manchester, Liverpool, and towns in the south-western and southern counties. In not a few instances the deaths, which were sometimes carefully registered by order of the military governors and tabulated according to weeks in printed bills of mortality, amounted to a fourth or fifth part of the population. The Chester epidemic destroyed 2,053 in the last six months of the year; that of Leeds, 1,325, among whom not a single person of wealth or note is discoverable; that of Lichfield, 821 among the inhabitants of twelve streets; that of Manchester, about a thousand; that of Bristol, about three thousand. Dublin, Kilkenny, Galway, and other Irish towns suffered greatly, the last-named having been absolutely wasted both among its poor and its merchants. Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen were the seats of the more disastrous outbreaks in Scotland—the last, with two adjoining fishing villages, having lost about 1,800 from plague in little more than a year. The chief epidemic effect of the Civil Wars on the public health, besides the encouragement to plague, was the production of typhus fever. So far as is accurately known, this happened only at the beginning of the war, in Oxfordshire and Berkshire, and at Tiverton and other places the year after. Whether it was owing to the better discipline of the troops under Fairfax and Cromwell, after the supersession of Essex as Lord-General, or to some other cause, this usual accompaniment of campaigns, both among soldiers and people, is hardly heard of in England after the first

War Typhus.

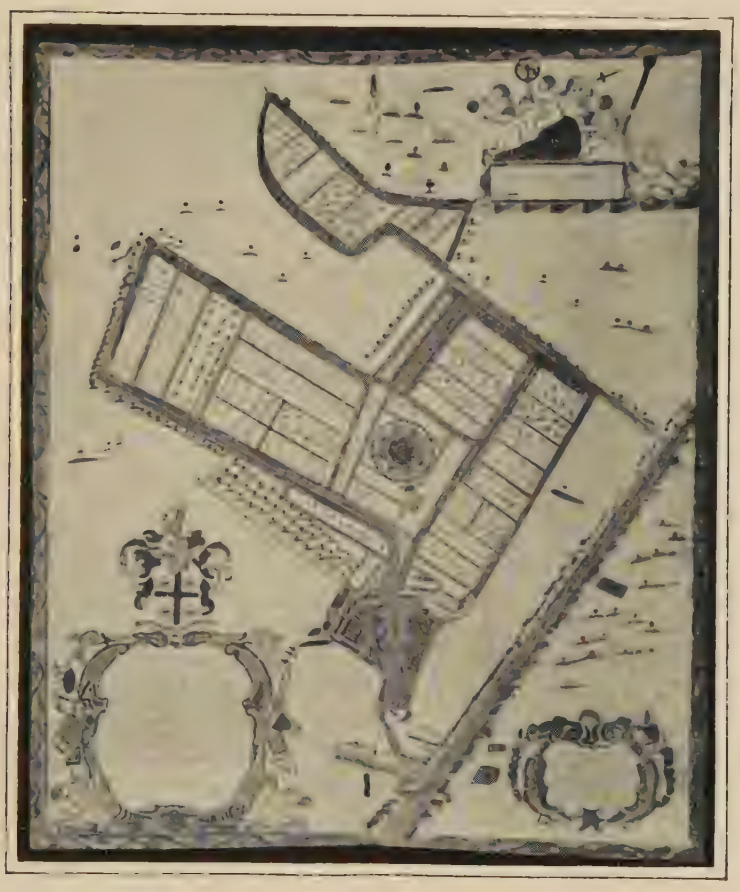
year or two. These brief experiences of war typhus are nearly all that English epidemiology can point to for many centuries, whereas the numerous wars on the Continent, from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the peace of 1815, made that kind of infection familiar both in camps and in the track of armies.

The Great Plague, 1665.

The Great Plague, which began in London in the spring of 1665, was a surprising interruption of a long period of freedom from the pest, which the citizens might have expected to be permanent. For sixteen years there had been only a few deaths, half a dozen or a score in a whole year, which occurred here and there over the wide area of the metropolis, and made no impression. Sixteen years was the longest clear interval hitherto. But in the reign of Elizabeth there had been two periods of nine or ten years each with little or no plague in London, and the greater part of the reign of James I.—from 1611 to 1625—was equally free from it. In the space of half a generation men forget a good deal; and thus it happened that the plague of 1665, like those of 1625 and 1603, was traced to importation from abroad—from Holland, or the Levant, or some other country where the infection had happened to be most active just before it became active in this country. In the historical view this pleasing doctrine of plague as an infection foreign to England becomes untenable; the infection was at home in our own soil, and had been so continuously for centuries.

Several things combined to give the epidemic of 1665 unusual magnitude, but there was one thing especially that determined the time of it. This was the extreme drought of the previous winter and spring. A long frost from before Christmas, more or less continuous to March, with little snow, and a dry, cold spring, with only a few showers until June, left the subsoil dry to an unusual depth. The oldest inhabitant remembered no such drought, and at that time it was impossible to check him by an appeal to meteorological records. An extreme range of the ground-water, or the filling of the pores of the soil with air to an unusual depth, is now well known to have some real relation to the activity of a soil poison such as we may assume the virus of the plague to have been. It needed only the co-operation of a great drought to

make effective many other accumulating causes of a pestilential outbreak. If the plague had followed precedent, it would have broken out at the beginning of the new reign, as in 1603 and 1625, when the concourse of people to the



A SURVEY OF NEWINGTON IN 1670.
(*By permission of the Elder Brethren, Trinity House, London.*)

capital doubtless favoured it. All through the Civil Wars London had been the safest place of residence, and had grown fast, while other towns were languishing. In 1662 Graunt estimated the population at 460,000, of which about a fifth part were housed in the somewhat regularly built, but now over-

Growth of London.

filled, City, while the multitudes of the poorer class were crowded into the alleys and courts of Cripplegate, Spitalfields, Whitechapel, Wapping, St. Olave's and other Southwark parishes, Bermondsey, Newington Butts, Lambeth, St. Giles's, the Western Liberties, and Clerkenwell. If the old City was unsanitary, the liberties and out-parishes were more so, for they had been built upon with few main arteries besides the old country highways, and they made on a map the impression rather of an interminable maze than of an orderly system of streets. The old sites of laystalls, where the soil of the City used to be deposited, had become in turn the sites of houses, while it had become more and more difficult to dispose of the refuse and to provide for the safe interment of the dead. The inhabited ground could not be other than full of decomposing organic matters, which in a fitting season would give off pestilential miasmata.

Spread of the Infection.

The infection of plague was slow to begin, although there was much typhus fever, which was suspected in some cases to conceal the diagnosis of plague. Until the first week of May, only three deaths from plague had been recorded in 1665; they began to rise slowly throughout June, and at the beginning of July they were so many as to show that an epidemic of the first degree was coming. St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, then the westernmost parish and the highest inhabited ground, had the first taste of it. The infection proceeded slowly down Holborn, and by way of Clerkenwell to Cripplegate and the City, with the same slowness reaching the Southwark parishes. Its course can be traced by means of the weekly bills of mortality, which gave the returns from the sextons and clerks of one hundred and forty parishes. It was by studying closely these weekly statistics that Defoe was enabled to base an otherwise imaginative narrative upon a firm foundation of fact. Thus, the bills make clear the fact of a slow progress from west to east, which permits the "Journal of the Plague Year" to unfold events like a drama. While the infection was creating panic in St. Giles's, the business of the City, of the eastern parishes, and of the Borough went on as usual; when it became the turn of Cripplegate, Whitechapel, and Stepney in the autumn, St. Giles's and St. Martin's had got over it. In the end of

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

1688]

August Pepys, who remained at his official residence, the Navy Office, in Seething Lane, met hardly twenty people from one end of Lombard Street to the other, and not more than fifty on the Exchange. A week after, Evelyn, coming up from his house near Deptford, found the line of streets from the Old Kent Road through the City to St. James's nearly empty of people, the shops shut, and many coffins at the doors of houses awaiting burial. The first fortnight of September was the worst time, the deaths from plague averaging about one thousand in a day, with nearly two hundred a day more from other assigned causes. There was naturally much distress from the stoppage of all work and trading; but the markets were kept well supplied, the price of the loaf rose little or not at all, and the Lord Mayor, who was fortunately an effective person, sat daily at the Mansion House to administer the relief supplied by contributions from all parts of England. As the infection subsided towards the end of October, the streets once more put on an air of business, but with many poor creatures begging in them—some hardly cured of their plague-sores, or limping from the suppurations in the groin which attended the numerous recoveries towards the decline of the epidemic. Compared with the plagues of 1603 and 1625, from which the most graphic authentic particulars have come down, that of 1665 was probably attended with less lawlessness in the plundering of houses from which the inhabitants had fled, and with more regard to decency in the burial of the dead, Defoe's harrowing pictures notwithstanding. Nearly all the clergy, magistrates and doctors had taken flight, along with the richer classes in general. Several of the ministers ejected three years before occupied the pulpits of City churches, so that the "silenced" clergy, or the Nonconformists, gained in this time of danger a certain liberty of ministering in public which they never afterwards lost. Among the doctors who remained were two eminent for their scientific writings, Glisson and Wharton, and Milton's friend, Dr. Paget. Several high personages of the Court stayed in town to look after the public business, and were afterwards presented with silver cups by the king. When the mortality bill of the year was added up, it came to 97,386, of which only 68,596 were set down to plague,

although it is probable that two-thirds of the remainder were from plague also. The old practice of "shutting up" infected houses was carried out (until it came to the absurd length of shutting up nearly all the houses of a street); and as the shutting up of a house, on the plague being notified in it, increased the peril of the inmates and was generally dreaded, there was a strong motive for bribing the searchers to give the disease some other name. In many of the villages and towns near London there were deaths from plague in 1665, owing to the numbers tramping the home counties, after the manner of Defoe's three men from Wapping. But although the fugitives from London, especially those of the better class, penetrated to all parts, the infection was far from general in England. The often-narrated epidemic of Eyam, in the Peak of Derbyshire, which lasted into the second summer, and left only thirty alive out of a population (besides those who fled) of nearly three hundred, was an almost isolated event in the heart of England. The whole of the north (but for a few cases on the Wear and Tyne), the west, and the south-west escaped; and in the south the places chiefly affected were the dockyards or naval stations, then busy with the Dutch war. It was in the eastern counties, which had suffered little from plague during the Civil Wars, that the infection rose to great virulence in 1665 and 1666. At Yarmouth it began sooner than in London itself: at Colchester it caused one of the highest mortalities recorded for any period, in ratio of the population (4,817 deaths); at Cambridge and Peterborough the epidemics were also of the first degree, the mortality at the last named continuing into the spring of 1667, and bringing the epidemic history of plague in England to an end. A few isolated deaths occurred in London every year to 1679, when they finally disappeared from the bills. The malignant typhus fever of 1685–86, and the peculiar seasons preceding it, were so like the usual antecedents of a great periodic outburst of plague that fears of the old scourge of London once more arose, which Sydenham seems to have shared. But, for some mysterious reason, the reign of plague was over.

Plague in the Country.

After the Plague.

London soon made up the loss of about a fifth of its population. Before two years the births were up to their old figure, and surpassing it. But the public health of London—

Village Street with Plague House and Church.

Tomb of Mrs. Mompesson.

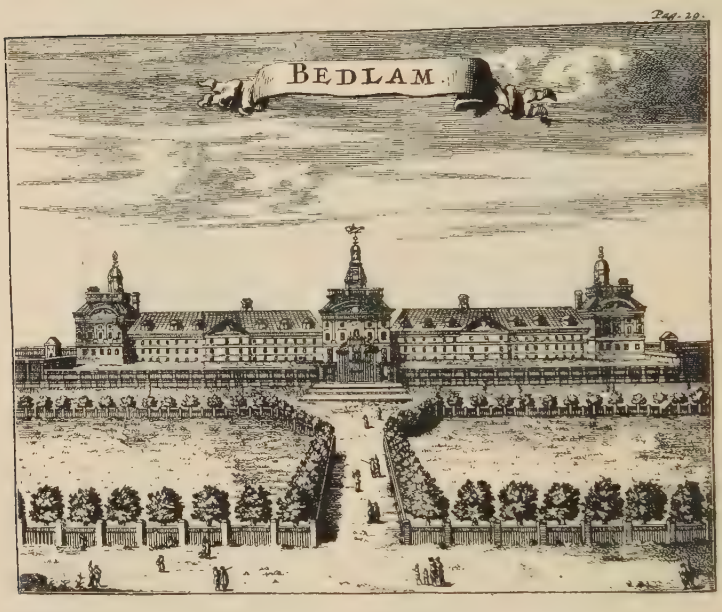
Cucklet Church.

The Plague House.

MEMORIALS OF THE PLAGUE AT EYAM, DERBYSHIRE.

not only of the extramural part, where the bulk of the population was, but even of the City itself after it had been "purged by fire"—became little better when plague was out of the way. In three consecutive periods of thirteen years each, the first of which includes the year of the Great Plague, the annual averages of deaths were:

1653—1665	...	...	...	19,946
1666—1678	...	...	...	17,990
1679—1691	...	...	...	22,237



BETHLEHEM HOSPITAL.
(*Misson*, "*Mémoires*," 1698.)

The increase in the last period is fully accounted for by the growth of population—now as far afield westwards as Red Lion Square, Soho Square, Seven Dials, and along Piccadilly half-way to Hyde Park. Moorfields, also, was rapidly built over immediately after the fire of 1666, pending the rebuilding of the City. But with due allowance for the increase of inhabitants, the mortality was little less than in the old plague times on an average of years. In no year, from the extinction of the plague until the last decennium of the eighteenth

A MAP or GROUNDPLOT
of the City of London and
the Suburbs thereof that is
to say all which is within the
Iurisdiction of the Lord Ma
yor or properlie called Londe
by which is exactly demonstra
ted the present condition there
of since the last said acci
dent of fire. The blanke
space figuring the burnt part
& where the houses are ri
preat those places yet standig.
THE RIVER THAMES
Part of Southwarke
A GENERALL MAP
of the whole City of London
with Westminster & all the
Suburbs, by which may be
compared the proportion of
that which is burnt with
the other parts standing
Annotations of the Churches and other remarkable places in this Map

THE EFFECT OF THE GREAT FIRE OF 1666.

(From a Plan by W. Hollar.)

century, do the bills of the parish clerks show an excess of baptisms over burials, and in most years they show a greater shortcoming of births than the somewhat negligent registration of baptisms could account for. On the other hand, there were many years of the earlier period, in the intervals between the greater explosions of plague, when the baptisms exceeded the burials by various fractions up to twenty-five per cent. But, whereas in the plague-period the high mortalities were largely of adults, there is reason to think that afterwards they fell more upon the age of infancy. The sacrifice of infant life in London from the Restoration until late in the eighteenth century was enormous, the deaths under the age of two amounting in some years to two-fifths of the deaths at all ages, and to more than half the births. One great cause of this high mortality among infants was the same summer diarrhœa that cuts off so many weakly infants in the manufacturing and shipping towns at present. In each of three successive hot summers and autumns in London, 1669–71, that malady added some two thousand to the bill for the year in the course of some eight or ten weeks. An epidemic of measles in 1674, the first severe one that is recorded, brought up the deaths, by its direct and indirect effects, to a much higher average for the first six months of the year than a severe epidemic of small-pox did in the last six. Among the adults not only small-pox, but, still more, typhus fever contributed largely to the death-roll, and that, too, in rich and even noble houses as well as in the crowded quarters of the poor. In all respects it is probable that the health of the capital was worse than that of other towns, or of the country at large. But in certain unhealthy seasons, such as those of 1669–71, 1678–80, 1685–86, and 1688-89, there were many market towns and country parishes whose registers showed an excess of burials over christenings, the special occasional causes having been widely prevailing fevers, epidemic agues with influenzas, and small-pox. There had been no famine, nor even dearth, since 1661. The mere idea of real famine had become unfamiliar to Englishmen, for Pepys enters in his diary on the 9th April, 1662: "Sir George [Carteret] showed me an account in French of the great famine, which is to the greatest extremity in some part of France at this day; which is very strange."

Infant Mortality.

A. L. SMITH. The Composition of Society.

At the Restoration we are still among characters and confronted with ideas of the Tudor times. With the Revolution, a generation later, the modern world has begun. Between the England of that date and the England of the present reign, Macaulay has drawn a pointed and effective contrast. But for all that, the essential features of the England of to-day were already traceable. There was a constitutional monarchy and a Parliamentary settlement of the succession; the standing army and the cabinet system of government were in course of growth; the press was practically free; religious toleration was logically inevitable; the French wars, the National Debt, the Colonial and Indian Empire, were great facts already appearing upon the political horizon. There is, accordingly, a peculiar interest in defining the different social classes which had then lately come into distinct being. They are, essentially, the social classes of to-day, and not religious divisions, any more than feudal castes.

Social Classes.

When the feudal arrangement of society had broken down, the Reformation had tended to substitute an arrangement according to religious and political creed. This tendency had been still further accentuated by the whole movement of the Puritan age. But now that Puritanism had spent its first force, and ceased to be the one dividing line, there could appear what may be called the natural strata, the divisions marked by purely social differences such as wealth or occupation. Thus during Charles II.'s reign, despite the "Clarendon code," the gulf was becoming less wide between Puritans and Prelatists. There were rumours all through 1660 of what was to be done by the extreme wing of the Puritan party; but the great Anabaptist movement only resolved itself into the fiasco of Venner's rising; and when the City elections, in the spring of 1661, returned Independents, the country at large gave unequivocal testimony by the men it sent to Parliament that it was thoroughly sick of religious strife. Pepys, indeed, came to the rather hasty conclusion that religion was "nothing but a fashion." The Restoration had been more a social than a political reaction. It was a reconstitution of the old social order—a return of lords and gentry, lawyers, and clergy, to their old positions. There was even by some writers a scheme

proposed for making a sharp and permanent division between classes such as prevailed in France. The nobles were to be raised higher above the masses; the commons confined to trade; the clergy entrusted with jurisdiction; and so on. The fullest view of the position and relations of the various classes is the contemporary estimate by Gregory King. He sets the population at five and a half millions. It had about doubled since 1583. His evidence is chiefly drawn from returns to the hearth-tax. Tested by the inquiry made under William III., and by Finlaison's computations derived from the parish registers, the estimate would require a little deduction, and the most recent calculations would put the figure at not more than 5,000,000. This would mean that the land was fully peopled for its then existing capacity of agricultural production; as is further indicated by the high average price of wheat, 1650–90. Half the kingdom was computed to consist of moors, fens, and forests. Seventeenth-century account-books show an immense amount of game and venison purchased by the rich. The surveyor Norden (p. 179) speaks of 140 iron furnaces fed by the Sussex woods, as well as numerous glass-works in Surrey. Many parts of the kingdom were far behind the rest in all material civilisation. The united assessment of the six northern counties to the land-tax of 1693 was about equal to that of Hants or Wilts or Gloucester, and far below other single counties (Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Devon, Somerset, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk). Compare the assessments to ship-money, or to the monthly income tax of the Commonwealth, or in lieu of feudal rights 1660, or to the poor rate 1689; the same picture is revealed. Nor is Yorkshire or Wales much better off. Thus the great district north of the Humber, in area one-fifth of England, contained less than one-seventh of the total population. And here, as in Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, and Wales, the proportion of hearths to inhabited houses was from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$; in Dorset or Devon it was nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$. So, a writer in 1670 declares that land worth twenty-eight years' purchase in the west would only fetch sixteen years' in the north—the north, where the Peel-towers were still useful refuges, where the judges on circuit needed a strong guard of troops, where the magistrates had to raise armed men to protect property, and the parishes kept bloodhounds to hunt down robbers.

Population and Production.

In the interesting estimate ot class divisions made by Gregory King in 1688, he reckons the nobility and gentry at 16,600; merchants, clergy, lawyers, and civil service, 10,000 each profession; "liberal arts," 15,000; officers of army and navy, 9,000. He puts the average income of a knight at £650, an esquire, £450; a gentleman, £280. These sums of money must be multiplied five-fold or six-fold to be expressed in modern equivalents. It would be a mistake to dwell too much upon the rude manner of life of the rural gentry, their illiterateness, their prejudices. If they were half boors, they

The Classes and their Income.

The Gentry.

TRADES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

(*Randle Holme, "Academy of Armoury,"* 1688.)

were also half nobles by birth and officials by training. By custom and by the practical monopoly which their position gave them, they held in their hands the higher commissions in army, navy, and militia, the justiceships of the peace, the best Church preferments, and a large share of the numerous and only too well-paid public offices. The House of Lords had been recruited from their ranks, 99 peerages having become extinct under the Stuarts and 193 created, as well as 800 baronets. The Lords and the gentry formed, in fact, one strong ruling class, and the Church came more and more to identify its interests with theirs; the Test Act and the appointment of

clergymen to sit on the Commission of the Peace co-operated towards this result from different sides. Political life, for all the corruption at the centre, was locally both vigorous and honest; the Habeas Corpus Act and the Revolution are a proof of the strength and soundness of "the country party." We may take as a typical English squire of the time Mr. Masters, of Kent, whose account-books have been preserved. His income was between £300 and £400 a year; he had been educated at Cambridge; he kept horses and carriages and quite a number of servants; he could afford to buy expensive periwigs and beaver hats. A decline from his early Puritan training is indicated by his replacing Baxter's "Saints' Rest" by Butler's "Hudibras."

The Clergy.

As to the clergy, their total revenue is estimated at only £500,000. It was no longer the great Church of the Middle Ages, comprehending all professions, dominating the State, and closely bound up with the baronage. In 1685 two only of the bishops were sons of peers. The country parsons are described as being both poor and ignorant as a rule. Between them and the learned and influential town preacher there was a great gulf. Yet, it is important not to forget that there was still a powerful hierarchy; that up to 1717 Convocation was still active; that there was a strong Church feeling in the nation and in the Church itself; and that the clergy were on the very eve of a rapid rise in social consideration.

The Yeomen.

The name yeomen had come to be used almost as a general term for the whole middle class below the rank of gentry. But, in its stricter sense of freeholders, it was estimated to cover 180,000 families, about one-sixth of the whole population. Of their political and religious spirit, of their ample means and their fighting capacities, the Civil War and the Commonwealth gave emphatic evidence. Forty or fifty pounds a year was, according to Chamberlayne, "a very ordinary revenue for a freeholder, and £100 or £200 in some counties not rare; sometimes in Kent and Sussex £500 or £600 per annum, and £3,000 or £4,000 stock." Even a hundred years later there were still 9,000 freeholders in Kent. But it was already, by the close of the seventeenth century, part of the policy of a landowner to buy out the freeholders. The merchants also were eager to become landowners. Thus the extinction of the yeomanry

Gentlemen. Doctors of Physic.

Poor Men.

Earls.

Clergymen.

GRADES OF SOCIETY.

(*F. Sandford, "Funeral of the Duke of Albemarle,"* 1670.)

had already begun. Political, social, and economic causes all co-operated to this result, assisted possibly by the Statute of Frauds, 1666, which required written evidence of title (p. 502).

The Farmers.

The class of farmers was probably a little smaller. Gregory King assigns them an average income of £42 10s., and an average holding of forty to fifty acres. There is evidence that, on the whole, the class was not in a satisfactory condition. They were ignorant (p. 602): agriculture was still unprogressive; there was "a kind of madness of competition among them," according to Norden, which led to the practice of "fines," a virtual confiscation of improvements. Rents were high; they are put by the same authority at 5s. 6d. an acre arable, and 8s. 8d. an acre pasture; and though neither the evidences for the fact nor the causes of it are quite clear, they rose at an extraordinary rate in the century. On the estates of St. John's, Cambridge, the rent in 1666 was £537; the "old rent" was £140. This rate of rising is borne out by both the Holkham and the Belvoir rentals. From such data it has been calculated that a farmer of 200 acres would pay, in rent, £60; in labour bills, £78; tithe, £20; leaving for his own support £30, and £37 for interest on his capital (£400). The price of corn was only moderately high between 1660 and 1685; but farming must have been a very varying and speculative business.

Enclosures.

Enclosures in the sense of conversion of arable into pasture and the "approving" of commons and wastes, were apparently less rife in this century than in the preceding one. The age of enclosures, in the other sense of re-arranging into "severalties" the holdings in the "champion" or open fields, had hardly begun. The agricultural writers of the century, in attacking the wastefulness of the open-field system, speak of it as still general; "fields, being enclosed, will let for thrice as much." Professor Ashley computes that if there were eight shires pretty generally enclosed, there were at least fourteen in which intermixed and communal holdings were still the rule.

The Rural Labourers.

England was still a land chiefly of agriculture, and the large class to which we now apply the term agricultural labourers probably comprised two and a half millions in 1685. The wage of a thatcher in 1641 had been, in summer, 6d. a day with three meals; but the Civil War raised wages. Moreover, the law that wages should be periodically fixed by the justices seems to have

THE COUNTRY ROUND CAMBRIDGE, SHOWING OPEN FIELDS.

(*From engravings by David Loggan, about* 1675).

been a dead letter. For instance, the Warwickshire justices' assessment of 1684 attempts to fix 8d. a day; but the ordinary agricultural wage at that date was actually 1s. a day. The labourer still had domestic industries to assist him; wool and linen were spun and woven at home, and sold in the market towns. Meat was fairly cheap; wheat from 1660 to 1685 was below the average of the century; but bread was of barley more commonly than of wheat, according to the statement in a Statute of the time. But the class was beginning to feel the pressure which was soon to force them on the poor-rates. The Corn Laws, in their modern form, began in 1661 and 1664. The prices of necessaries were rising. The criminal code of the age fell heavily on the poorer classes; and the Revolution of 1689, like the Restoration of 1660, was a victory mainly for the nobles, gentry, and wealthier burgesses.

The Town Population.

The population living in cities and towns was about 1,400,000. But of this total London accounted for half a million. Bristol and Norwich were each under 30,000; York and Exeter, only 10,000; Manchester, 6,000; Sheffield and Birmingham, 4,000. The average earnings of an artisan are set at 14s. 7d. a week. Cloth was made in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and in the district between Witney, Cirencester, Bristol, and Sherborne; and baize, serges, and crapes in the eastern counties. There were several iron-working districts (pp. 169, 609). But the age of manufactures on the great scale had not yet set in.

The Poor Laws.

The general attitude of the time towards the industrial classes may be judged from two contemporaries. King argues that nearly half the nation actually diminished the wealth of the community because their expenditure was greater than their income, and the difference has to be made up by the poor-rates. Davenant remarks that, despite the poor-laws, many poor die yearly from famine. The total of the poor-rate, indeed, was £665,362 in 1685—a sum equal to the excise, or one-third of the total revenue (whereas it is now less than one-eighth). It was heaviest in the eastern counties, from the flow of population to the new industries there. This fact, with the trade jealousies against new rivals, helps to explain the Settlement Laws, which to a modern mind seem so stupid as well as cruel. The Poor Laws have been the labourers' and workmen's greatest enemies; and men already began to urge that they were "England's great

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

concern." A copious literature upon the subject began in this period. Child proposed a Board of "Fathers of the Poor," equipped with despotic powers and a well-filled treasury. Stanley's remedy was a house of correction in each shire and a "vagrant ward." Yarranton issued a comprehensive scheme "to set all the poor to work, outdo the Dutch without fighting, pay debts without money, prevent law-suits, and make rivers navigable"—all to be accomplished by State fostering of flax-growing and iron-works. A more sober plan was that of Sir Matthew Hale, to provide work for the poor. But there were many proposals; some, as Eden remarks, "as practicable as the advice given to children to catch birds by putting salt on their tails." The fact was that a period had begun in the history of the Poor Laws which it is difficult to characterise in measured language—a period which reaches its climax during the Napoleonic wars, and which only ended with the great reform of 1834, the new Poor Law.

THE PEDLAR'S LAMENT, 1685.
(*Roxburghe Ballad.*)

MARY BATESON. Social Life.

THOSE who had been sustained by the faith that "Lofty designs must close in like effects," at the Restoration had to face the test of failure. To them the last state may have seemed worse than the first; they had striven after the best, only perhaps to make it harder for others to attain the good. In all those directions in which effort had been greatest, the failure looked most complete. They had swept away a Court and its vices, but the result was a restoration of a Court with worse vices. It was only by success in inconspicuous places and in unforeseen directions that they could feel that their faith and hopes were justified. Unwittingly, they had set forces to work which led to an awakening of intelligence in town and country; men began

to use their inventive powers and reasoning faculties; events outside the sphere of personal and family affairs began to arouse a new and general interest. This result had not been sought by the leaders of the Commonwealth, but it was the natural consequence of their insistence on the religious side of man's nature in an age when questions of religion and politics were one; they made religion what it had not been before, an intellectual interest, and thereby opened the way to the multiplication of such interests. It became fashionable to be well informed on scientific, literary, artistic, and political matters. Perhaps some of the new class of "virtuosi" were at more pains to show than to have intellectual tastes, because such tastes admitted them to the best society; perhaps some became politicians because it was the fashion to be able to talk political gossip; nevertheless, the prevalence of these tastes had a civilising influence on the country at large.

Court Influence

Whoever would sustain the paradox that the ideals of the Commonwealth caused the evils of the Restoration, might with equal truth assert that the degradation of English morals was due to the virtues, or rather gifts, of Charles II. and his courtiers, and is not to be charged to their vices. Their gifts made immorality appear part of good breeding and essential to charm. Burnet, writing of Charles II.'s manners, says they were

> "never enough to be commended; he was a perfectly well-bred man, easy of access, free in his discourse, and sweet in his whole deportment."

His quickness of apprehension and observation gave him his reputation as a wit, but according to the Marquis of Halifax,[1]

> "he was apter to make broad allusions upon anything that gave the least occasion than was altogether suitable with the very good breeding he shewed in most other things. . . . The hypocrisy of the former times inclined men to think they could not shew too great an aversion to it (hypocrisy), and that helped to encourage this unbounded liberty of talking, without the restraints of decency which were before observed."

Charles II.'s selfishness and duplicity led him to take a cynical view of the rest of the world, and through his influence cynicism became a mark of "fine-gentlemanship." On the other hand, he did nothing to revive the big and varied oaths

[1] Halifax, "Character of Charles II." (published 1750), p. 30.

THE COUNTESS DE GRAMMONT.

(*Hampton Court Palace.*)

of the early Stuart period, his own exclamation being generally "'odds fish"; and it should be added that neither he nor his brother was a drunkard or an inveterate gambler, though both vices prevailed at their Courts. It is not necessary to enlarge here on the history of their many mistresses; it may

THE STAGE ABOUT 1670.
(*Kirkman, "The Wits,"* 1673.)

suffice to recall that their existence was publicly acknowledged, and that two were made ladies of the bedchamber to the queen.[1]

[1] A striking contrast to the general tone of the Court is afforded by the life of Margaret Blagge (published after her death by Evelyn), a maid of honour to the Duchess of York, and a saint among sinners,

It was an age in which the pleasures of life were appreciated to the full; yet there is no evidence of eager search after variety. Charles II., his courtiers, and their hangers-on, went to the theatre day after day with unwearying persistence. The king kept himself in health by perfect regularity in his exercise, business hours, and amusements—illicit and other. At Newmarket he went walking every morning, to horse-races every afternoon after dinner, then to a cock-fight, then to a play, and after supper to his mistress, the Duchess of Portsmouth.[1]

The Stage

The Newmarket plays were "acted in a barn by very ordinary Bartlemewfair comedians," but they were attended by the Court as regularly as the two London theatres, the Duke's and the King's. Two small theatres supplied the needs of Londoners at this time, because only members and would-be members of the Court circle were regular spectators.

Pepys describes the stage as "a thousand times better and more glorious than ever heretofore," the stage lit with wax-candles, and many of them in chandeliers, where formerly there were not above three pounds of tallow, "now all things civil, no rudeness anywhere."[2] The central dome was still open to the weather, but in spite of this drawback the pit was filled with gentlemen and ladies (sitting on benches without backs), and when a hailstorm came on, the theatre emptied. The highest charge was 4s. for the boxes, the lowest 1s. for the upper gallery. It was pre-eminently an age of fine actors and actresses, but spectacular effects, and the French ballet-dancing taught by St. André excited as much interest as good acting.

Cards.

Night after night, Sundays not excepted, the queen and the king's mistresses played either the Spanish ombre, which sent "primero" out of fashion, or basset, a simple gambling game resembling baccarat. Evelyn notes that James II.'s queen was exceedingly concerned for the loss of £80 at basset, July 13th, 1686.[3]

Dances.

For some time the old-fashioned brawl, or brantle, the coranto, and country dances were favourites at Court, but in 1666 Pepys notes the introduction of new French dances.

The most fashionable outdoor exercises were tennis and pell-mell, in which the object was to hit a ball through two

[1] Reresby, "Memoirs," ed. Cartwright, p. 299. [2] February 12th, 1666-7.
[3] *Cf.* also his entry, January 6th, 1666-2.

hoops, placed at the head and end of a long alley. Citizens and peasants were faithful to football;[1] the Grand Duke Cosmo noted that women of the lower orders were suffered to play ball in the public streets. Amusements.

Cock-fighting was a favourite sport of the gentry, and admission cost 2s. 6d.;[2] bull- and bear-baiting were for the vulgar, and no longer fashionable in good society. On August 17th, 1667, Evelyn refused to be a spectator when a horse was baited and killed, but went July 16th, 1670, and came back Cock-fighting and Bear-baiting.

> "most heartily weary of the rude and dirty pastime, which I had not seene, I think, in twenty years before."

Foreigners were taken to see the baitings as a peculiarly English amusement.[3] Deer-hunting in Hampton Park, if we may judge from the account of the Grand Duke Cosmo, had become a form of baiting.

Sometimes the arena of the bear-garden was used for fencing, boxing, and prize-fights, advertised in the town by criers with drums and trumpets. Jorevin gives an account of the horrible wounds he saw inflicted in a sword-fight, and concludes: Fencing and Boxing.

> "For my part I think there is an inhumanity . . . in permitting men to kill each other for diversion, . . . I should have had more pleasure in seeing the battle of the bears and dogs, which was fought the following day on the same theatre."[4]

Sorbière, on the other hand, complains that the fighters were merely playing, and did not hit hard enough.[5]

In the country districts the old-fashioned sports were still kept up, on week-days.[6]

No London pleasure ground was able to maintain a reputation for respectability for more than a short period. Those which Cromwell had closed made no effort to recover their position on the Restoration, but a New Spring Garden[7] was Pleasure Grounds.

[1] Chamberlayne, "State of England," 1676.

[2] "Life of the Hon. Sir Dudley North," ed. Jessopp, p. 4.

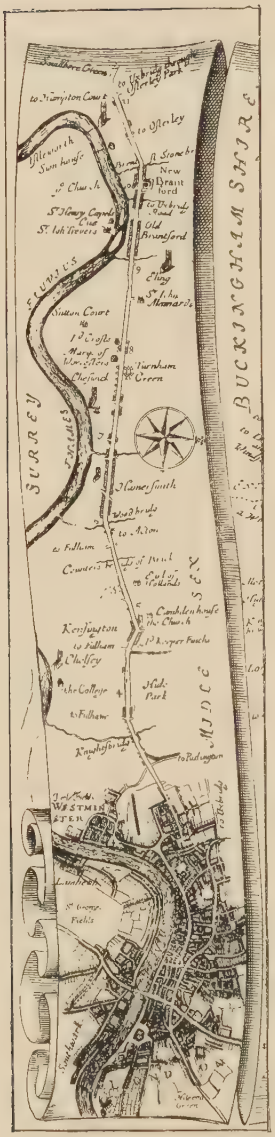
[3] Reresby, "Memoirs," p. 242 (1682); and *see* the travels of Cosmo, Sorbière, and Jorevin.

[4] Grose, "Antiquarian Repertory," IV., 571; "Jorevin's Travels," 1672.

[5] "Voyage to England," p. 72.

[6] *Cf.* "Life of the Hon. Roger North," ed. Jessopp, p. 9.

[7] "Old" Spring Gardens are mentioned in 1653 by Dorothy Osborne, p. 239, ed. E. A. Parry.



THE ROAD FROM LONDON TO BRENTFORD.

(*Ogilby, "Britannia,"* 1675.)

opened at Vauxhall, or Foxhall, with a beautiful pleasure house, and numerous arbours in which people dined. Evelyn calls it, in 1661, "a pretty contrived plantation," and fine people walked there to hear the nightingales. In 1668 it was no longer respectable.[1]

To drive in the "Ring" or the "Tour" of Hyde Park, after the play, towards evening, was as fashionable as ever. The royal party was generally to be seen there. The Park was walled in, and refreshments, in the form of cheesecake, tarts, and syllabub (wine and cream sweetened) were to be bought at the entrance lodge. The dust was found so troublesome that in 1664 a charge of 6d. per coach was levied to defray the expense of watering the roads.[2] Lackeys and footmen were not admitted, but awaited the return of their masters at the entrance.[3]

In St. James's Park, opened to the public by Charles II., the chief interest was the flock of water-fowl, especially if the king or duke were feeding them. Before making a new dress, Mrs. Pepys walked in Gray's Inn Gardens to see the fashions.

The citizens' favourite evening walk was in Lamb's Conduit Fields, north of High Holborn; on holidays, in Hoxton Fields; on Sundays, in Spa Fields, Clerkenwell:—

"Your glass-coach will to Hyde Park for air; the suburb fools trudge to Lamb's Conduit or Tottenham; your sprucer sort of

[1] Pepys, May 30th and June 1st, 1668.
[2] Larwood, "London Parks": Hyde Park, p. 70.
[3] Cosmo, p. 175 (1669).

ST. JAMES'S PARK AND PALACE IN 1689.

citizens gallop to Epsom; your mechanic gross fellows, shewing much conjugal affection, strut before their wives, each with a child in his arms, to Islington or Hogsden."[1]

Coffee Houses.

After the early dinner, the members of literary and political societies went to the coffee-house or club. Sir J. Harrington's Rota, at the Turk's Head, continued famous, and Pepys, having paid his entrance fee of 1s. 6d., describes a debate held there. The host of the coffee-house was the recipient of all the town gossip. Each, on entering, asks the "threadbare question, 'What news have you, Master?'" and the host tells him "what he has heard the barber to the tailor of a great courtier's man say."[2] The freedom of the political opinions expressed, especially in the private rooms with their "tables for irreligion and rota for politics," made Clarendon suggest a system of espionage as early as 1666.[3] In 1675 Charles II., after collecting judicial opinions, ordered all coffee-houses to be closed. The order was soon rescinded, and the landlords recovered their licences on promising to use their utmost endeavour to stop seditious talk and the circulation of scandalous papers, books, and libels.

News-Papers.

At the beginning of the reign the two official papers of the Commonwealth, appearing one on Monday, the other on Thursday, were continued. In 1663 Roger l'Estrange was appointed surveyor of the press, with the sole privilege of writing, printing, and publishing all narratives, advertisements, mercuries, intelligencers, diurnals, etc. He carried on the two official papers—the *Public Intelligencer* and *Mercurius Politicus*, changing the names to *Intelligencer* and the *News*. The *Intelligencer* was a single quarto sheet, costing ½d.[4] In his prospectus he expressed his opinion that all newspapers were bad, as making the public "too familiar with the actions and councils of their superiors," but he had decided that, as the public were not in their right wits, he must set aside this opinion, and seek to bring them to reason by judicious guidance. His papers failed, for he spent £500 "in entertaining spies for information," and brought in by the sale

[1] Shadwell's "Virtuoso," 1676, quoted in Cunningham's "Nell Gwynne."
[2] "Character of a Coffee House," Harl. Misc., VI., 465.
[3] "Lives of the Norths," ed. Jessopp, I., 197, 199 note.
[4] Nichols, "Anecdotes," IV., 54–5.

only £400. This failure was due to the defection of Williamson, who, in 1665, persuaded Charles II. to start a new paper under his direction as the only official paper. This was the *Oxford Gazette*, subsequently called the *London Gazette*. L'Estrange complained of the infringement of his privilege, but was powerless against the king. His general surveyorship of the press remained to him, and he licensed an immense number of papers. In 1681 he began his *Observator*, in the form of a dialogue, which served as a model for the papers that succeeded it.[1]

As on the question of newspapers, so in postal arrangements, the plans of the Commonwealth were adopted and reorganised. The Commonwealth, unwilling to lose a source of revenue and a means of political espionage, had jealously restricted private enterprise, and had stopped John Hill's scheme for a penny post between London and York. In 1659 Hill published his

COMPANY AT A COFFEE HOUSE.
"*Coffee House Jests, Refined and Enlarged*," 1688.

"Penny Post, or a Vindication of the Liberty and Birthright of every Englishman in carrying Merchants' and other Men's Letters, against any restraint of Farmers [of the State monopoly], &c."

But the Act of 1657 was the model followed by Charles II., 1660 (12 Car. II., cap. 35). The Act of 1657 ordered the official charge to be for a "single" letter: 6d. to Ireland, 4d. to Scotland, 3d. beyond a radius of 80 miles from London, and 2d. within that radius. The Act of 1660 amended this by charging 2d. for distances under 80 miles from the place

Postal Services.

[1] "Dict. Nat. Biography"; Grant, "History of the Newspaper Press."

where the letter was received, and 3d. beyond that distance, with special rates for Irish, Scotch, and foreign letters. For a "double" letter (one sheet enclosed by another) the charge was double, and for "pacquets" of letters the charge was 1s. 6d. per oz. The Postmaster-General kept the monopoly of providing post-horses, paying 3d. per mile for each horse, and the "guide groat" 4d. for every stage. In 1663 a proclamation was issued forbidding post-office officials to open letters except by warrant of the Secretaries of State. In 1677 the Post-office was farmed by the Duke of York to Lord Arlington for £43,000. There were seventy-five persons then at work in the central office, and 182 local postmasters. The post was calculated to go regularly 120 miles in every twenty-four hours. In 1683 corresponding offices were established in all considerable market towns in connection with the nearest post-stage.

DOCKWRA'S POSTMARKS.
("*The Present State of London*," 1681.)

In 1680 Dockwra and Murray tried to start a private enterprise for a penny post in London, organised frequent collections and deliveries, and erected many district offices, and hundreds of wall-boxes. The Postmaster-General's patent was declared to be infringed. Dockwra was consoled by seeing his scheme taken over by the Government, and he himself received an appointment in the Post-office.[1]

Men's Dress.

In the reign of Charles II., and by his influence, masculine dress was revolutionised for the doublet and long cloak passed out of fashion, and were replaced by garments which have since become the coat and waistcoat. They were then called tunic and vest, or surcoat and waistcoat.[2] The vest reached to the calf of the leg. The surcoat hung loose, and shorter than the vest by six inches.[3] The vest, or waistcoat, was tied into the body by a sash, and the tunic was smartened by a row of gold buttons, never fastened, and by gold edging along the seams, which Pepys procured from his wife's

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1815, xxxv, p. 309; Lewins, "Her Majesty's Mails"; *Academy*, December 27th, 1879; Wheatley, p. 464; Hyde, "Post in Grant and Farm."

[2] *Cf.* Pepys, October 15th, 1666.

[3] Rugge, *Diurnal*, October 11th, 1666, quoted by Mynors Bright.

A CAVALIER.

best petticoat, "that she had when I married her." Beneath the vest, tight knee-breeches were worn. Boots had gone out of fashion, except for riding, and low shoes, with high heels and buckles, were worn; hats were broad and low, with a bow at the side, and no feathers. The lace "band" died out, and no collar was shown; but in 1664, and at the end of the period, a small lace cravat was worn. It was not unusual for a man to carry a muff, suspended round his neck by a ribbon. Pepys took his wife's old muff into use, and let her buy a new one.

Wigs.

It is said that at the beginning of the reign a modified form of periwig was worn by men anxious to conceal Roundhead principles,[1] for the huge French periwig had not yet come into fashion. August 29th, 1663, Pepys writes: "Had some thoughts, though no great desire or resolution, to wear a periwig yet"; by October 1st he had bought two, at £3 and £2 each. "I have worn neither yet, but will begin next week, God willing." The king and Duke of York had not yet begun, and Pepys's nerve was sorely tried when he first wore his, though, as he found, without reason.[2] As a rule, the pattern worn by Louis XIV. was the favourite—very large, dark, and curly. Powder was not much in vogue, though Dryden speaks of white wigs[3]—white vallancy wigs. The face was always clean shaven. The fop was to be known by his skilful management of his curls in bowing, with the "toss" or "the new French wallow":—

AN OLIVERIAN.

[1] Strickland, "Queens of England," VIII., 351.
[2] Diary, November 8th, 1663.
[3] Prologue, "*Marriage à la Mode.*"

> "Another's diving bow he did adore.
> Which with a shog casts all the hair before,
> Till he with full decorum brings it back,
> And rises with a water-spaniel shake."[1]

"Currying" the wig with a comb was a favourite pastime at the play.

In an advertisement for a truant boy, his coat is described as of sad-coloured cloth, lined with flowered silk, with peach-coloured and green flowers; his waistcoat was of the same silk, and he had on sad-coloured silk stockings and a sad-coloured cloth cap, turned up with sables and laced down the seams with gold braid[2] (1681). In a girl's dress the characteristic feature was her "hanging-sleeves," in a boy's his "long coat"; both are spoken off as peculiar to childhood.

A fop required to dress as a citizen is told to off with his clothes, sword, wig, and hat, to put on a black suit of grogram (coarse woollen cloth), reaching below his knees, a broad-skirted doublet, a girdle round his waist, and a short black coat, "squirted down before with black taffity," a broad-brimmed hat, great twisted hatband with a rose at the end of it, his close-shaven head without the periwig "is slink enough and of the precise cut"[3] (1685). The citizens still wore the plain collar and falling band. Knitted stockings were now worn by the humbler ranks. Pepys notes a shepherd's "wooling knit stockings of two colours mixed."

Women's Dress.

Queen Catherine arrived in England in her Portuguese farthingale, but soon laid it aside for the English dress. She did what she could to keep dresses short, as she loved "mightily" to have the feet seen. When the king determined on the vest and tunic, a coat to the ankles was talked of for women, but trains became the fashion in 1663. Mrs. Stewart's hat was cocked and had a red plume, and hats and feathers were usual. May 14th, 1665, Mrs. Pepys went out in her fashionable "yellow birdseye hood." Straw hats were worn only by country-women. Not much jewellery was worn, pearls alone being fashionable.[4] The buying of

[1] Dryden's Epilogue to Etheredge's *Man of Mode*, 1676.
[2] Malcolm, "Manners," II., 332. [3] Fairholt, quoting the *Factious Citizen*.
[4] Cosmo, p. 400.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

A LADY BUYING SHOES.
(*By W. Holder.*)

dozens of pairs of gloves, perfumed with jasmine and rosecake, in the shops of the New Exchange, was a favourite form of extravagance. Ladies frequently made their own clothes. Mrs. Pepys, then a well-to-do lady, spent Christmas Day, 1668, sitting undressed till ten at night, "altering and lacing of a black petticoat"; Lady Hatton cut out her own "manto"; Dudley North liked to sit unpicking dresses with his wife.

The female citizen wore a grogram gown, little rings upon her forehead, a strait hood, and a small colverteen[1] pinner to make her look saintlike. Pepys saw Lady Castlemain driving through the park in yellow satin and a pinner, probably not looking saintlike, in spite of this adjunct. The wife of a tile-maker, chosen to nurse the Prince of Wales (1688), wore on her arrival at the palace a cloth petticoat and waistcoat, old shoes, and no stockings.[2] The Grand Duke Cosmo observed that Englishwomen of the lowest rank wore good clothes.

Coiffure. The changes in hair-dressing were rapid. Women wore many forms of perruques, especially those made of fair hair. In 1664 a "taure," or bull-head fringe, was worn, but in most of Lely's portraits the fringe consists only of a few straggling curls fixed at intervals upon the forehead. The "puffs," which Mr. Pepys admired, were a quantity of false curls set out on wires, making the head look very wide. Most of the royal mistresses are painted with their hair or wigs done in childish curls, clustering close to the head and neck.[3]

August 30th, 1660, was the first day Mr. Pepys saw his wife in black patches since they were married. In mourning it was usual to omit the "spots." Masks hiding the whole face were worn in the street and at the play, but, as a rule, only by bad characters. When Pepys saw "civil ladies" in them, he generally enters the fact as noteworthy.

Meals. Even the most fashionable and dissipated kept very early hours, and began a "debauch" at the one o'clock dinner. It was pre-eminently an age of hospitality, and guests stayed playing cards, drinking tea or coffee or wine, smoking, seeing

[1] Open lace, with square groundwork. [2] Ellis, Second Series, IV., 120.
[3] *See* the portraits in Mrs. Jameson's "Beauties of the Court of Charles II."

conjuring tricks,[1] and so forth, till seven or eight o'clock, going to bed at sunset in summer. The custom of "circulary dinings," of "factious dining cabals,"[2] came into vogue, and little or no business was done in the afternoon. Merchants went to work about six or seven a.m.;[3] Pepys was sometimes at his desk by four or five a.m., and he was no exception.[4]

In spite of these early hours, it is rare to find any mention of breakfast other than a "morning-draft" of ale, with bread

CITIZENS AT A TAVERN, 1680

(*Roxburghe Ballad.*)

and butter[5] and radishes. Dinner was generally at one o'clock. Pepys's dinners, as he gradually made his way in the world, form a series as interesting to us as to him. January 26th, 1659–60, he gave a homely party, and had

"a dish of marrow-bones; a leg of mutton; a loin of veal; a dish of fowl, 3 pullets, and a dozen larks all in a dish; a great tart, a neat's tongue, a dish of anchovies; a dish of prawns and cheese."

A pretty dinner, March 26th, 1662, was served in courses after the new fashion:—

[1] Evelyn's account of Lord Sunderland's parties, Sidney Papers, Blencowe, I., lx. [2] "Lives of the Norths," I., 195. [3] Aubrey, p. 297.
[4] Compare the early hours of Milton and Thoresby.
[5] Aubrey, on Hobbes's breakfast, p. 622.

"A brace of stewed carps, 6 roasted chickens, and a jowle of salmon hot, for the first course; a tanzy,[1] and 2 neats' tongues and cheese, the second."

April 4th, 1665, he gave a really grand dinner:—

"Fricassee of rabbits and chickens, a leg of mutton boiled, 3 carps in a dish, a great dish of a side of lamb, dish of roasted pigeons, dish of 4 lobsters, 3 tarts, a lamprey pie (a most rare pie), a dish of anchovies, good wine of several sorts, and all things mighty noble and to my great content."

He mentions also a leg of beef, bought for 6d. ("worth my money"), a leg of veal, and boiled haunch of venison. Foreigners noted that the English had no soups or bisques,[2] but the broth of boiled meat was often served in humble circles and in the Universities. The town gallant at the French ordinary supped on "*le pottage*," ate his "*bœuf à la mode*," and drank Burgundy.

Drinks. There was an endless variety of drinks. Of Spanish wines the most usual were canary, sack, tent, malaga, muscadel, and sherry; Florence, Burgundy, Navarre, and Rhenish wine, and claret are also often named; the only spirit in common use was brandy, but it was too costly to be popular. Of fancy drinks, metheglin (mead); hypocras, red wine sugared and spiced; and aromatic, a sweet drink; of ales, "mum," brewed with wheat instead of hops; "buttered ale," beer brewed without hops, warmed, and flavoured with sugar and cinnamon, with butter in it; "lamb's wool," ale with the pulp of apples, were favourites. It is said that in 1688 more than twelve millions of barrels of beer were brewed to supply the needs of a population estimated at about five millions.[3] Water was scarcely ever drunk, even by children, who drank small beer from their earliest years.[4] In town, coffee and chocolate were usual, tea somewhat rarer. June 29th, 1667, Pepys enters: "Home, and there find my wife making of tea; a drink which the Potticary tells her is good for her cold and defluxions." In the Norths' household there was a "solemn

[1] A pudding of eggs and cream, flavoured with tansy. [2] Sorbière, p. 62.
[3] Lecky, "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," I., 478.
[4] Locke. "Thoughts Concerning Education": "A child's drink should be only small beer."

service of tea" in the withdrawing-room after dinner.[1] In 1678 a nephew praises his uncle, Mr. Secretary Coventry, because he does not call for tea instead of pipes and bottles after dinner, but rejects that "filthy custom . . . the base

CORONATION FEAST OF JAMES II.
(*F. Sandford, "Coronation of James II.,"* 1687.)

unworthy Indian practice" which no Christian family should admit. Early in the reign Charles II. issued a proclamation against drinking healths, but was himself the first to break it

[1] "Lives of the Norths," ed. Jessopp, I., 320, 418.

in Mulberry Garden.[1] In his reign, it is said, the term "toast" was first introduced. Toast-drinking began when the cloth had been removed.[2]

Many writers state that during the troublous time of the late Civil War it became unusual to take supper, and the poorer middle classes, after the Restoration, took only a hot drink of buttered ale, or a light meal.[3] Those who could afford it made a larger meal, with fish or a joint;[4] undergraduates had roast meat at supper, except on fast-days, Friday, Saturday, and Wednesday, when they had tansy pudding.

Table Manners.

Although it was commonly remarked that Charles II. introduced "a politer way of living," foreign travellers observed a want of "gentility" in English conduct at meals. Sorbière says:

> "They scarce ever make use of forks or ewers, for they wash their hands by dipping them into a bason of water,"

the same serving for all.

Cosmo, describing better company, says:

> "On the English table there are no forks. A beaker was set before each person, and at the end of the meal each dips the end of his napkin therein, and with this they clean their teeth and wash their hands."[5]

Even at a royal feast each guest had only one knife and fork, "tastefully arranged" before him. Pepys summoned a professional man to lay out his napkins in figures of all sorts the day before a dinner party. At table the guests were all seated on chairs without backs,[6] and wore their hats. The politer way of living did not check the habit of constant spitting.[7]

Health Resorts.

Though meals were fewer than in modern times, fashionable people found the waters and restricted diet of Bath and Tunbridge Wells conducive to health. At Bath the arrangements for bathing were not more elaborate than those

[1] Ludlow, "Memoirs," ed. Firth, II., 275. [2] Evelyn, "Character of England."

[3] Jorevin in Grose. Chamberlayne, "State of England," 1673; Misson, "Travels over England," 1688-97.

[4] "Lives of the Norths," III., 318. The Duke of Newcastle took only an egg for supper, and for breakfast a cup of sack with a piece of bread.

[5] Cosmo, "Travels," p. 464. [6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Cf.* Gailhard's "Compleat Gentleman," on spitting at table; and Pepys, January 28, 1660-61.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

TUNBRIDGE WELLS, 1688-1722. (*By Jan Kip.*)

for sea-bathing are now. Guidott, writing 1673, says:—"It were to be wished that Queen's Bath and Cross Bath, being small baths, were covered," that the heat may be kept in, and winter bathing made possible. Pumps had lately been erected to take the place of "bucketing." In the Lepers' Bath, "poor people and lepers bathe themselves."[1] King's and Queen's Bath Pepys found full of a mixed sort of company, good and bad, and the Cross only for gentry (1667). He did not find even the Cross bath clean, as the grand company all bathed in the same water. After two hours in the water, he was "carried away wrapped in a sheet, and so in a chair home." Tunbridge Wells was still a country spot. Henrietta Maria and her suite lived on the common in tents when they went to drink the waters. Later, a few dwelling-houses were built, a bowling-green and coffee-houses were started, and, after the visits of Queen Catherine and of the Duke of York with his wife and daughters, a row of shops and houses was built on the Green Bank. In 1687 the houses were burned down and rebuilt as a parade with covered porticoes.

The waters of Epsom were for the humbler citizens who dwelt east of Temple Bar. Pepys found a very common set of people there. Northerners went to the "spaws" at Harrogate, Scarborough, and Buxton.[2]

Travel. There was an increased desire to travel, and some improvement in travelling facilities, but roads remained much as they had been. In the Act of 1663 for the improvement of a part of the great North road, the toll-bar system was first adopted. The justices of the peace were to appoint surveyors and collectors of toll. At Wadesmill in Herts, Caxton in Cambridgeshire, and Stilton in Huntingdonshire, toll was to be taken on horses, carts, coaches, waggons and droves of cattle.

Coaches. Stage-coaching, begun at the end of the Commonwealth, now became usual, in spite of strenuous resistance from those who held that it made men effeminate, would destroy the breed of horses, and deprive thousands of the means of livelihood.[3]

[1] Oliver, "Dissertation on Bath Waters," 1707, p. 25.

[2] Thoresby, "Diary," *passim*. 'Barnet Wells were also popular" (Pepys, August 10th, 1667).

[3] Thoresby, I., 29, note; Harl. Misc., VIII., 561, "Grand Concern of England"

The usual charge was 1s. for every five miles.[1] The Flying Coaches, 1677, made between forty and fifty miles a day, and accomplished in twelve hours the journey from London to Oxford or Cambridge.[2]

A few only of the nobility followed the old fashion, travelling with several coaches, and numbers of men-servants on horseback, to protect the passengers, and to heave the coaches out of the ruts.

In 1677 Reresby, as a justice of the peace, had caused a

THE SCHOALE INN, NORFOLK, BUILT 1655.
(*From a print of* 1740 *in the Norwich Museum.*)

number of highwaymen to be taken and severely punished; the result was that on his next journey to London he came well guarded.[3] The stage-coach made it easy for his wife and family to follow him to town. Private coaches, as a rule, had six horses; in waggons, six were harnessed one before another. In travelling it was usual to take a guide. Pepys paid £1 2s. 6d. to the guide that brought him from Newport Pagnell to Oxford. The way-menders also expected to be fed.

[1] Chamberlayne, "State of England," 1673.
[2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1815, p. 310. [3] "Memoirs," p. 159.

Inns.

The quality of inns was generally praised by foreign travellers.[1] At the George Inn, Salisbury, Pepys slept in a silk bed, and had "very good diet, but very dear." With three ladies, riding pillion, he went to Stonehenge, and had to sleep at a rustic inn, where they found the beds "lousy, which made us merry."

Vehicles.

Wicker and spring carriages, and "glass coaches"—namely, coaches with glass windows—were among the novelties of this inventive period; so, too, the calash, or two-wheeled hooded carriage. Sorbière complained that the hackney coach was a disgrace, being no more than a cart or ordinary travelling waggon. The driver rode on the back of one of his horses. Cosmo gives a more favourable account, and says at every corner were decent coaches, in all about eight hundred hackneys in London.

London Streets.

Complaints of the state of London streets were as numerous as they are now. Charles II. feared that if nothing were done Queen Catherine would be unable to reach Whitehall for the floods. Evelyn, July 31st, 1662,

"sat with the Commissioners about reforming buildings and streets of London, and we ordered the paving of the way from St. James's North, which was a quagmire, and also of the Haymarket about Piqudillo (Piccadilly[2]), and agreed upon instructions to be printed and published for the better keeping the streets clean."

Foot-passengers could rarely cross London Bridge, owing to the amount of traffic always passing that way, and the river was still constantly used; Pepys generally noted the fact when he made his expeditions "by land." He seems to have been naturally nervous, and both by land and water was often in fear. He was only once among those who had the hardihood to "shoot" the rapids of London Bridge in a boat, preferring, as a rule, to land and get in again on the other side. After the Fire he felt uneasy if obliged to be out after dark, and sat in the coach with his sword drawn. This nervousness perhaps was justified, for at a late hour he "could hardly get a coach or a link willing to go through the ruines." After the rebuilding of the City the streets were wider and better paved. The

[1] Sorbière, etc.

[2] Piccadilly was still on the outskirts of the town: Lord Burlington chose the site for his house there, as he was determined to have no building beyond him.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

dangers of the streets were due not only to the prevalence of robbery, but to the "hectors," "nickers," or "scowrers," gentlemen who assaulted and outraged passengers for their own amusement, and also to the hired bullies and nose-slitters, who undertook the execution of private acts of vengeance for the king and others.

In the City the Puritan observance of Sunday was fully established, and the Court example there found no imitators. The continued existence of "Fanatiques," as the Puritans were called, is brought more forcibly to mind by the Government's

Puritan Survivals

THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE'S WATERMEN AND MASTER OF THE BARGE.

(*F. Sandford, "Funeral of the Duke of Albemarle,"* 1670.)

acts of repressive legislation than by their prominence in society. They had quietly become, and were content to remain, "the most substantiall sort of people, and the soberest." Of all the old army not one was to be seen begging in the streets.

Davenant, commenting on the treatment of children in England, held that English parents were peculiarly unkind, bringing up their children to be strangers to them, and at pains to teach them nothing but bashfulness. Locke also, in his treatise on education, indicates that parents were inclined to consider manners as all-important. He urges parents not to beat their children for "unfashionable carriage," and such merely childish ways as they will outgrow. In his opinion, there should rarely be occasion for blows except in cases of

Children.

obstinacy. From his account, it appears that it was not unusual for parents to govern their children by a long code of rules, which the child was expected to learn. The personal experiences of all writers on this subject are apt to colour their statements, and an impartial view is not generally given by contemporary writers. All dwell, however, on the great danger of leaving children much with servants and inferiors, except in their earliest years, when children were, as a rule, put out to nurse with country women.[1]

In the letters of children to parents there are still traces of the formal and frigid relations which had been characteristic of an earlier period. In writing home it was usual to address the father as "Hon^d. Father, Sir," and to conclude with "your dutiful and obedient Son." The mother, too, is "Hon^d. Mother," and this in an age when letter-writers, as a rule, were at pains to find tender terms of endearment.

Education. Young children were put to severe studies at an early age, in the few families where learning was esteemed. Evelyn's little boy, who died at the age of five, could read at two and a half, and before five had "learned out Puerilis," and "made progress in Comenius's Janua." In the correspondence of Locke an account is given of a friend's child who, at five, could perform the plainer problems of the Globe, at six began Latin (with his mother, who began to learn that she might teach him), at nine he understood "geography and chronology and the Copernican system of our Vortex," and all without having one blow for his book. He had seen some dogs dissected, and could give "some little account of the grand traces of anatomy." In a home education, geography, chronology, and the use of the globes were most insisted on.[2] But it was an age in which an unusual value was set on social accomplishments; the dancing-master who taught a little child "to make a leg" received the largest share of the fees for tuition;[3] and, in the desire for "good breeding," the mental education for boys of the upper class tended to become inefficient. As a rule, the younger sons of the aristocracy were taught the elements at home by the

[1] Duchess of Newcastle, "World's Olio," p. 79; "Lives of the Norths," I., 173; III., 4. Harley Papers, Hist. MSS. Com., 1894.

[2] *Cf.* Burnet, "Own Times," II., 245. Quick's Preface to Locke's "Thoughts."

[3] *Cf.* Hatton Correspondence, Camden Society.

chaplain; they were then sent to the grammar-school, or to a public school, and thence to the University. Eldest sons were rarely sent to school or to the University, but travelled with a tutor at the age of sixteen, when their brothers went to college. The comparative advantages of a home and a school education were much debated. Lord Cork sent one of his sons to Eton at the age of eight, after he had learned to speak French and Latin under his French tutor and his chaplain, and this child later in life gave it as his opinion that

THE PLAYGROUND.
(*Komensky*, "*Orbis Sensualium Pictus*," 1689.)

"breeding up of great men's children at home tempts them to nicety, to pride, and idleness, and contributes much more to give them a good opinion of themselves than to deserve it."[1]

Locke, who was unhappy at Westminster under Dr. Busby, says on the other hand:

"How any one's being put into a mixed herd of boys, and there learning to wrangle at trap or rook at span-farthing, fits him for conversation or business, I do not see."

THE SCHOOLROOM.
(*Komensky*, "*Orbis Sensualium Pictus*," 1689.)

In his opinion boys brought up at home always had the best manners. The Provost of Eton, however, was esteemed "not

[1] Boyle, "Philaretus."

Schools.

only a fine gentleman himself, but very skilled in the art of making others so." At Westminster the fines for talking English in hall or school were rigidly enforced, but Boyle writes that at Eton he forgot most of his Latin conversation and prose in learning grammar. The practice of teaching Latin by talking it was gradually dying out; Locke advocated its revival in his "Thoughts concerning Education." Boyle's studies at Eton were chiefly classical, and he supplemented them by staying at Geneva to learn rhetoric, logic, mathematics, and the doctrine of the spheres. At Westminster, scholars preparing for the University sent in Hebrew and Arabic as well as Latin and Greek themes.[1] Evelyn was astonished at such work from boys of twelve or thirteen, and laments that so few of them retained or ripened their knowledge in later years. Both at Westminster and at Eton there were about 300 boys, some staying to the age of twenty.[2]

Many youths of good family were taught at Mr. Birch's, of Shilton, near Burford. The Earl of Clare, wishing to send his boys there, heard it was full—no chamber to be had without three beds in it.[3] Lord Chancellor Harcourt and Lord Chief Justice Trevor were both taught there. On leaving school, those who did not travel went to an "academy" to learn fencing, riding, and dancing—such as Foubert's fashionable establishment. Those who had to earn a living went to writing-schools to learn good hands and accounts, places "of entire liberty,"[4] or were apprenticed immediately to trades.

Tutors.

Knowledge of the world was the chief qualification required in the tutor to the eldest son. It was his duty to teach

> "skill in men and manners; pull off the Mask which their several Callings and Pretences cover them with, and make his Pupil discern what lies at the Bottom under such Appearances."[5]

When tutor and pupil travelled abroad it was usual first to settle in a French provincial town to learn the language and how to enter a room, how to carry the head and hands, and turn the toes out; also dancing, fencing, riding, the use of one stringed instrument—lute, guitar, or violin—and, above

[1] Evelyn, May 13th, 1661.
[2] *Cf.* Locke; Reresby, "Memoirs," June 10th, 1686.
[3] Harley Papers. [4] Jessopp, "Life of Hon. Sir D. North," II., 3
[5] Locke, "Thoughts on Education."

SAN RAFAEL
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

all, the pupil must not fail to get some skill in ancient and modern curiosities, pictures, statues, medals, and such other curious things. Leaving France, Italy should be visited, Germany and the Low Countries if there be time and money, and the youth should finish with a few months in Paris[1]

The Education of Girls.

The desire to learn social accomplishments prevailed even more strongly in determining the course of girls' education. The household duties for which they had formerly been trained were now neglected, and they were sent to Hackney[2] or Chelsea boarding-schools to learn dancing, painting, music, and French, now "almost as fashionable among women of quality as men."

OBERWESEL ON THE RHINE.
(*From an Engraving by W. Hollar.*)

At home they were early provided with the fashionable romances, plays, and poems, and early taken to pay calls with their mothers. A girl of fifteen was as old as a boy of twenty-one.[3] In such a household as Evelyn's the education of the girls was carefully organised. Writing of a favourite daughter at her death, at the age of nineteen, Evelyn notes that

"she had collected and written out many of the most useful and judicious periods of the books she read in a kind of common-place. . . . She had read and digested a considerable deal of history, and of places. The French tongue was as familiar to her as English; she understood Italian. . . . She had an excellent voice, to which she played a thorough-bass on the harpsichord."

[1] Gailhard, "Compleat Gentleman," 1678.

[2] The "matchless Orinda," K. Philips, was in 1639 at Mrs. Salmon's in Hackney (Ballard, "Learned Ladies"). Pepys went to see the Hackney schoolgirls at church. *Cf.* too Malcolm, "Manners of London," I., 414.

[3] Mary Astell, "Defence of the Female Sex," 1696.

Her spelling was correct, her "periods," like her mother's, exact. She had read Homer and some Latin poets, in translations. It was unusual for girls to learn any classics, yet Locke found, as a governess for Lord Shaftesbury's son, a woman who talked Latin, and, it is said, Greek.

JAMES COLVILLE. Scotland.

NICOLL, the Scottish Pepys, depicts the festivities that evinced the joy of the citizens of Edinburgh over the return of the king from his travels. A sermon in St. Giles's, honoured by the presence of a loyal corporation in magisterial splendour, opened the proceedings. Thereafter, amid roystering that voiced itself in the clatter of three hundred broken glasses, a gay company drank the healths of the royal brothers at a board laid out on the High Street, and covered with sweets and wine. The spouts of the Cross, whereon heralds were so soon to proclaim the Bloody Acts of the Killing Time, ran copious libations, while a rubicund Bacchus, throned on a wine puncheon amid his attendants, shed glory on the scene to the music of six viols. Up on the Castle Hill the while, lewd fellows of the baser sort made congenial riot over the blazing effigies of Old Noll and Old Nick. Thus opened the reign of the Merry Monarch in Scotland, the meanest, wickedest, and saddest in its annals.

The Restoration.

The Government.

Though England was henceforth to look with imperial indifference on Scottish affairs, the period was of considerable moment in directing that sorely baffled current of political life which flowed on to the Revolution. But the stubborn endurance of an alien Church seemed like rebellion to a people that so lately had had too much of it. The government for which Scotland had to thank the Restoration is thus characterised by Hallam:—"No part of modern history for so long a time can be compared with this for the wickedness of the government. Parliament left far behind the royalist Commons of London." Then was realised the full fruition of Divine Right and arbitrary power — Crown all-powerful, governing classes sordid and brutal, peasants dragooned into poverty or rebellion, judges hopelessly corrupt and callous, clergy possessed by a prelatic propensity to bless the strong arm. For nine years (1672–81) Lauderdale dispensed with even the obsequious

Parliament of the Restoration, which, under the control of Middleton, a drunken trooper and ennobled soldier of fortune, erased from the Statute Book all the Acts of the Usurpation, re-established Episcopacy to the order of a royal letter, and stained the Act of Indemnity with the blood of Argyll, Johnstone, and Guthrie. Moderates like Baillie had hoped now for a re-united Church, but Sharp, the Judas whom they

manus
Sic krabi
Manus Christi
Manus subversatrix
Omnibus intentant nervis extinguere verbi
Lampada; ſuccurrat ni pia veſtra manus:
Prevailing Prelats ſtrive to quench our Light,
Except your ſacred power quaſh their might.

SATIRE ON THE RESTORATION OF EPISCOPACY.
(Sutherland Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

trusted, influenced by the Bishop of London and Dr. Morley, came north with the bribe of the Primacy and the savour of Apostolic Ordination in Westminster, where he passed, with his colleagues, in one day, through the grades of deacon, presbyter, and bishop. "Episcopal ordination," says Kirkton, "is a flower not to be found in a Scottish garden." The Drunken Parliament—or rather Privy Council—at Glasgow,

1662, evicted 350 clergymen who had refused collation from a bishop, the condition of compliance. The men in power, anxious only to fill their pockets, fined, through the Bishops' Dragnet, those absentees from the parish church whom the curates reported. The High Commission Court was restored (1664) with dragoons at its disposal under the brutal Dalzell, Turner, and Bannatyne, and odious satellites like Grierson of Lag and Bruce of Earlshall. The dragoons furnished victims, the boot and the thumbkins effected compliance, and, that failing, Rothes despatched the unfortunates to "glorify God in the Grassmarket." The accused had no indictment, defences, witnesses, or appeal. The fall of Clarendon (p. 475) deprived the prelates of a thick and thin supporter, and led to the First Indulgence of 1669. Lauderdale got from the Parliament of this year authority to raise a militia ready, if need be, to march into England, in which we see the working of the Treaty of Dover. But the fall of the Cabal, first triumph of the Whigs, gave to Scotland the undivided attentions of Lauderdale and his avaricious and detested wife. The Parliament of 1672, daring to oppose him, was dissolved. The opposition tried to enlist the support of the House of Commons, but the king said, "Lauderdale has been guilty of many things against the people of Scotland, but I cannot find he has acted anything contrary to my interests." His system of *Thorough*, carried out by the Highland Host (1678), and the sterner military rule of Dalzell and Claverhouse, at length had the desired effect—rebellion. Significant is it that the year (1679) which gave England Habeas Corpus saw such desperate doings in the north as Sharp's murder, the skirmish of Drumclog, and the massacre of Bothwell Brig. Then followed the hanging of the victims, the penning of survivors in an uncovered corner of Greyfriars' churchyard, and the despatch of the rest as slaves across the seas. The Hillmen boldly disowned the king in the Sanquhar Declaration (1680), but the desperate rally at Airdsmoss, and the death of the leaders, Cameron, Cargill, and Haxton, put an end to open resistance.

Reign of Terror.

The political crisis to which we owe the Exclusion Bill and Dryden's "Absalom and Achitophel," gave Scotland the Duke of York in place of the now aged Lauderdale. The Privy Council, over which he presided, pushing Divine right and

passive obedience to extreme limits, wielded its despotism through tools of the type of Claverhouse, who, as sheriff, harried Galloway, and stained his reputation with the Wigton martyrdom, for which his brother and deputy was directly responsible, and with the shooting of Brown of Priesthill, in which he himself played the chief part. Even the nobles felt the scourge, and passed a strict law of entail restricting forfeitures to the life-rent of the holder of the title. Then came the

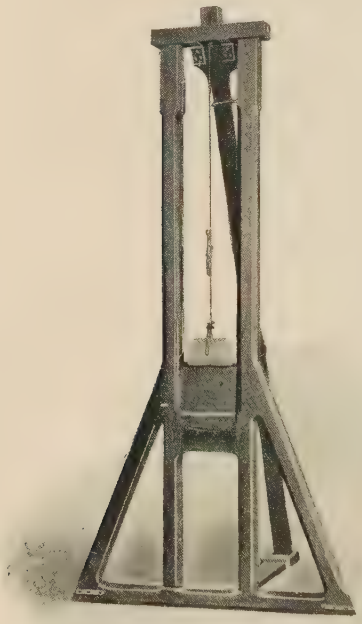
JOHN GRAHAM OF CLAVERHOUSE, BY SIR PETER LELY.

(*By permission of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Bath.*)

Succession and Test Acts, raising the spectre of popery, and driving some of the best men, like Argyll and Stair, into exile. The acutest stage was reached in 1684, when the defiant Declaration of the Hillmen brought on the Bloody Acts. Troopers killed in the open field unarmed men who declined to answer incriminating questions. Fines and estates were divided among the Council, whom we hear of thanking Jeffreys for his offer to arrest the rebellious and disorderly who might flee to England. The Rye House Plot involved many Scottish Whigs,

A Reaction Begins.

and tortures which were illegal in the Tower were transferred to the Council-room in Edinburgh. There the narrow-minded Duke of York, not content with watching, as an interesting experiment, for the last blow of the mallet, the final twist of the screw, that the victim could endure, struck at the natural leaders of the people, only to surround the Prince of Orange, at the Hague, with a devoted Scottish Privy Council. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) supplied the capital with a colony of its victims that quickened the dread of popery and arbitrary power. With the news of the landing at Torbay fell the hateful machinery that had done more to retard social progress and lower the tone of national life than all the preceding period of civil conflict. Scotland did much to bring about the Revolution and quicken English life. In the ship that brought the Deliverer came the Scottish exiles as his trusted friends and advisers. No part of the kingdom had endured such sacrifices, or was likely to profit so much by the change as Scotland. The persecuted Presbyterians were the pioneer deliverers of a Stuart-ridden land. They have been called impracticable fanatics. Rather were they the forlorn hope of the Revolution, and every man who values the British Constitution should honour their memory.



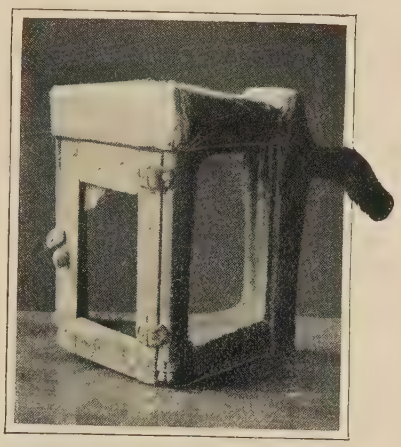
THE MAIDEN.
(*National Museum of Scottish Antiquities, Edinburgh.*)

The distressing times left their mark on rural economy and industrial development. Andrew Symson, for twenty years a king's curate on the shores of the Solway, "by the providence of God and the protection of his sacred majesty's laws," gives a most

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

interesting "Description" of a district once flourishing, but at that time sorely harried for its stubborn support of the hated Whigs. In his pages we see the peasants clustering in their brown, heath-clad clachans, the ox-team toiling over the stony furrows, the *berefay* near the homestead carefully tended for the staple support, the bere or barleymeal, of the household, but sadly crowded with weeds, the poor patches of grey oats out on the *machir* or links by the shore, the lean cows tethered on the green ridges between the cornfields, the ponies dragging the sleds or wheelless carts in harness of wood and withies, while up on the *black* lands of the moss-hags and the heath, bleak shelter of the hunted Hillmen, roam the sheep that furnished the far-famed Galloway wool for the markets of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Ayr. Down on Solway side by the mouth of the Cree, in the rich alluvial lands of Baldoon, where Sir David Dunbar made the first enclosures in Scotland, the herds of polled Galloways are fattening for the English drovers. With all this are mingled the quaint folk-lore of holy wells and rustic simples, the sketches of the busy fairs of Wigton, and the appreciative description of the rocky dell of the lower Dee, whose beauties inspired Montgomery's "Cherry and the Slae." Thomas Kirke, an Englishman given to satirical exaggeration, speaks of the gentlemen's houses lurking under their plump of trees like the owl in the ivy bush, and the pinfolds of turf grouped round the farmsteads. Much fuller and more inteligent is the account of Morer, a chaplain serving with the troops that the Revolution brought north. Hay, he tells us, could always be bought in the villages, the produce of the damp haugh-lands alongside the swollen rivers. He is astonished at the height at which ploughing is carried on up the hillsides, and thinks that the labour might be better

The Country.



LADY GRIZEL BAILLIE'S LANTERN.
(*National Museum of Scottish Antiquities, Edinburgh.*)

bestowed on draining the low grounds abandoned to coarse grass. Only in some gentlemen's gardens was fruit to be seen—apples, indifferent plums, tolerable cherries, one kind of pear, and a few sorts of small berries. A Morayshire laird, in 1684, buys a variety of apple trees and French pears for his garden, but he lived far outside the disaffected districts. In Nithsdale, Queensberry, a favoured tool of Charles II., began (1679) to build Drumlanrig Castle, and adorned it with woods and gardens, while in Fife the truculent Rothes was decorating Leslie House with terraced gardens and fine trees. The larger towns had some notable features to attract travellers, but these were the work of the preceding age—"a very neat marketplace in Glasgow," says Ray, "scarce the like in England"; an elegant new college (finished in 1656) amid fine gardens, a new town-hall (1626), and square tower; while Edinburgh showed the mural crown of St. Giles's (1648), Holyrood restored after the fire, and Heriot's, a fashionable resort for its bowling-green and gardens. A Fleming, De Bruschi, brought into the city a supply of water by gravitation, and this and other towns were enjoined about the same time to disuse the unbecoming thatch, clean the streets, clear out the crowds of beggars, and provide in taverns better accommodation for strangers. Aberdeen forbade hard riding and driving of herds of horses along the streets, and actually received the petition of a citizen to erect stands about the Cross for keeping the fish on sale from *the filthe of the calsie*, where they had been allowed to lie. Through the time of the Dutch War Aberdeen records are full of alarms and heroic efforts to put the harbour in a state of defence. Privateering was carried on busily, several ports fitting out *cappers* (Fr. *gabare*, a lighter) with much success. It was the burghs of the south and west that received the paternal attentions of the Government, and there the sufferings of

PIPES.

(*National Museum of Scottish Antiquities, Edinburgh.*)

Lanark, Dumfries, Peebles, and Glasgow were grievous in the extreme. There was little or no crime in the ordinary sense, which, however, was rampant on the Highland border, where no dragoons troubled. The Earl of Perth, a devoted partisan of James II., writes (1682): "We are so plagued with thieving here it would pity any heart to see the condition the poor are in."

The "Household Book" of Archbishop Sharp (1663–6), at

Photo: The Graphotone Co., Enfield.

DRUMLANRIG CASTLE.

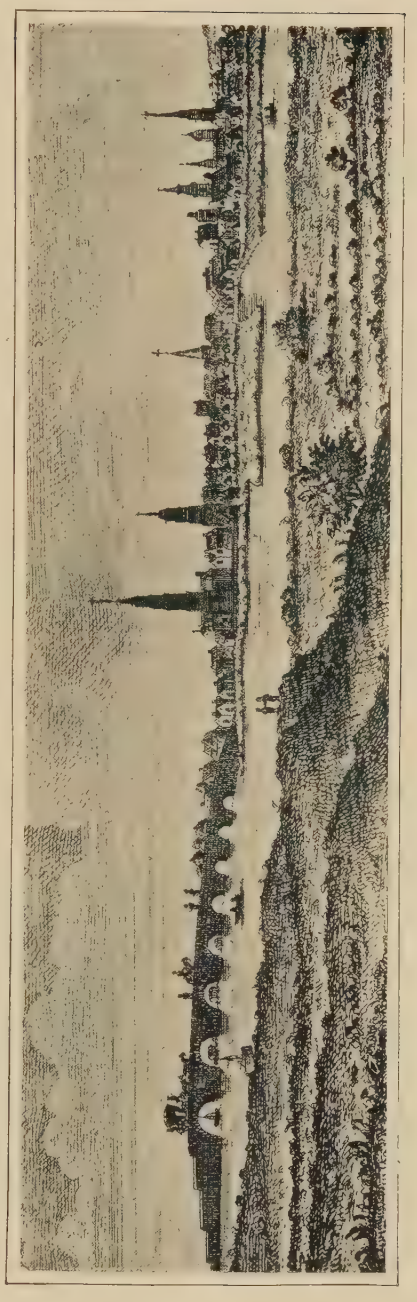
the height of his power, gives an admirable glimpse of high life, for the well-favoured prelate enjoyed two goodly estates near St. Andrews, and travelled in lordly style to and from the capital in the fatal coach which, "by the favour of the king," says Baillie, "he brought from London, at the sides whereof two lakqueys does run." For use at St. Andrews come barrels of butter, a solan goose, raisins and currants, Spanish bisomes and mapis (brooms and towels), and a wainscot table. Dundee supplies carcases of beef for the winter's *mart* Messengers bring many presents of game, fruit, and trout. Home Life.

We learn what was paid to the herd, the footman, and the cook, and the fee to Dr. Pitillo for three days' drugging of the children. The gifts appear of a silver needle for Agnes, a Bible for brother William, along with two golf clubs and four balls. William became Lauderdale's confidential agent,

ARCHBISHOP SHARP, BY SIR PETER LELY.
(*By permission of the Right Hon. the Earl of Southesk.*)

and he too secured goodly estates. Life in Edinburgh is still more interesting. Here we have the dinner *menu*, the servants' table, the dainties of ale and neipis, tobacco and pipes, strawberries with cream and sugar, larks, rabbits (a pair half the price of a sheep), solan goose, shoulder of mutton and capers, two glasses to serve at table, a fee to the woman that carried water to the house, a coach for an airing in the

fields. Brief visits to London are even more significant. There are details of travelling, with dinner of collops and eggs, beer and bread on the road, pair of oars to Lambeth, new scabbard to my Lord's sword, orange-flower water, the *menu* of big Sunday dinners and suppers to many nobles, suppers with *pypes to Lauderdale* (My Lord smoked not), ale and bread, sometimes with cheese, night and morning, green fish often, once Lambeth ale. Purchases here are timber combs, horn ones and a case for my Lady, a very few books, and paper (a quire). Soap is never an entry, and only once, after a journey from London, is there a washing bill. The "Household Book" of Cunningham of Craigends, between Paisley and Renfrew, presents a complementary photograph of contemporary manners. The laird is of strong Whig sympathies, but, save for remissions of rent owing to the quartering of soldiers, purchases of persecuting edicts, and contributions for prophet Peden, a prisoner in the Bass, he keeps politics at a safe

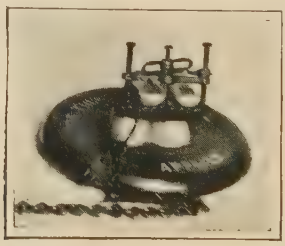


GLASGOW AT THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(*Sutherland Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

Social Life.

distance. Many settlements in kind, and allusions to bonds and barter, reveal the scarcity of money. The glimpses of social life show curling with the tenants, cocking with a neighbour, a foot-race at Houston, tennis at Paisley in a hostel which had a garden of razour-berries (currants). A fee to a messenger returning two greyhound whelps on trial, three fish-hooks, and a live partridge brought by a boy are the only entries under sport. Fish is not mentioned, except once a red herring as a dainty. Kindly gifts to the poor and to friends reveal pleasant traits. Cunningham regularly takes his wife and sisters to Edinburgh, and here the entries are full of interest. Bowling, milk and whey in the park, seeing an elephant,[1] two bears and an ape, and rope-dancing, "at a play," "for my picture-drawing," "four ounces soap to raze me with," "ale and berries," "neipis"—these are only a few of the interesting items. Fruit, vegetables, fish, beef, wine play a very small part. Whiskey, often spoken of as the national drink, is never mentioned. Coffee-houses at Edinburgh and Leith are visited, but they were jealously guarded by the Privy Council as places for retailing false news.

[1] The elephant that Cunningham notes was the first seen in Scotland (1680). Law, in his *Memorable Things*, 1638–84, gives a quaint and amusing description of the creature, which Chambers (Domestic Annals) quotes, adding a query to the phrase "lugs like two skats" (!) It is singular that a Scotsman should have a doubt about an expression "ears like two skates," which shows how graphic an artist the old clergyman was.



MODEL OF THUMBSCREWS.

(*Tower of London.*)

AUTHORITIES, 1660–1688.

GENERAL HISTORY.

On the foreign policy, the histories of Ranke and Martin, together with Lefèvre-Pontalis, *John de Witt*, will be found most useful. The domestic history is best treated by Hallam, Gneist, Ranke, and Macaulay. For the social and ecclesiastical history, reference can be made to the writings of Burnet, Pepys, and Evelyn, and the articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. *See* also Anson, *Law and Custom of the Constitution;* Dowell, *History of Taxes and Taxation*.

SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

The Church.—Burnet, *History of His Own Times* (ed. Airy); *Walton's Lives;* the sermons and pamphlet literature of the day; Ranke, *History of England;* Clarke, *Thomas Ken;* Perry, *History of the Church of England;* Overton, *Life in the English Church*, 1660–1714.

Law.—The *Statutes at Large* and *State Trials* for the reign of Charles II. and James II.; Blackstone, *Commentaries;* Stephen, *History of the Criminal Law of England;* Hallam, *History of England;* Campbell, *Lives of the Chancellors;* Irving, *Life of Judge Jeffreys*. There is no good history of English law for the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

Army.—Clifford Walton, *History of the British Standing Army;* Murray, *Marlborough's Life and Letters; Lives of Marlborough*, by Cox, Lord Wolseley, and Sir A. Alison; Kane, *System of Camp Discipline;* D'Auvergne, *Campaign in the Spanish Netherlands;* James II.'s *Articles of War.*—*Naval History* as in c. xiv.

Art and Architecture.—*See* list appended to c. xiii.; also Gwilt, *Encyclopædia of Architecture;* for Wren, C. Wren, *Parentalia* [1750]; Taylor, *Towers and Steeples of Wren;* for Lely, article in *Dictionary of National Biography;* for Kneller, Ackermann, *Der Portrait-Maler Sir Godfrey Kneller*.

The Universities.—Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Restoration;* Antony Wood, *Diaries*, etc., ed. A. Clark; Burrows, *Register of the Visitors of the University* (Camden Society); publications of the Oxford Historical Society.

Music.—There are general histories by Dr. Burney (4 vols., 1776–1784), Sir John Hawkins (5 vols., 1776), Dr. Busby (2 vols., 1819), and W. S. Rockstro (1886), and in German by A. W. Ambros (4 vols., 1868). *See* also articles in Grove, *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, and the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Theological Literature.—The works of the leading divines of this period were published in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*. (In most cases the original editions can also be easily procured.) Canon Overton has touched on the facts of their lives in *Life in the English Church*.

Literature.—Gosse, *Eighteenth Century Literature* (from 1660 onward; passages in Macaulay, *History of England*, especially in c. iii.; Macaulay's *Essay* (with those of Lamb, Hazlitt, and Leigh Hunt) *on the Comic Dramatists on the Restoration;* Scott, *Life of Dryden;* Johnson, *Lives of the Poets*.

Agriculture, 1642–1714.—The farming practice and the scientific theories of the day are best studied in such books as the following: *Farming and Account Books of Henry Best of Elmswell in the East Riding of York in* 1641 (Surtees Society, 1857); *Samuel Hartlib his Legacie; or, an Enlargement of the Discourse of Husbandry* (1651); Rev. Joseph Lee, Εὐταξία τοῦ Ἀγροῦ, *or a Vindication of a Regulated Inclosure* (1656); Ad. Speed, *Adam out of Eden* (1659); John Forster, *England's Happiness Increased* (1664; the first treatise on potato culture); John Worlidge, *Systema Agriculturae; the Mystery of Husbandry Discovered* (1669); A. Yarranton, *England's Improvement by Sea and Land* (1677–81); John Houghton, *A Collection of Letters for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 2 vols. (1681–83); Sir Jonas Moore, *History of the Great Level of the Fennes*

(1685); James Donaldson, *Husbandry Anatomised* (1697). Modern books (besides those mentioned in the list appended to c. xiii.): Prof. John Donaldson, *Agricultural Biography*, 1480–1854 (1854); Chandos Wren Hoskyns, *Short Enquiry into the History of Agriculture* (1849), and *Talpa* (1854); T. E. Scrutton, *Commons and Common Fields* (Cambridge, 1887); article by Earl Cathcart on Jethro Tull in the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society* for March, 1891. A good idea of the chief drawbacks of the open-field system can be obtained from some of the maps in Seebohm, *The English Village Community*. *See* also Vol. I. of this work, p. 514; and Vol. II, p. 135.

Manufactures, 1642–1714.—Some of the books mentioned in the list appended to c. xiii. bear also on this period. C. Weiss, *History of the French Protestant Refugees*. J. S. Burn, *History of the French, Walloon and Dutch Refugees*; and W. Cunningham, *Alien Immigrants in England*, give information about the aliens. The story of the iron trade is given fully by H. Scrivenor, *History of the Iron Trade*; Dudley's own book, *Metallum Martis*, is useful and interesting. *Textile Industries:* E. Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture*; W. Felkin, *History of Machine-wrought Hosiery*, and J. Bischoff, *History of the Woollen and Worsted Manufactures*; W. Haynes, *Great Britain's Glory* (as to numbers of men employed). On Sir T. Lombe, *see Dictionary of National Biography*. *Salt Trade:* John Collins, *Salt and Fishery*; and John Davies, *An Answer to the Paper Published by the late Patentees of Salt*. *Coal Mining:* A good article in *Old Yorkshire*, 2nd Series, ed. W. Wheater (1885). As to Newcastle coal: W. Gray, *Chorographia*; and Dudley, *Metallum Martis*. *Ceramics:* Ll. Jewitt, *Ceramic Art*. *Glass:* F. Haudicquer de Blancourt, *Art of Glass* (translated from the French, 1699). But to get a complete view of the conditions of trade the reader must refer to the numerous trade pamphlets and single sheets which continued to be issued during this period. A large collection of such tracts is to be found in the British Museum Library (*Tracts relating to Trade*, pressmark 816 m 12, and subsequent volumes). The Statute Book must also be studied. Among works which are statistical, or give a general survey of the country, are: Defoe, *Tour: Britannia Languens* (1680); *Mercator*; the works of C. Davenant; W. Wood, *Survey of Trade*; Lewis Roberts, *Merchants' Map of Commerce*; Sir J. Child, *New Discourse on Trade* (2nd ed. 1694); Sir W. Petty's works (ed. by C. H. Hall, Cambridge University Press, 1900). Interesting articles are also to be found in the earlier volumes of the *Philosophical Transactions*.

Trade and Commerce.—As in c. xiii. Also *The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty*, ed. Hall (Cambridge University Press).

Medicine and Public Health.—Munk, *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London*; Robert Willis, *William Harvey* and *Harvey's Works and Life* (Sydenham Society); R. G. Latham, *Sydenham's Works and Life* (Sydenham Society); Longmore, Richard Wiseman. On Epidemics, *see* list appended to c. xiii.

Composition of Society, 1660–1688.—The most valuable contemporary evidence is to be found in Gregory King's *Observations* (1696); Chamberlayne's *State of England* (first pub. 1669); Pepys's and Evelyn's *Diaries*, and the documents in Eden, *State of the Poor*. The volumes of the Camden and other societies, and the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission often add information, and there are many memoirs and biographies (of Neill, Shaftesbury, etc.). *Modern Books:* Besides the well-known chapter in Macaulay (Vol. I., c. iii.), there are some suggestive reflections in Gneist, *Constitutional History*. Prof. Ashley, *Economic History*, Part II., ch. iv., gives a good account of enclosures. Thorold Rogers's *History of Agriculture and Prices*, Vols. V. and VI., contains a mass of information, but must be used with caution. *See* also Cunningham, *English Industry and Commerce*, Bk. VII.

Social Life: the Court.—Count Gramont, *Memoirs*; Jusserand, *Court of Charles II.*; Jesse, *Court of England*; Strickland, *Queens of England*; Halifax, *Character of Charles II.* *General:* Pepys, *Diary, Life, Journals, Correspondence*; Wheatley, *Samuel Pepys and the World he lived in*; Evelyn, *Diary, Correspondence, Life of Mrs. Godolphin*; *Lives of the Norths*, ed. Jessopp; Reresby, *Memoirs*; *Diaries* of Teonge and Thoresby; Cunningham, *Nell Gwynne*, ed. Wheatley; *Travels* of

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

Cosmo III., Sorbière, Jorevin (in Grose's *Antiquarian Repertory*); Dryden, *Works*, ed. Saintsbury; Chamberlayne, *State of England;* Neal, *Puritans;* Gailhard, *Compleat Gentleman;* Aubrey, *Lives of Eminent Men; Sidney Papers*, ed. Blencowe; *Tracts* in the Harleian Miscellany.

Scotland.—(*a*) Contemporary. The Works of Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall; Law, *Memorials*, 1663–84; Sir Robert Sibbald, *Autobiography* (*Analecta Scotica*); Household Book of *Archbishop Sharp*, 1663–66 (Maitland Club); Notices of Dundee and Sharp in *Misc. Scot.;* Bishop Sage, *Memoirs* (Spottiswoode Society); Lauderdale, *Correspondence; Household Book of Cunningham of Craigends*, 1673–80 (Scottish Historical Society); Pat. Walker, *Life of Peden* (Biogr. Presbyt.); Wodrow, *Analecta* (Maitland Club); Symson, *Description of Galloway;* Morer, *Short Account of Scotland;* Kirkton, *History of the Church of Scotland*, 1670–78. (*b*) Modern: Mark Napier, *Memoirs and Letters of Dundee;* Dunbar, *Social Life in Moray;* Fergusson, *Laird of Lag*. *See* also the list appended to c. xiv. Of the books there mentioned, Mackay, *First Viscount Stair;* Omond, *Lives of the Lord Advocates;* and Story, *Life of William Carstares*, are indispensable for the study of the political and ecclesiastical movements of the time.

INSTRUMENTS OF TORTURE.

(*Tower of London.*)

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER XVI.

THE END OF A DYNASTY. 1689-1714.

ARTHUR HASSALL. The Reign of William III.

THE Revolution of 1688 completed the work of the Long Parliament, and the Bill of Rights confirmed the advantages gained by the nation during the great Rebellion. Though ostensibly the Bill of Rights was a declaratory act, it undeniably asserted several new principles. Henceforth the doctrines of Divine right and passive obedience were things of the past. Without the consent of Parliament no money could be granted, and no army could be kept in time of peace. The right of petition, the right of freedom of debate in Parliament, the necessity of frequent Parliaments, the right of free choice of representatives were henceforward recognised. But the reigns of William and his successor, Anne, only saw the new system inaugurated; it was not till the reigns of the first two Georges that it was firmly established.

The Position of the Crown.

From 1688 the position of the Crown with regard to the Judicature, the Executive, and the Houses of Parliament became gradually defined. A new theory was substituted for that of Divine right, viz. the theory that the king only reigned by the will of the people, and that his ministers were national ministers, answerable not to the king but to the nation, whose representatives they were. But the powers of the Crown were still very considerable, and it was only by slow degrees that means were devised to lessen the possible influence of the king. Pension and Place Bills could do something to check the undue exercise of the royal influence over ministers, but it was not till the cabinet became a recognised part of the constitutional machinery that the real significance of the Revolution of 1688 was

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

realised. The cabinet system developed gradually under William III. and Anne, triumphed under Walpole, was checked during the first twenty years of George III.'s reign,

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

WILLIAM III., BY VAN WYCK.

(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

and finally asserted itself during the second ministry of Rockingham (1782), and under the younger Pitt. With its establishment Parliament, as the representative of the nation, finally succeeded, not only in taking to itself the

duties of legislation, but also in assuming the control of the Executive.

The House of Lords.

The triumph of Parliament over the Crown implied the triumph more particularly of the Commons. The House of Lords, after 1688, found its character changed. From being Tory it had become, owing to the policy of James II., distinctly Whig, and remained Whig till it was revolutionised by William Pitt. Though its influence was not destroyed, and though the importance of the Peers in the local government of the country remained as great as ever, its position as a portion of the Legislature was weakened by the advance of the power of the House of Commons, and the defeat of the Peerage Bill left the Upper House, though possessed of valuable attributes as a revising chamber, of less importance than the more popular and more representative assembly of the Commons.

The House of Commons.

The Revolution was essentially the triumph of the Commons, which became the most important element in the Constitution. Freed from all danger of direct attack on the part of the prerogative, the Commons gradually but surely acquired most of the powers which the Constitution still left to the king. His ministers became in reality the ministers of the Commons, and the control of the Executive passed from his hands. Till 1832, however, the House of Commons had one objectionable characteristic. It did not represent the constituencies, nor did the constituencies represent the people. The indirect influence of the Crown was considerable. Pocket and corrupt boroughs were numerous; public opinion could rarely make itself felt within Parliament. The period following the Revolution of 1688 saw the development of constitutional monarchy, the growth of cabinet government, the predominance of aristocratic influences.

William, on his accession, found England in a precarious position. Europe was threatened by the French supremacy, and England had thrown in her lot with the opponents of Louis XIV. Though the Revolution made England the greatest commercial country in Europe, and established her maritime supremacy, it was not for some years that all danger to her independence from the efforts of Louis XIV.

and James II. completely passed away, and left her free to develop her colonies and trade. Till the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, England defended herself in Ireland and on the sea, and, at the same time, opposed Louis XIV. in the Netherlands.

Events of the Reign.

William's first ministry included Danby, now Lord Carmarthen, Nottingham, Godolphin, Halifax and Shrewsbury. The Convention Parliament sat till January, 1690, when it was dissolved. It had turned the Declaration of Rights into the Bill of Rights; it had passed the Mutiny Act and the Toleration Act; it had forced a new Oath of Allegiance on all

SEAL OF WILLIAM III. AND MARY.

office holders, with the result that some 300 clergy threw up their livings, and, headed by Sancroft and Ken, formed the party of the Nonjurors (p. 730). But the growth of rival factions in England, and William's increasing unpopularity, were at first subordinated to pressing questions awaiting solution in Ireland and Scotland. The course of the struggle in the former country will be dealt with in a subsequent section (p. 843 *seq.*). In the latter the Revolution was not carried out without disorder. Though a Convention met, offered the crown to William and Mary, and declared Episcopacy to be abolished, the fanatical Covenanters opposed William in the Lowlands, while Dundee and the Highlanders supported James II. in the North and West. On July 27th, 1689, William's troops were defeated at the Battle of Killiecrankie

by the forces of Dundee, whose death was followed by the dispersion of the Highlanders. The pacification of Scotland was not completed till the massacre of Glencoe (February 13th, 1692), when the Macdonalds, owing to the jealousy of the Whiggish Campbells, were almost extirpated by the royal troops. Meanwhile the war with France was proceeding, on the whole to the advantage of England. On May 13th, 1689, England had declared war against France; in 1690 the allies were defeated at Fleurus, and the English and Dutch fleets at Beachy Head. On May 19th, 1692, English supremacy at sea was successfully asserted by the battle of La Hogue, and all fear of invasion was over.

Though William was defeated at Steinkirk in 1692, and at Landen in 1693, he took Namur in 1695, and in 1697 the war ended with the peace of Ryswick, Louis XIV. consenting to recognise William as King of England.

Domestic Difficulties.

During these years William's difficulties at home had increased. Plots had been formed to assassinate him, factions were rife in Parliament, and in December, 1694, his wife died. In spite of party struggles, the Whigs had managed to pass a Triennial Act, and Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1694, had succeeded in carrying out valuable schemes. A new loan was negotiated; the Bank of England was established. In 1695 he reorganised the currency, and placed the credit of England on a sound basis (p. 719, *seq.*) In 1696 William, by Sunderland's advice, threw himself unreservedly into the hands of the Whigs, and the first united Ministry was formed, led by Somers, Montague, Russell, and Wharton. The execution of Sir John Fenwick for treason, on January 28th, 1697, was followed by the close of the session and the complete triumph of the Whigs, who regarded the Treaty of Ryswick with natural satisfaction.

Party Struggles.

The rest of William's reign was signalised by the formation, in 1698, of the new East India Company (p. 729), the most signal instance of Montague's skill as a financier, by quarrels with Parliament, and by unsuccessful attempts to preserve the peace of Europe. A Tory reaction set in in the year 1698, and the Commons not only insisted on the dismissal of the Dutch guards, but quarrelled with the Upper House, where the feeling was decidedly Whig. In the new Parliament,

which met on November 14th, 1699, the opposition to the king was stronger than ever in the Commons. A Resumption Act was passed on April 10th, 1700, vesting all the forfeited Irish land in the hands of trustees, and a complete breach with the Upper House was only averted by William's adroitness. In December, 1700, William appointed a new Ministry, including Godolphin and Rochester, and in February, 1701, Parliament met. The Succession Act was passed, and Lords Rutland, Somers, Orford, and Montague, now Earl of

CELEBRATION OF THE CAPTURE OF NAMUR, 1695.
(*From a contemporary satirical print.*)

Halifax, were impeached; the relations between the two Houses became again strained, and an open breach was only averted by a prorogation (July). But the Commons had provoked a reaction, which showed itself in the Kentish Petition, while the aggressive acts of Louis XIV., and especially his acknowledgment of the Pretender, in September, roused English patriotism, and threw the nation on the side of William. Parliament was dissolved, and a new one met on December 31st, which attacked the Pretender, and supported the Act of Succession. On March 8th, 1701, William died.

THE KENTISH PETITIONERS, BY R. WHITE. 1701.

(*Sutherland Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

The Reign of Anne.

During the early years of her reign Anne was influenced by the Duke of Marlborough, who, like William, had much difficulty in carrying out a national policy and in forming a ministry including the best men of both parties.

At Home.

The domestic history of the reign is mainly concerned with the Union with Scotland and with Parliamentary struggles. The events leading to the Union are described in another

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

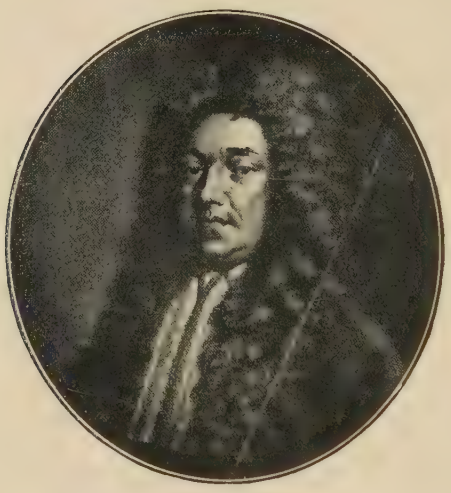
ANNE AND HER SON WILLIAM IN 1695, BY MICHAEL DAHL.

(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

section. The Parliamentary and ministerial history of the reign falls into three distinct periods—(1) from 1701 to 1708, (2) from 1708 to 1710, and (3) from 1710 to 1714.

The years 1701–1708 cover a period which saw the English arms triumphant, the Union with Scotland effected, and the gradual transference of power from the Tories to the Whigs. At first Marlborough, created a duke and captain-general, and Godolphin united with Nottingham and Rochester, who

were both extreme Tories, and disapproved of the war with France, which had been declared on May 4th, 1702. In 1703 Rochester was dismissed, and the following year Nottingham, Jersey, and Seymour met the same fate, Marlborough and Godolphin finding it necessary to rely more and more on the Whigs for an active prosecution of the war. The places of the dismissed ministers were taken by moderate Tories, such as Harley, Mansel, the Earl of Kent and St. John, while, in 1706, Sunderland, Marlborough's son-in-law and a Whig, was made Secretary of State. In spite of the gradual substitution of a Whig for a Tory Government, the feeling in the House of Commons was, in 1704, strongly opposed to Marlborough and the Whig policy. A Bill to render occasional conformity illegal had already twice passed the Commons, only to be thrown out on each occasion by the Lords; disputes between the two Houses over the Aylesbury Election Petition afforded another instance of the obstinacy and wrongheadedness of the Commons; while the attitude of the Lower House towards the victor of Blenheim, and its persistency in passing the Bill against occasional conformity a third time in 1704, attests the height to which party passion had risen. The nation gradually realised the impossible position of the Tories, and Marlborough, taking advantage of the change in public opinion, effected further alterations in his ministry, which, in 1707, had become a thoroughly composite one.



SIDNEY, EARL OF GODOLPHIN.

(*Engraving by Houbraken, Hope Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

But the intrigues of Harley and the dissatisfaction of the Whigs forced upon Marlborough the conviction that a mixed ministry was impossible. Harley and his colleagues resigned on February 11th, 1708, and the famous Whig Administration

was formed, which included, besides Marlborough, Godolphin, and Sunderland, Orford, Walpole, Boyle, and Smith. From 1708 to 1710 this united Whig ministry was in power. But though successful abroad, its position was undermined from

JOHN CHURCHILL, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.
(From a Mezzotint by J. Smith, after Sir G. Kneller.)

the first. The queen disliked it, the nation was weary of the war, and distrusted Marlborough; the conviction that party necessities alone prevented the conclusion of peace became general, while Harley, aided by Mrs. Masham, was unceasing in his endeavours to undermine the influence of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough with the queen. It only required the prosecution of Sacheverell to bring about the overthrow of a ministry which had long been tottering. Thus fell, in 1710, an administration which ranks among the most celebrated in English history.

From 1710 to 1714 the Tories were in power, with Harley at their head. Like Marlborough, Harley would have preferred a composite ministry, but the days of mixed administrations

were over. To conclude peace, and to be prepared with a policy in the event of the queen's death, were the aims of Harley and St. John. The Peace of Utrecht was signed in 1713, and, till the death of Anne, St. John devoted himself unwearyingly to the difficult task of placing the Tory party in such a strong position as to enable it to dictate terms either to James Edward or to the Elector of Hanover. But the Tory party was mainly composed of men who were determined not to accept James Edward unless he abjured his religion, while Bolingbroke's suspected connection with the extreme Jacobite section of the Tories rendered him an object of distrust to the majority of his own party.

The Tories were, therefore, undecided and disorganised when Anne died, while the Whigs, firmly resolved to uphold the Revolution settlement, had no doubts, and were well led. Till Anne's death the energy of Bolingbroke effected much. In 1711 the Occasional Conformity Act was passed; in the same year twelve Tory peers were created to get rid of the Whig majority in the Upper House; in 1714 the Schism Act was passed. By these Acts Bolingbroke had hoped to gain the clergy and the Tory party. But Harley's vacillation ruined all his plans, and Anne's death took place before his preparations were completed. On July 27th, 1714, Bolingbroke's quarrel with Harley ended in the dismissal of the latter from the office of Lord Treasurer. On July 30th Anne had a fit of apoplexy; on August 1st she died. Shrewsbury threw in his lot with the Whig Privy Councillors, Argyle and Somerset, and received from the dying queen the White Staff of the Treasurer. The three dukes, supported by the Whig party, took the necessary steps for securing the Protestant succession, while the Tory party divided, and, undecided, did nothing. The Act of Settlement was carried out, and George, Elector of Hanover, was proclaimed king.

England and Europe.

THE Revolution of 1688 had restored England to that position in Europe which she held under Cromwell. The principal object of William III. was to restore the balance of power which, during the reigns of Charles II. and James II., had been endangered, owing to the rise and supremacy of the

French monarchy. From 1688 the weight of England's influence was thrown into the scale against Louis XIV. Defeated in Ireland and on the sea, the French more than held their own in Italy, on the Rhine, and in the Spanish Netherlands. The continuance of the Turkish war hampered the emperor, and the defection of the Duke of Savoy was a blow to the Grand Alliance. But France was becoming exhausted, and the death of Charles II. of Spain might take place at any moment. To the astonishment of Europe, Louis

THE MAGIC LANTERN.
(*A satire on the action of Charles II. of Spain.*)

XIV. agreed, in 1697, to the Treaty of Ryswick, restored to England and Holland all conquests made since 1678, recognised William as King of England, and agreed to give back Lorraine to its duke. No sooner was the peace made than the Spanish question came to the front. Since the Treaty of the Pyrenees, in 1659, the decline of Spain had not a little contributed to the prominent position taken by France, and the partition of the Spanish dominions on Charles II.'s death was regarded as certain. As Charles had no children, the Dauphin of France claimed the Spanish inheritance, but his claim was contested by the Emperor, and by the Electoral Prince of Bavaria.

The possibility of the union of France and Spain under

one king alarmed William III., while, to avoid the danger to the European balance, the Dauphin gave up his claims to his younger son, Philip of Anjou, and William III. persuaded Holland and France to agree to the First Partition Treaty, which was secretly signed in October, 1698. Austria was to have the Milanese, France the two Sicilies, the Tuscan ports, Finale and Guipuzcoa; and the Electoral Prince Spain, the Indies, and the Spanish Netherlands. The death of the Electoral Prince shortly afterwards necessitated a Second

A COALITION AGAINST LOUIS XIV.
(*From a contemporary print by Romeyn de Hooghe.*)

Partition Treaty, which was signed in 1700. By this treaty the Archduke Charles, the second son of the emperor, was to lose Spain, the Indies, and the Spanish Netherlands, while France, in addition to her former share, was to receive the Milanese. News of these two treaties reached both the Spaniards and the English people. The former were furious at the very idea of a partition of their empire; the latter were much opposed to the establishment of French influence in Italy, which would prove detrimental to English trade in the Mediterranean and the Levant. In the autumn of 1700 Charles II. died, leaving all his dominions to the Duke of

Anjou. After some hesitation, Louis XIV. accepted the will, and William III.'s carefully designed plans fell to the ground.

Louis XIV.'s Mistakes.

The English nation, however, showed no apprehension at the accession of Philip of Anjou to the Spanish throne, and William III. and the Dutch recognised him as king. Had Louis XIV. carefully abstained from all acts of aggression, no war need have taken place, for, without England and the Dutch, the emperor's opposition would have been of little avail. But Louis mistook the English temper, and was con-

A KING AND HIS MAKER.

(*By Romeyn de Hooghe. A Dutch satire on the proclamation of Philip of Anjou.*)

vinced that war was inevitable. He refused to demand from Philip a renunciation of his rights to the French crown; he gave no assurances that English commerce would not suffer from the combined French and Spanish fleets; he seized the Dutch Barrier, thus threatening the independence of Holland, and, in September, 1701, on the death of James II., he recognised James Edward as King of England. This last act on the part of Louis roused the English nation; it was generally recognised that steps must be taken to restore the Dutch Barrier, to secure English trade, to obtain from Philip of Spain the renunciation of his claims to the French throne,

and generally to check the aggressions of the French king. William III. had already laid the foundations of the Grand Alliance in a treaty with the Emperor and Holland (September, 1701). No sooner was this Alliance formed than William III. died (March, 1702), leaving Marlborough to carry on his work.

War of the Spanish Succession.

Under Marlborough the French were attacked on their north-east frontier, in the Spanish Peninsula, and at sea. The campaign of 1702 was indecisive. The English and Dutch held the Rhine and the Meuse, and an English expedition destroyed a Spanish treasure fleet in Vigo Bay. Savoy and Portugal joined the Grand Alliance, and France, harassed by the rebellion in the Cevennes, seemed unable to cope with her numerous enemies. But, in 1703, the French held their own. Though Villars, owing to the conduct of the Elector of Bavaria, failed in his attempt to reach Vienna, Marlborough, in consequence of the slowness of the Dutch, was only able to take Bonn, Huy, and Limburg. In 1704, with eight armies on foot, Louis proposed to subdue Portugal and Savoy, and to advance to Vienna. The English victory of Blenheim (August 13th, 1704; p. 747) saved Vienna and overthrew Bavaria. In 1705, while Peterborough won some unexpected successes in Spain, Marlborough gained no striking victory. In 1706 the decisive battles of Ramillies and Turin were won by the allies, and the French were driven entirely out of the Spanish Netherlands and Italy, while Madrid was occupied for a short time by the allied forces. So far the war had been fought in concurrence with the terms of the Grand Alliance, but in the autumn of 1707 the Whigs passed a resolution that "no peace can be honourable or safe to her Majesty or her allies, if Spain and the West Indies be suffered to continue in the power of the house of Bourbon."

The Tories, already furious at the determination of Marlborough to continue William III.'s policy, and to carry on the war chiefly in Flanders, recognised that the above resolution was at variance with the declared aims of England on entering the war. From this time they oppose the continuance of hostilities, and hamper Marlborough and his colleagues on every possible occasion. The year 1707 saw the defeat of the allies at Almanza (April 25th), and Stolhofen (May 22nd), and their failure before Toulon (August 20th).

THE PEACE OF UTRECHT, FROM A DUTCH STANDPOINT.

(*From a contemporary Dutch print.*)

The year 1708 witnessed a threatened invasion of Scotland in the interest of the Pretender, the defeat of the French at Oudenarde (July 11th), and the capture of Lille (December 9th). France being exhausted, Louis offered, at the Hague, terms of peace. But the demands of the allies were so extravagant that the war continued, and on September 11th Marlborough won the battle of Malplaquet, and captured Mons. Fresh attempts to make peace at Gertruydenberg failed through the opposition of the emperor and Savoy, and the war continued. The allies were defeated at Brihuega and at Villa Viciosa, and the conquest of Spain was seen to be a task well-nigh impossible.

The Peace of Utrecht.

The Tories under Harley and St. John were now in office, and anxious to end the war. Secret peace negotiations with France were opened in 1711; Marlborough was superseded by Ormond in 1712, and on March 31st, 1713, the Peace of Utrecht was signed. Owing to his haste in bringing the war to a close, Bolingbroke was not sufficiently careful to safeguard the interest of our allies the Catalans. By the Peace of Utrecht the objects at which England had aimed at the outset of the war were attained. Her trading interests were secured and extended; she obtained Newfoundland,[1] Nova Scotia, and Hudson's Bay Territory, Gibraltar and Minorca. She also received the exclusive right of supplying the Spanish and American colonies with negro slaves. The Dutch Barrier was again set up; the Spanish Netherlands were handed over to Austria, and Philip V. agreed to renounce his claims to the French Crown.

The foreign policy of William III. and Anne had proved successful. England's commercial interests had been very considerably enhanced, and her maritime supremacy established. The domination of France in Europe had been checked, and the way cleared for developments in America and India.

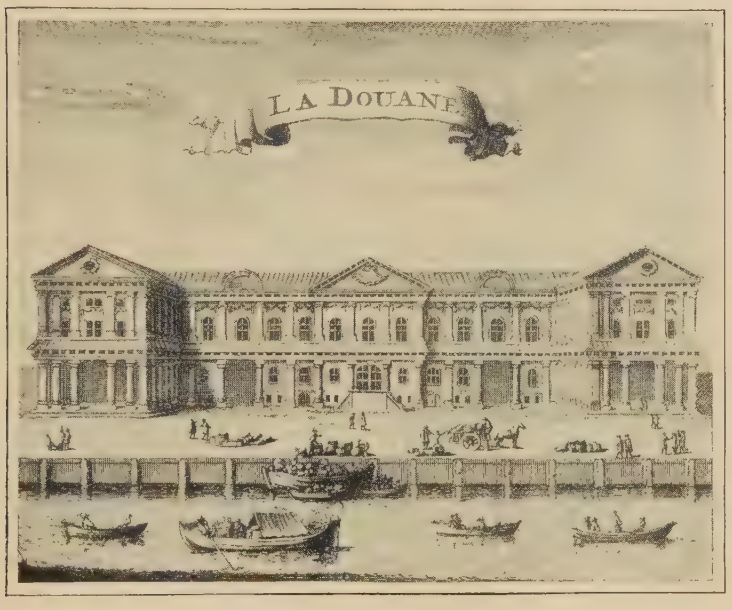
A. L. SMITH. Taxation and Finance.

LARGE revenues had been settled on James II. for life. The question immediately arose at the Revolution, did this mean for his reign? It was felt that here was a great opportunity to avoid the grave political error committed in 1660 and in

[1 Subject to the French fishing rights on the north and west coast, the conditions of which still (1903) check the development of the colony.]

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

1685, and to recover in a real and effectual form the Parliamentary control of the purse. After much legal subtlety had been expended in argument, a compromise was arrived at. The hereditary revenue was to comprise, besides the crown lands and other ancient rights, the "hereditary excise," granted in 1660 in lieu of feudal dues and purveyance. It would amount in 1689 to £600,000, according to Davenant. To this, Parliament now added a further grant of the rest



THE CUSTOM HOUSE, 1698.
(*Misson's "Mémoires*, 1698.")

of the excise, worth £300,000 a year, to William and Mary for their life. This total constituted the Civil List. Out of it came not only the personal expenses of the king and queen and their household, but also the pay of a great number of state officials. The Customs, however, now worth about £600,000 a year, were only granted for four years. In spite of the plausible consolation offered that the king could borrow on such a grant more easily than if it were given for life, William was naturally offended. He had declared that a king without an adequate hereditary revenue

The Civil List.

Parliamentary Control of Expenditure.

was a mere pageant; and he now complained that he was being treated with less generosity than had been shown to James II. But he had to put up with it. The time had come for an advance in the power of the House of Commons. By the control thus guaranteed over the expenditure, the House secured a thorough control over the whole administration. Every year a very full estimate was submitted to them for Army, Navy, and Ordnance. The great principle of appropriation of supply to each head of expenditure, a principle sacrificed in 1685, was reasserted and maintained. The House became the training school of great financiers, like Montague, and in later times, Walpole and Pitt. The mighty wars of the eighteenth century became possible. Now that Parliament was taken into confidence upon foreign policy, that foreign policy attained a magnitude and a boldness hitherto undreamed of. The despatches of Bonnet to the Prussian Court are evidence how keen were the debates on all fiscal questions, and the debates show much acuteness and practical wisdom, if also many windy projects. The land-tax alone took two weeks of the time of the House. There is constant sharp inquiry into the cost of the army and the fleet. There was also a fierce struggle between various interests (lords and merchants, western counties against northern, Whigs and Tories) as to the rival modes of raising supplies, whether it should be by fresh excises, or by a revival of the hearth-tax, or by a continuation of the land-tax. At one time it was proposed to seize and melt down all silver plate in private hands; at another, to sell a great part of Irish soil as conquered land. A great noble declared he had paid over £4,000 in one year to the land-tax; it would be better to live in Turkey. The London merchants said, if England could not keep up war and trade simultaneously, it would be better to sue at once for peace from the French king. Through all these discussions the Commons' control over the Crown grew more and more marked. The great duel between the Germanic powers and France hung upon the support given by England in men, in ships, above all in money. English support could only be got on the Commons' own terms; and their terms were the free criticism of foreign policy and its methods, the strict appropriation of supply, and

a drastic audit of accounts. It is this which gives to the history of taxation, in the years immediately following the Revolution, its peculiar importance and its interest. It was taxation which completed the work of the Revolution, and made it, not a mere change of dynasty, nor a religious victory alone, but a new epoch in constitutional history, the advent of real popular government.

In 1688 tunnage and poundage had produced £600,000;

THE TOWER OF LONDON, WITH SHIPS DISCHARGING.
(*Misson's "Mémoires*, 1698.")

the extra customs then granted, £415,000; and the excise, £620,000. A report to the Commons, in March, 1689, stated the revenue, clear of expenses of collection, at £1,200,000. But William had already promised to repeal the hearth-tax, that "badge of slavery" collected by the hated "chimney-men." This would mean an annual loss of £170,000. Moreover, there was an estimate of more than a million for the year on the Army and Navy. It was agreed that the ordinary revenue should stand at £1,200,000. There would thus every year arise the same problem, how to provide for the extraordinary

Revenue and Expenditure.

expenditure of at least a million and a half; or, as it actually turned out to be, a total expenditure of over four millions.

Taxes on Commodities.

In the days of Elizabeth a Venetian envoy had noticed, as a singular happiness of the English, that they had no taxes on the necessaries of life. But things were different now. Salt, already taxed at 3d. a gallon, was, by additions in 1694 and 1698, raised to 10d., and its cost increased to many times its real value. But this, it was argued, was a blow at French trade. More than £100,000 was raised on sugar. But, at any rate, Spanish and Dutch competition was crushed, it might be said. The duties on wine were heavy; but they were no less than £33 a tun heavier on French wines than on Portuguese and Spanish (after the Methuen Treaty, 1703); and patriots were to console themselves with this reflection, for the fact that the only French wines drunk in England were either smuggled or were "manufactured under the streets of London." A similar policy kept out French brandy and colonial rum, and concentrated English drunkenness upon home-made gin. Tea (pp. 445, 670) was as yet hardly more than a fashionable drink. In 1689, instead of an excise duty on the beverage, a customs duty was imposed of 5s. a pound on the imported leaf. This drove the whole trade into smuggling, and, in 1692, the duty was reduced to 1s. But the needs of war were absolute; and the duty by 1711 had risen to over 5s. again. It was thanks to the smugglers that the use of tea steadily increased, for very little of it paid duty. The same was said of tobacco. Coffee (p. 445) had been introduced before tea; the name of "coffee-room" in inns dates from this period; but the heavy taxes on it prevented its ever having a fair chance to become a rival to tea in popularity. The excessive duties on pepper and other spices led to dangerous adulterations. Those on raisins and currants trebled the price, and checked the growing taste for them. Large sums came from the beer duties, but the attempts to increase these led to home brewing; and a malt-tax (1697) caused substitutes of all kinds to be employed instead of malt and hops. The price of beer and ale nearly doubled within the period. The use of coal was increasing rapidly, Davenant tells us; and the duty on sea-borne coal was raised in 1695, and in Anne's reign was 3s. 4d. a ton. The general effect of

the war was thus a constant addition to the burdens on all articles that would bear addition, and on many that would not; a prohibitory tariff on French goods; and an uneasy experimentation with new taxes. To tax home manufactures was thought to savour of the days of the Commonwealth; and the merchants' assent had to be purchased by protective rates against foreign competition. A tax on glass, 1695, had to be repealed in 1699; it had almost killed the trade. Taxes on soap and on candles were bitterly opposed; but had to be endured in 1709. These and the tax on leather were (as Adam Smith says) burdens on necessaries of life, and such taxes go

CITIZENS AT A COFFEE HOUSE.
(*From a Broadside of* 1677.)

to increase the price of labour. But the War of the Spanish Succession added to the list paper, linen, calicoes, and silks. The war created also a debt of £37,000,000, and a yearly charge, for interest and management, of some three millions. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that while an average of labourers' wages between 1583–1642 gives 4s. 2¾d. a week, an average for the years 1693 to 1702 gives 9s. 2¼d. a week, or that the bare cost of rough work, such as digging, rose at least fifty per cent. within the seventeenth century. The idea of stamp duties was borrowed from Holland in 1697 to make up for poll-taxes, which were so unpopular that they were not levied after 1698. Their yield was about £600,000; not half what it should have been, according to Davenant. Though

The Cost of Living.

professing to be proportioned to rank and income, they allowed the well-to-do to escape, as the instance in Pepys's "Diary" shows, when the assessors took 12s. from him, he having been prepared to pay them £10, but thinking himself "not bound to discover" that fact.

The Land and Property Tax.

The land and property tax was intended to fall on income from personalty as well as from land. It was a legacy of the Commonwealth, at which time it had been suggested by the example of the Dutch. Paid in monthly instalments, it produced a million and a half; but, like its predecessor, the Tudor subsidy, it showed an irresistible tendency to decline, dropping by as much as £260,000 in four years. The reasons were the same as in the case of the subsidy; namely, that personalty managed to evade the tax, that the assessors persisted in following the old rate-books, that notorious favour was shown to whole districts (*e.g.* the West and the North), and that, as was said in Parliament, fraud was open and unashamed. These abuses were partly remedied by the measure passed in 1697, which fixed at a certain sum, nearly £2,000,000, the total to be produced by the tax, so that each district had its own amount to raise. It was also declared that the first charge was to be on personalty, the residue only to fall on land. This last clause proved inoperative; personalty proved too elusive, as it has always proved (at any rate, until the Death Duties of 1894). The tax became once more a mere land-tax, and every year a smaller fraction of the real wealth of the community. Bonnet makes the reflection that "an exact assessment, and an assessment without fraud, are conditions that will never be realised in England." There were some other attempts to saddle personal property with its due share of the burden; such were the attempted tax on hackney coaches, and the window-tax (an improved form of the old hearth-money), which was imposed to meet the special expenses of the re-coinage. As soon as peace came with the Treaty of Utrecht, the land-tax was lowered for the time to 2s.

Defects of the Fiscal System.

On the whole it must be admitted that the fiscal system of the time is full of defects. There was the tradition of official perquisites carried to a demoralising extent. There was much half-authorised peculation. The highest officials did what no official now would dare to attempt; and they did openly what

would now be regarded as shameful. Treasurers kept and speculated in their balances. Ministers took presents from trading companies. Commissioners bargained with State contractors, that they should receive a percentage on business done. Corruption and embezzlement were the stock charges against everyone in authority. Even apart from such abuses, the system itself was bad. The Exchequer was always in arrears, always forestalling the forthcoming taxes, and paying ruinous rates of interest for its loans, and paying dear by heavy discounts on its bonds for its past breaches of public faith. The nation made "a great noise over taxes" (Burnet), and was "always in alarm that it was falling into arrears"; and yet it neglected its opportunities of retrenchment and extinction of debt; for in the years of peace, 1698–1701, the debt still accumulated at the rate of a million a year. But it is certainly not for the men of this generation upon such an accusation to cast the first stone at the English financiers of the age of Queen Anne.

Needs of the State.

It was soon evident that the war must turn ultimately upon finance—upon the question which country could produce the last pistole, as King Louis put it. England had not yet been driven to such disastrous pressure as France. But even in England an annual war charge of over £4,000,000 was as great a strain as the country could bear; or, at least, as great as it thought it could bear. The excess must be met by loans. But capital remembered Charles II. (p. 623), and was shy of lending to the State. Government promises to pay were only worth half their face value. This meant that it could only borrow at sixteen per cent. It was necessary to interpose some other security between the lenders and their State debtor.

The National Debt.

The two methods for providing such a security were the National Debt and a National Bank. By the end of 1692 it was found that the annual revenue was falling short of the annual charges by something like a million a year. Such a sum could not, it was thought, be raised by taxation, already fourfold what it had been before the war. It was decided to raise a million by loan, in the form of life annuities. The interest was to be ten per cent. till 1700, and thereafter seven per cent.; it was to be met by an increased beer-duty, the proceeds of which were to form a separate "fund," devoted to

this sole object. Thus began the "funded" debt. This, no doubt, was not the alarming burden on industry or the political danger that it was deemed to be by contemporaries. It brought evils indeed in its train: "exorbitant premiums, high interest, and large discount," "which" (says Davenant, writing in 1698) "have been the bane of our affairs for these five years." Sometimes, too, the pernicious element of a lottery was introduced, or the money was raised by short annuities, granted on the most wasteful terms. But it was the floating unfunded debt which injured the credit of Government, and was ruinously expensive in the end, representing as it did a mass of unpaid obligations, Navy and Army deficits, and Exchequer tallies, and only realisable in the market at a discount of forty per cent. Nine millions of this floating debt were bought up by the South Sea Company in 1711, the first of the ventures in this direction which led to its disastrous collapse in 1720.

At the time, the formation of a funded debt was hailed with relief. Within five weeks after the first sitting of Somers' and Montague's Committee their scheme was accepted and made law. Parliament's only fear was whether the City would subscribe readily. The first idea of seven per cent. and a tontine seeming insufficient, it was raised to eight per cent., and a proposal was even made to offer as much as fourteen per cent. But by March 6th only £70,000 had been subscribed, and half of that by foreign investors. By December, however, the loan was almost fully taken up.

The Bank of England.

The establishment of a State Bank was an idea borrowed, like so many ideas at this time, in commerce, in shipping, in government, from the Dutch. Such an institution had been proposed in 1658, and often in Charles II.'s reign. In some respects, however, it was more like the ancient Bank of St. George, at Genoa, than the Bank of Amsterdam. Paterson (p. 837) had suggested his scheme as early as 1691. In 1694 the House of Commons, "hard pressed for money in time," and having already raised what they could by a great lottery loan, now sanctioned a loan of £1,200,000 on security of an increase in the customs. Subscribers to the loan were to be formed into a company. If the loan was repaid, the company was to be dissolved. Meantime this company, the Bank of England, was allowed to undertake private business. There was a fierce

opposition to the whole scheme. It was argued in the Lords that money would no longer be forthcoming for commercial ventures nor for mortgages on land; that a Bank would be a ready instrument of despotism; it would be an *imperium in imperio*, and so on.

But its general convenience was irresistible. Parliament

JOHN, LORD SOMERS, BY SIMON DUBOIS.

(By permission of W. Clinton Baker, Esq., Bayfordbury, Herts.)

and the king got £1,200,000 at once, and only paid for it £100,000 within the year. The tax-payer no longer had to devise new tricks to evade ever-new imposts. The capitalists, instead of lending to traders at six per cent., got a secure investment which returned them eight per cent. But the new institution had wider results. The commercial classes were bound over to the new dynasty. The growth of capital,

moreover, was stimulated. On the other hand, the Government found this new Fortunatus' purse a dangerous temptation; and much of the wealth thus drawn from the people's savings was merely wasted.

An acute observer saw, in the readiness with which the new stock was subscribed for, all within eleven days, another proof, such as the eagerness to invest in the East Indian trade had already given him, of "the abundance which continues to reign in this happy country." He also remarks that the shares were so arranged (£10,000 each, of which no one could take more than three) that it would be largely taken up by members of the Commons House; forty of whom had indeed, at an earlier stage, offered to lend the money themselves, if the interest was raised to ten per cent. He gives also a vivid account of the opposition in the Lords, "overcome by majority of votes rather than by reasoning." The matter was certainly pressing, for it was already May, and the king was waiting to embark for the campaign.

Opposition of the Goldsmiths.

The Bank has also to meet the bitter opposition of the goldsmiths, who accepted money on deposit, but gave no interest unless the deposit was for a year. They made a formal complaint to the Commons that they were being ruined. But men called to mind that the goldsmiths had long made unfair profits, or, when they found themselves losing, had gone bankrupt; and that they were universally credited with clipping the coin. Some restrictions, however, were laid upon the Bank. It was not to make advances to Government without the sanction of Parliament. It was to deal only in bills of exchange, bullion, and forfeited pledges. In spite of these restraints, there was great jealousy felt about the Bank. Besides ruining its rivals, it was charged with the design of engrossing all trade, acquiring all the land of the country, raising the rate of interest, enabling the ministry to defy the Constitution. The real grievances against it were its immediate and great success (its stock at once rose to a premium), and the fact that its directors combined the hateful characteristics of being at once Whigs, Nonconformists, and City men. The Tory landed interest and many of the constitutionalist Whigs made common cause with the rival projectors and the private banking interest. The combination produced the "Land Bank" scheme.

This alone would have sufficed to make the year 1696 a critical time for the Bank of England. But the crisis was made still more acute by the infatuation with which the Government took up this precious scheme, and by the coincidence of the momentous measure of the new coinage. The Land Bank, according to its prospectus, was "to increase the value of land, benefit trade, supply the king with money, exempt the nobility and gentry from taxes, enrich all subjects, and make this the Paradise of the world." Did not a square mile of land as truly constitute wealth as a bag of gold? Could not, on this wealth, bank-notes be issued to its full value? Did it not, therefore, logically follow that a man whose estate was worth

The "Land Bank."

THE OLD GROCERS' HALL.
(*The predecessor of the present Bank of England.*)

£100 a year could have, by a payment of £10 per annum, bills of credit for £2,000 for his immediate use, and retain £90 per annum clear to himself? Again, if an estate of £100 a year, granted out for twenty years, be worth £2,000, must not a grant of the estate for 100 years be worth £10,000, and could not a Land Bank, on security of such a pledge, at once issue notes for £10,000? What were they but purblind enviers of the landed interest who pretended to point out two fallacies in this chain of demonstration? For there were critics who wrote to remind Chamberlayne, firstly, that the fee-simple itself of land was only worth twenty years' purchase, so that to say a grant of 100 years was worth five times as much as a grant of twenty years "was to say, in other words, that a hundred equals five times infinity"; secondly, that credit

is only credit so long as it actually is, or is believed to be, readily convertible into cash, a condition not satisfied in the case of land. "Those who reasoned thus were refuted by being told they were usurers; and it should seem that a large number of country gentlemen thought the refutation complete." This class, in fact, thinking dimly that land was as good as money, believed they could, in the homely proverb, both eat their cake and have it; they were tempted by the promise that they should borrow at three-and-a-half per cent.; and they were ready for any scheme that would cut out the moneyed men. It is significant that the Committee of the Commons (December, 1693) reported favourably on this wondrous scheme; and that, when it was revived (February, 1696), it was ordered "that none concerned in the Bank of England should have anything to do with it." The Government must have been literally at their wits' end for money when they expected to get from the Land Bank £2,564,000 as a loan, on the easy terms of seven per cent. interest. Three months were given to the projectors to collect their subscriptions; the king himself subscribed £5,000; but when the final date came, the further sum produced by this mountain in labour proved to be a miserable £2,100. Had the thing been anything but a ludicrous failure, it must have had tragical results. Even as it was, its mischievous effects did not end at this farcical conclusion. The real and immediate sufferer was the Bank of England, whose shares had at once dropped from 107 to 83, and from whom the Government had to get a loan of £340,000 to fill the void caused by the Land Bank's collapse.

Early Struggles of the Bank of England.

But it was also during these very months of May and June that the currency crisis was at its height, and it was at this juncture that the goldsmiths chose to make a treacherous attack. They bought up the paper of the Bank, and on the very day (May 4th) on which the clipped money ceased to be current, and before the new milled money could be issued, they made a sudden run on the Bank for cash. The Bank boldly treated this as a malicious conspiracy and refused to pay, while it pledged itself to pay in cash at once fifteen per cent. of all *bonâ fide* applications and the residue as fast as the Mint could issue the new coin. The court of proprietors convened by the directors agreed to postpone their own

dividends, and to borrow of their own subscribers at twenty per cent. for six months. The Treasury, alarmed at last for its ally, promised to supply the Bank with the new money at the rate of £60,000 a week, and protected the notes of the Bank from being protested. The Bank also got aid from Amsterdam, and from the London Companies. By mid-July its paper was only at a discount of eight per cent.; it had been at sixteen.

The Currency Crisis.

On the 15th August, at another court of the proprietors the Bank was asked to make a fresh loan to the king of £200,000, at a time when their own debts and dividends were alike unpaid. Without the money his army, he wrote, would break up. Portland, a large holder of Bank stock, and

THE RE-COINAGE: HALF-CROWN OF WILLIAM III., 1701.
(*Actual size.*)

Montague, the pillar of the Whig and moneyed interest, exerted their utmost influence. Shrewsbury wrote to the king, "If this fails, God knows what can be done." The court decided unanimously to lend the money they felt the kingdom itself was at stake. But the worst of the pressure was already over. About a million of the new money had been coined before 15th July; and on the 18th July Montague had begun the issue of his Exchequer Bills. He had inserted in the Land Bank Act, as the price of his support, a clause empowering him to do this. They were notes, for various sums down to £5, payable on demand at the Exchequer, with interest at three per cent. per annum. They could be tendered for taxes; they were eagerly received in the country, and they did much to supply a circulating medium and to restore general con-

Exchequer Bills.

The Reform of the Coinage.

fidence. By September the currency famine was over; since June the Mint had been coining at the rate of £80,000 a week, under the energy and skill of Montague and Sir Isaac Newton. The whole re-coinage occupied four years, and for some four months (1696, May to August, inclusive) there had been a severe strain; money almost vanished, "even for daily provisions in the market" (Evelyn). But it had become an absolutely necessary step (p. 768). For the English currency at the close of the seventeenth century contained coins that went back to the Plantagenets, coins of the debased issues of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., coins of all countries in the world. It was a sort of vast numismatic exhibition, to illustrate Gresham's law, that bad money drives out good. The newer-milled money, issued since 1663, was, of course, hoarded or exported; and the more of it issued, the higher was the premium on clipping the old light money, the "hammered" coins, or melting down and exporting, by smuggling, the new broad pieces. The profession of clipper and coiner was so lucrative, and the offence was so lightly regarded, that even the savage laws which made it high treason, punishable in men by hanging, drawing, and quartering, in women by burning, failed to check it. The Act of 1695 betrays in its extravagant impracticability a consciousness of the futility of this penal legislation. Yet it has been, with good reason, doubted "if all the misery inflicted in a quarter of a century by bad kings, bad ministers, bad Parliaments, and bad judges was equal to the misery caused in a single year by bad crowns and bad shillings." And it is well known that the miseries of a bad currency fall heaviest of all on the poorest classes. Even this, however, might have failed to rouse statesmen. But during these years of war, when millions sterling had yearly to pass through the Amsterdam Bank to pay the English armies, the effect of a degraded home currency was that England, for every £100 transmitted through Amsterdam, had to pay £120 to £130. This was intolerable; Montague was determined to kill or cure, as he said. Of the various schemes proposed, he adopted one which was just, but which Locke thought perilous, that the State should bear the loss incurred. It was expected to be over a million. It actually was £2,703,164. Another danger was only averted by eleven votes.

Its Cost.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

This was the proposal that the shilling should be only ninepence, but still be called a shilling. The law fixed the price of corn, the price of labour, the price of Bank stock, the price of guinea pieces; could it not fix the price of the silver shilling as it pleased? Even when the Mint was issuing the new money at the rate of £120,000 a week, the expectation of this "ninepenny law" caused the new coins to be hoarded, till Parliament expressly pledged itself (October, 1696) that a shilling should be a shilling, as before. The last difficulties were removed when the Commons assigned the new window-tax to meet the expenses of renovating the currency. The whole result was hardly won, but was a result for which no price would have been too dear.

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE FOUNDING OF THE HAND-IN-HAND FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY.

The Bank and the Government.

Unless the rancorousness of party spirit in William's reign be borne in mind, and the close connection between finance and politics at the time, it would seem impossible to explain the pressure put upon the Bank by the Government, after all the Bank had done. It had helped to carry out the re-coinage, its loans had retrieved ministers' miscalculations, its credit had saved the armies from disbanding. It had been imperilled by the State-aided rivalry of the Land Bank, and had then generously responded when called upon to extricate the State from the consequences of this mischievous folly. Now the Bank was told it must enormously increase its capital, and take over, as its new stock, the depreciated Exchequer tallies to the amount of two-and-a-half millions. The Bank held out for better terms; and at last agreed to provide £1,200,000 of new

capital from among the proprietors and lend this to Government, on condition that their Charter monopoly was confirmed to 1711, and it was made felony to forge Bank bills. The Peace of Ryswick (September 20, 1697) began a long period of quiet prosperity for the Bank; and before the next war began, in 1702, Bank stock, once at 51, had risen to 148½. In its future course, the Bank was still apt not sufficiently to strengthen its cash credit, and was still in danger from a panic, as in 1708, 1711, 1714. But its services were, that it strengthened the sense of the vital importance of public integrity; it increased immensely the potentiality of the currency and the growth of credit; it gave a vast impulse to our foreign trade.

The New East India Company.

The last of the many important commercial institutions of this time, all of them connected with the name of Montague, was the foundation of the new English East India Company. It is often said the Company had done better to aim at trade, not territory. But the directors said, in 1689, "revenue is our care as much as trade; 'tis that must maintain our force when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade; 'tis that must make us a nation in India; without that we are but as a great number of interlopers." Without a strong Company in England they could have done nothing. The Company's jealousy of interlopers had a reasonable side. Many of them were mere pirates; and all depended on that protection which the Company secured for England's name in the East.

But in England their privileged position was regarded with growing dislike. They enhanced arbitrarily, it was said, the price of muslins, silks, saltpetre, spices. They injured the old English clothing trade by their calicoes and silks. Their dividends were twenty per cent. Their stock sold at more than three hundred premium. This stock was in the hands of a few merchant princes; and, about 1684, Sir Josiah Child, the autocrat of the Company, had become a Tory. Hence, at the Revolution, a furious Whig assault began. The "New Company" was formed, and petitioned for a Charter. A grave constitutional question was involved in this. Did not the Monopoly Act (1623) and the principles of the Revolution preclude the Crown from confiding to any individual the privilege of trading, and, if so, was not the East India Charter invalid unless confirmed by Act of Parliament? On the other

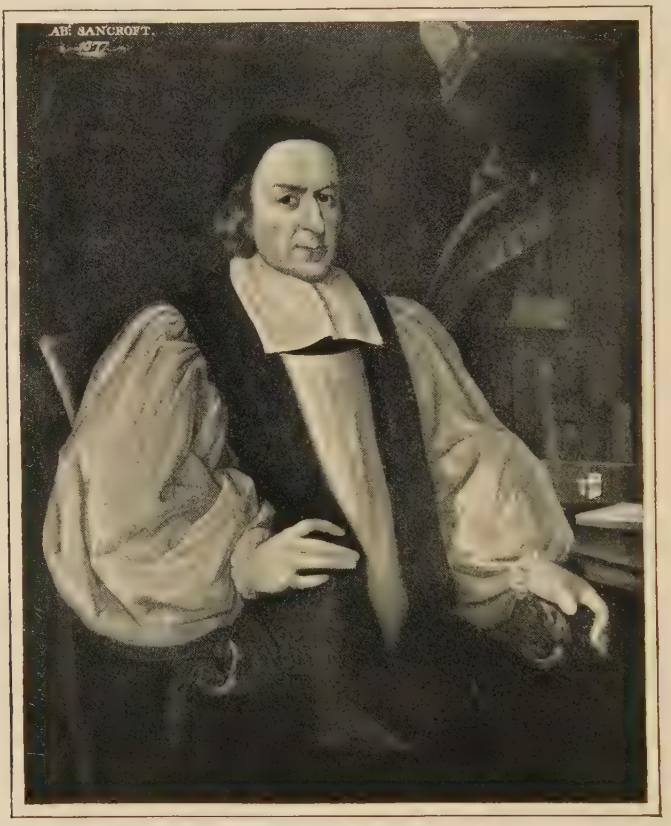
hand, that Charter contained a clause promising it should not be revoked without three years' notice. In 1693 the House declared that all Englishmen had equal right to trade to the East Indies, unless prohibited by Act of Parliament. But it is one thing to pass a resolution of the House of Commons, and quite another thing to get it practically acted on in India, as was seen so lately as 1894. The Company's charter had just been renewed for twenty-one years, subject to the condition it should export yearly £150,000 of English goods. The House discovered, in 1695, that £90,000 had been spent in bribes to effect this; Trevor, the Speaker, was disgraced, and the Duke of Leeds was impeached, and only saved by the flight of the chief witness. Still the Tories fought hard for their financial stronghold. An Act was passed, in 1698, forming the "interlopers" into a new "English East India Company," on a capital of £2,000,000, lent to Government at eight per cent., the old Company having vainly offered £700,000 at four per cent. The whole of the new capital was subscribed in a few hours. The old Company's stock fell to 33¼; in 1693 it had been 158. The old Company itself took shares in the new, so as to be able, when its own Charter should expire, in 1701, still to carry on the warfare. At last an arbitration was effected; the two were formed into the "United Company," in 1708. There had been several principles at stake in this long duel. The new Company were victorious in their demand for Parliamentary interference. But in the other two points the old Company's principles finally triumphed. These were that it should be a joint stock concern, and not a mere "regulated Company" of competing individuals; and that the East Indian trade must have the power to exclude interlopers.

W. H. HUTTON. The Divided Church.

THE Revolution, as has been shown, was very largely a Church movement. That is, it was the attacks upon ecclesiastical freeholds, combined with the determined stand made against arbitrary power, that gave the enthusiasm and the stability to the resistance, and the most effective encouragement to the attempt of William of Orange. The highest dignitaries of the Church joined in the invitation to the Protestant hero to save them from the Romanist king.

Effect of the Revolution.

But no sooner was the Revolution effected, the king deposed, and William and Mary called to the throne by a new and Parliamentary title, than the Church was threatened with little less than disruption. Those of the clergy who had held, in however modified a form, the doctrine of the Divine right of



ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT, BY P. LENS.
(By permission of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.)

kings, or who had taught the obligation of Christianity to a passive obedience even to the most distasteful commands of the sovereign, held with an especial force that they were bound by the oaths that they had taken to James II. Could the State dispense from such an obligation? Was not such a claim an exercise of the dispensing power in a new and more

objectionable form? Men of sensitive conscience and scrupulous honour felt the difficulty the more keenly when they had been opposed to the exiled monarch. The result was a secession, followed by a sharp division between those who remained in the Church's ministry.

The Nonjurors unquestionably were among the most dis-

BISHOP KEN.
(*By permission of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Bath.*)

tinguished sons of the Church. The archbishop himself from the first decided to refuse the oaths to the new Government. His refusal was felt to be a strong argument against the lawfulness of the Act, even by those, such as Bishop Nicholson, who disagreed with his conclusion. He was a man of unquestionable sincerity and honour, who had led the Church, and suffered with the bishops, in resistance to James II. "What I have done I have done in the integrity of my heart," was a noble

The Nonjurors: Sancroft.

motto, true of his whole life. He had been deprived of his fellowship under the Commonwealth for refusing to take the Engagement; he was now, at the end of a long life, to be deprived of the highest dignity in the kingdom. "The young man who went forth from Cambridge because he could not break his oath of allegiance to the father, and the old man who went forth from Lambeth because he could not break his oath of allegiance to the son, were one and the same from first to last."[1] As an archbishop, he was at once active, tolerant, pious, and bold. He followed in the steps of Laud without any of his personal failings. It was on the great Caroline Primate, in fact, that his theology was modelled, and he ever professed a special devotion to his memory.

Ken.

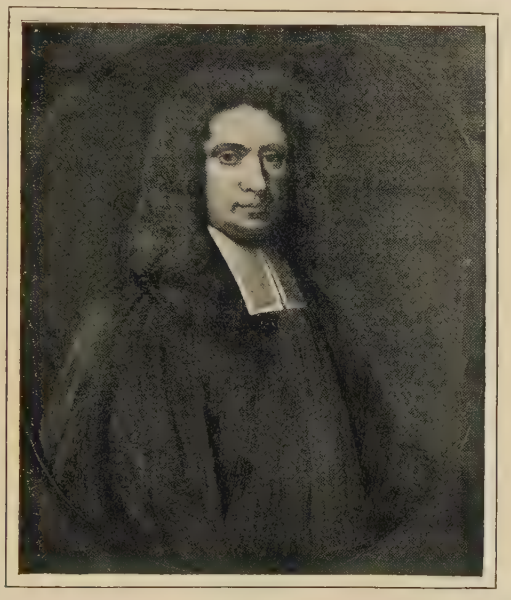
If Sancroft was respected Ken was beloved. Charles II. had a keen eye and a genuine respect for a good man. To him the Church owes the promotion of both Ken and Sancroft; and both, while they did not hesitate to rebuke his brother to his face, yet stood firm to their loyalty in the time of trial. Ken retired from his see to the house of a pious layman of his diocese—Lord Weymouth—and at Longleat he resided for the rest of his life. Thence he looked out upon the political changes with calmness, and there he was sought as a guide by hundreds of those who reverenced and loved his saintly soul. Dryden, there seems to be little doubt, took him as his model for the good parson, and few who have written the English history of his time have failed to give him high rank among the national worthies.

Other Nonjuring Bishops.

Ken was reluctant to join the Nonjurors, and the Government was equally reluctant to deprive him of his see; but when he saw that honourable compromise was impossible he retired, and the difficulty of finding a successor showed the estimation in which he was held. Seven other bishops refused the oath—Turner of Ely, Frampton of Gloucester, Lloyd of Norwich, White of Peterborough, Thomas of Worcester, Cartwright of Chester, and Lake of Chichester. Of the nine nonjuring bishops six had been among the famous Seven Bishops: only Trelawney, who then withstood James, now accepted his successor. Peter Mews of Winchester, who professed that he

[1] Overton, "English Church, 1660–1714," p. 56 (I am greatly indebted to this most valuable book). *Cf.* also the same author's "Nonjurors."

was only prevented by sickness from joining the protesting bishops, now accepted the change of Government, though he opposed the new administration till his death. Ken, before his death, resigned his rights, and Frampton,[1] his friend, was of the same mind. The breach, however, was long in healing. Over four hundred beneficed clergy were deprived. Among them were men of great eminence for learning and piety. John Kettlewell was esteemed "saintlike" by the saintly Ken; his



GEORGE HICKES.

(*By permission of the Rev. the Rector, Lincoln College, Oxford.*)

sincerity and devotion gave a strength to the clergy who joined him, of which they were greatly in need. Such men as these were a grievous loss.

Hickes and other Clergy.

George Hickes, Dean of Worcester, was little less eminent, but very much less peaceable. He retired from his post under protest, and he never ceased to protest all the rest of his life. He had, soon after the Restoration, engaged in controversy on the Divine right of kings, and had upheld, with Sherlock,

[1] Of him Pepys wrote that "he preached most like an apostle that he ever heard man."

the doctrine of passive obedience. Sherlock before long took the oaths, but Hickes remained firm in his allegiance to King James. Like so many of the Nonjurors, Hickes was a considerable antiquary, and what time he could spare from vigorous controversial writing he devoted to the profitable study of Teutonic and Scandinavian remains. With him were men such as Charles Leslie, the famous controversialist, of whom alone among the Nonjurors Dr. Johnson allowed that he could reason; Jeremy Collier, whom Macaulay considers "in parts the first man among them"; Dodwell the learned, and Fitzwilliam the good. Among laymen, besides Dodwell, there were Robert Nelson, most devout son of the Church, and Francis Cherry of Shottisbrooke, a country gentleman of cultivated tastes.

History of the Nonjuring Body.

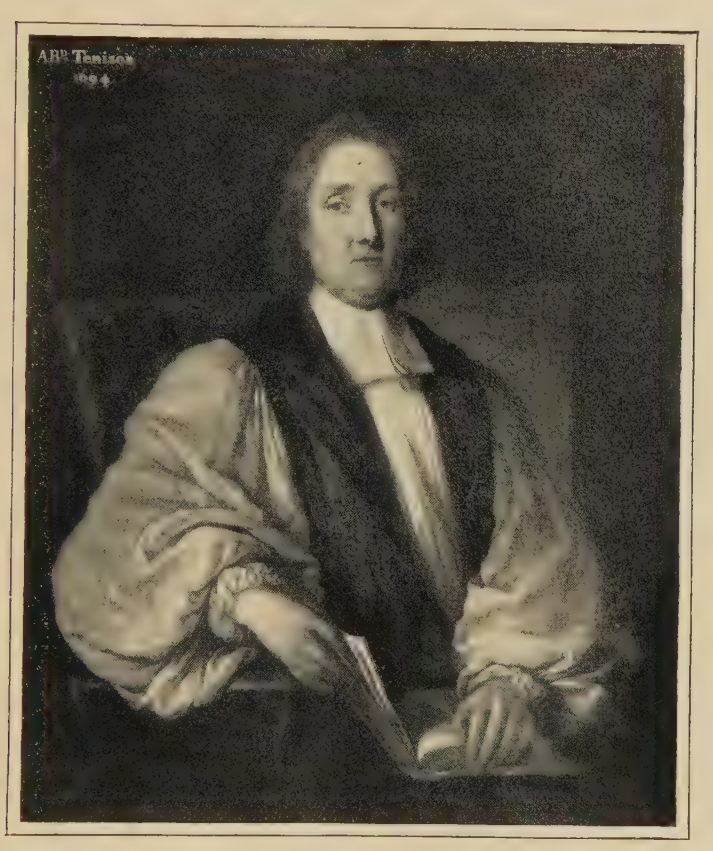
The later history of the secession is full of interest. From the first it contained two parties, the moderate section, who, like Sherlock within a year, or Robert Nelson towards the close of his life, conformed to the new political *régime*, and staunch Jacobites, by whom the body was continued. Bishops Lloyd and Turner continued the episcopal succession; on November 24th, 1694, Dr. Hickes and Mr. Wagstaffe (once Chancellor of Lichfield) were consecrated to the titular sees of Thetford and Ipswich. In 1713 Hickes, with two Scots bishops, consecrated Jeremy Collier, Nathaniel Spinkes, and Samuel Hawes; and in 1716 two more bishops were consecrated. As the body came to have less and less relation to the religious life of the whole nation, it became more literary, antiquarian, and theological. It was for long engaged in negotiation with the Eastern Church, and without arriving at any practical conclusion yet was instrumental in largely widening the mental horizon of English churchmen and in promoting a more intelligent study of primitive antiquity, and of early liturgical and doctrinal forms. For a time the Nonjurors split into two

A Split.

bodies. The *Usagers* sought to revive the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI. with its accompanying usage. These were a body of learned and intelligent students who had looked behind the English Reformation more clearly than most English churchmen had been inclined to do of recent times. The *non-usagers* held to the Prayer-Book of 1662, and were in little but their political position divided from the mass of conforming churchmen. They were reinstated in 1733; but the later history of

the body was one of constant secession and disunion. Oxford long continued to be the home of Nonjurors and Jacobites. Men like Antony Wood and Thomas Hearne and Richard Rawlinson[1] (the last of whom was eventually consecrated bishop on March 25th, 1728) rendered great services to the study of

Oxford and the Nonjurors.



ARCHBISHOP TENISON, BY SIMON DUBOIS.
(*By permission of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.*)

antiquity. The strife in the University ran very high. The famous Black Book of the Proctors, the awful, secret manuscript record of University delinquencies, shows page by page during this period the extraordinary bitterness of public feeling; and the voluminous remains of the three great antiquaries are

[1] The donor of the Rawlinson MSS. to the Bodleian.

equally expressive. It was but very gradually that the bitter sentiment died away. Jacobitism flourished in Oxford at least as long as there was a descendant of James II. living, and the Nonjurors hardly died out before the end of the eighteenth century. Their secession had intensified a separation which would probably in any case have taken place.

William III. and the Church.

William III. cared nothing for the English Church, but, immoral though he was in life, he had a great delight in Protestantism. The Toleration Act was but a poor expression of his sympathy; he was eager to promote comprehension. The Primates whom he appointed were men who could sympathise with this aim. Tillotson, whose fame in his own time is extraordinary to us who read his works to-day, and Tenison, an inferior copy of his predecessor, were in this sense, if not in others, Latitudinarians. Almost as prominent as Tillotson, and much more pushing, was the irrepressible Gilbert Burnet, William's most enthusiastic panegyrist, and certainly the most active of the new Whig bishops. Burnet was a partisan from start to finish. His "History of his own Times" sees the age, as is but natural, solely through his own spectacles. It has no sympathy for unreasoning loyalty, for chivalrous defence of ancient beliefs, for opposition to Revolution principles.

Whig Prelates.

He may be taken not unfairly as a type of the prelates who were now to shape the fortunes of the English Church. Many of them were good men enough, but they were Whigs as much as they were Churchmen. The new Government took the Church under its charge, and seemed determined to treat it as a department of the State. Royal injunctions were issued to direct the bishops, and doctrinal instructions emanated from the same source. Convocation was not allowed to meet, as the expression of its feeling was feared. On this last point a lengthy controversy arose, conducted at first in the press and eventually in Convocation itself, when, in 1701, it was at length allowed to sit.

Schools and Charities.

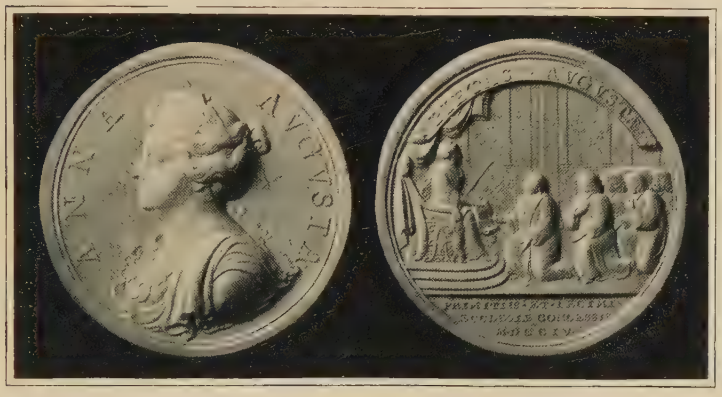
While the Court was more and more alienated from the majority of Churchmen, a spirit of revival was being fostered by the work of several religious laymen. It was the age of the foundation of the great religious societies. These and the societies for the suppression of vice and the reformation of manners must be left to a subsequent section (p. 808). Again,

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

it was the age of the foundation of Charity Schools, the number of which soon increased enormously. Much was also done to found public and parochial libraries. That works such as these should have been undertaken in an age of such moral laxity shows at least that the Church, though shorn of her privileges, was not forgetful of her duties to the nation.

The Church under Anne.

With the reign of Anne the prospects of the Church brightened unmistakably. The queen, like her sister, was pious by disposition. She had no William III. to control her, and she had some conception of the meaning of orthodoxy. Yet,



MEDAL COMMEMORATING QUEEN ANNE'S BOUNTY.

while in one aspect of her policy, she showed appreciation of the constitutional claims of the National Church, she was never able to free herself from the vice of the age—the passion to control religion by constant and deliberate action of the State. William III. had placed all patronage in the hands of a junta of Whig bishops: Anne at once dissolved the Commission. But when she turned to see how she could herself actively benefit the Church, she could only resort to Erastian[1] measures. The Occasional Conformity Bill and the Schism Act were, in different ways, illustrations of the mistaken policy by which the State endeavoured to benefit the Church at the expense of its best interests. Parliament may, however, be excused when it is remembered that the Church's own Council was, during the period 1702–10, in constant strife, and that it may

[1 *I.e.*, implying the absolute supremacy of the State over the Church.]

well have appeared to the lay mind that it was impossible to get any practical work from the jangling controversialists and competing antiquaries, the Whig bishops and the High Church clergy. The queen's own action in surrendering the first-fruits and tenths, which had been enjoyed by every sovereign since Mary I., was just as well as generous; and she richly merited the thanks of the poor clergy for her Bounty. So the first years of her reign passed, and, under royal patronage and not uninfluenced by the Toryism of the day, the Church became stronger than she had been since the days of Henry VIII. The culminating point was the prosecution of Sacheverell.

SACHEVERELL: SATIRE ON THE HIGH CHURCH PARTY.

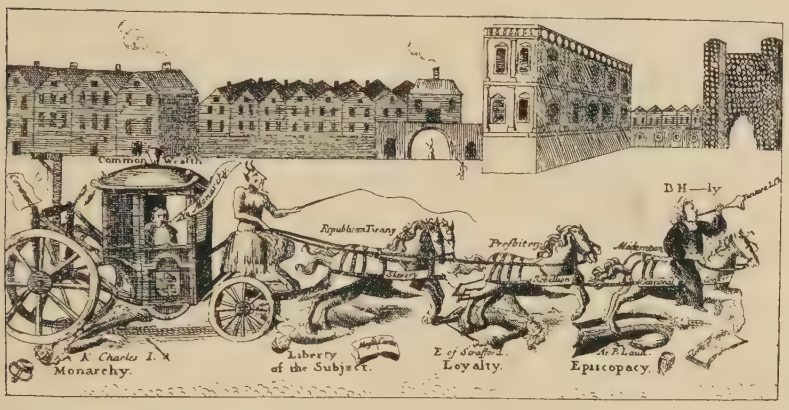
The Sacheverell Case.

The ministry, irritated by the licence of Tory preachers, and still more by their popularity, was rash enough to encourage the Commons to impeach a popular orator.[1] Sacheverell, a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, was charged with asserting that the means used to bring about the Revolution had been odious and unjustifiable, with condemning the legal toleration of Dissenters, with asserting that the Church was in danger, and with maliciously declaring that the queen's ministers were false brethren and traitors to the Constitution in Church and State. The absurdity of the prosecution was not seen till the sentence of three years' suspension from preaching was delivered. The result had only been to produce an interesting series of constitutional arguments (to which Burke referred with telling

[1] *See* Perry's "Student's History of the Church of England," vol. ii., p. 574.

effect in his "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs"), and to cause an enormous Tory majority to be returned to the new Parliament of 1710. The Church and Parliament.

At this date the Church appeared to dictate to the Parliament. It was only in appearance. Parliament still controlled the Church, and there is no yoke more galling to the clerical order than the authority of laymen even more ecclesiastical than themselves. The Parliament-men were Churchmen, but they were Tories first; and the condition of the Church was one of slavery, though the chains might be made of gold. Convocation was given enlarged power, but, while it confined



SACHEVERELL: SATIRE ON THE LOW CHURCH PARTY.

itself to theology and the censure of unsound opinion, Parliament, in 1713, weighted the Church with the Schism Act. It prepared to build fifty new churches in London, but it emphasised and embittered the differences between the Establishment and the Dissenters.

The reign of Anne tended inevitably to foster among the clergy a keen interest in politics and an attachment to the Tory party, and thus to prepare for the severe checks which, from every side, they experienced under the first two sovereigns of the House of Hanover.

Such was the political position of the Church. The social condition of the clergy was probably worse, rather than better, since the days of Charles II. But at least it may be said that they stood together, and that the people, at least politically, The Clergy.

followed them. Dr. Sacheverell was received with enthusiasm by his brethren, and for a time he was unquestionably the most popular man in England. But a change was soon to occur. It might be said, with some truth, that while under Anne the Church was political and popular, under George I. she tended to become unpopular and irreligious.

G. LE M. GRETTON. The Army.

With the accession of William and Mary commences the real history of the British Army. Before this time the armed forces of the Crown were tolerated rather than sanctioned by Parliament, and regarded and governed more as the retainers of the King than as the servants of the country. The Mutiny Act of 1689 recognised and defined the position of the Standing Army; the wars of William and Mary and of Anne gave it constant occupation—occupation so constant, indeed, that the supply of volunteer recruits frequently ran short, and to fill up the ranks recourse was had to strange expedients. In theory our Regular Army has always been raised by voluntary enlistment; in practice, under both William and Anne, military service was rendered obligatory upon certain classes, while pressing and kidnapping were winked at, though even then undoubtedly illegal. In 1694 a levy of 3,000 men was made upon Scotland, and two years later an Act was passed by the Scotch Parliament for the annual levy of 1,000 men. They were to be provided by the sheriffs, who were directed to seize, in the first place, "all idle, loose, and vagabond persons, who have not wife or children," and secondly, "young fencible men, not having wife or children, who earn their living by daily wages or termly hire." In England, also, strong pressure was brought to bear on classes whom we should now consider most undesirable recruits. Insolvent debtors, under a provision granted for their relief, secured their discharge from gaol if they enlisted: and imprisoned criminals were granted pardon if they took the shilling. "All able-bodied men who had no lawful calling or occupation, or visible means of subsistence," were compelled to serve in the Army.[1] Needless to say, the insolvent debtors, the criminals, and the tramps, though only forced to spend three years in the ranks, deserted at every

[1] 7 & 8 William III., c. 12, Mutiny Act of 1702.

opportunity. In one of Marlborough's early campaigns, no fewer than 1,500 of these worthies were at one time found skulking among the towns of the Netherlands.

Maladministration.

That the supply of desirable volunteer recruits should have become insufficient is not surprising, for the shortcomings of our early military system made the Army intensely unpopular as a profession throughout the classes from whom the rank and file are usually obtained. The officers cheated the soldiers; the civilian officials cheated the officers. The pay, only eightpence a day for an infantryman, was often in arrears for months and even years. On active service the inefficiency of the Commissariat entailed terrible hardships on the troops; the men could not march, because they had no shoes; they died from want of medicines; they starved from want of food. At the conclusion of a war the troops were disbanded by tens of thousands, and turned loose upon the country, lucky if they had not been cheated out of the few days' pay grudgingly allowed by the Government to enable them to make their way back to their homes. There were no pensions; the only provision for old and disabled soldiers was at Chelsea Hospital, where veterans of more than twenty years' service, and men who had lost a limb in action, were received for the remainder of their lives.

Schomberg's Irish Campaign.

A grim illustration of the ineptitude of the War Office is afforded by Schomberg's Irish campaign of 1689. The French invasion found us, as usual, unprepared. James landed at Kinsale in March, but it was not until August that 10,000 troops could be collected to reinforce the gallant men who were so heroically holding Ulster for the Protestant king. Our best battalions were in Holland with Marlborough; so fresh regiments were hurriedly raised and as hurriedly drilled. Many corps consisted of recruits so raw that they were not even in uniform; in others, not twenty men in each company could be trusted to fire their muskets—indeed, in some there were not even muskets to fire. The artillery were short of horses and of harness; arms and ammunition had to be hastily brought over from Holland—in a word, disorganisation reigned supreme. When this army, if army it can be called, landed in August near Belfast, it was discovered that no preparations had been made for supplying food to the troops

when they marched inland. Provisions, no doubt, there were; the Commissariat had formed a depôt at Belfast; but not a horse or a cart had been provided to transport the food to the front. Consequently, on the few days' march to Dundalk all ranks nearly starved; while at Dundalk itself, where Schomberg formed an entrenched camp, affairs rapidly grew desperate. Food, shoes, clothing — all alike were bad; the weather was inclement, the autumnal rains earlier and heavier than usual. The English recruits would not follow the example of the foreigners in William's pay—old campaigners who made themselves comfortable under difficulties. Lazy and ignorant, with regimental officers as lazy and as ignorant as themselves, our poor lads would not cut clean fern for their bedding, or drain their camping-ground, or build huts to replace their leaky tents. Schomberg did all that he could for the English under his command, but it was impossible to induce them to help themselves. Fever naturally attacked men who so recklessly neglected every sanitary precaution; they died like flies, while the foreign troops hardly lost a man. In the month of November, Schomberg broke up his camp and retired into winter quarters, but the waste of life in this bloodless campaign was enormous. Out of 14,000 men in camp at Dundalk, 1,700 were buried there; 800 sick died in the course of removal to Belfast; 3,800 more died in hospital at Belfast[1] — a grand total of 6,300 lives, whose loss is directly attributable to the mistake of sending into the field an army which has not been carefully prepared in peace for all that it will be called upon to do in war.

Pay in Arrear.

After this campaign the condition of the Army was in some ways improved, but it is clear that there were still great delays in issuing pay to all ranks. An anonymous writer tells us that in 1691, "Six battalions in Ghent under Talmash had orders to march out and join the main body; but as we were about to march out of the city, the city gates were shut against us by the people of the place, because we had no money to pay our quarters. Our paymaster-general had gone to Holland to get money on credit, till supplies came from England."[2] In 1694 the Inniskilling Dragoons, desperate from want of money,

[1] Walton's "History of the British Standing Army," p. 66.

[2] "Short narrative of life, etc., of Marlborough," by an old officer (Lond., 1711).

A WEDDING IN CAMP.

(From the picture [portion] by Rugendas, at Hampton Court Palace.)

by dint of mobbing the Viceroy of Ireland, succeeded in bringing to Queen Mary's notice the fact that they had drawn no pay for years. The queen sent £1,000 to the regiment out of her private purse; eight years later £2,000 more was extracted from the reluctant officials, who must have made a very good thing out of the Inniskillings; for £3,000 was all that the corps received for five years' arrears, though the pay of the regiment was not less than £16,000 or £18,000 a year.[1] Marlborough was clearly without power to correct such abuses, for in a despatch of May 27th, 1703, to the Duke of Queensberry, respecting a regiment to whom £5,500 was admittedly due, he points out that "it must needs be a very great hardship to have so great an arrear, and that it would much contribute to the service if some part of it were paid, to enable the colonel the better to clothe his regiment and the officers to support themselves in the Army."

Our Army on the Continent.

The contingent which we sent to the Peninsula during the War of the Spanish Succession appears to have been wofully neglected; for, though the House of Commons voted money freely for the expenses of the war, but little of it can have reached the army in Spain. In fact, the leakage of public money must have been incredible, for the Earl of Peterborough, under examination by a Committee of the House of Lords on the Spanish campaign, solemnly asserted "that the troops he brought there did not amount to 5,000 men, though published in the *English Gazette* to amount to 25,000. As to their condition and equipage, no regiment was provided with the least equipage, no mule, no horse, no carriage for the troops, nor any beast of draught for the artillery; no magazines for provisions for a march." He was apparently left to finance the British contingent himself, for he bitterly adds that he "was forced to shift with what money he had of his own and could pick up and down the world; and was rewarded for his pains and service by having his bills protested which he drew from Genoa."[2]

Happily for England, the fighting power of her troops abroad was in no way impaired by the incapacity of her officials at home. During the long series of campaigns

[1] Walton, "History of the British Standing Army," p. 682.

[2] "Parliamentary Hist.," vi. 948. Burton, "Reign of Queen Anne," 309.

against the French between 1689 and 1712, our men fought, always with honour and usually with success, both in the Old World and the New. In Europe they met the armies of Louis XIV. in the Netherlands and in Ireland, in Bavaria, in Spain, and in France itself; in America they drove the French from Nova Scotia and annexed it to Great Britain.

CHARLES MORDAUNT, EARL OF PETERBOROUGH.

(By permission of the Right Hon. the Earl of Carlisle.)

Under William of Orange our troops gained no great success in the Netherlands beyond Marlborough's dashing affair of outposts at Walcourt and the capture of Namur in 1695. At the battles at which the allies were defeated, Steinkerk and Neerwinden, the brunt of the fighting fell upon the English; and their splendid, though unavailing, struggles against overwhelming masses of the picked troops of France filled Europe with admiration. A few years later,

THE SIEGE OF NAMUR.

(*From a Dutch engraving of* 1696.)

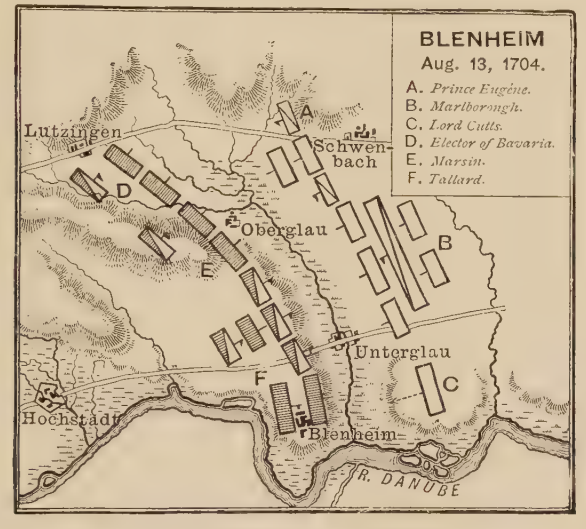
when Marlborough was in command both of the British contingent and of the whole army of the allies, our troops largely contributed to the remarkable series of crushing defeats which Marlborough inflicted upon the marshals of France. At Blenheim and at Malplaquet, at Ramillies and at Oudenarde, wherever the most dangerous work was to be done—there Marlborough led his fellow-countrymen to victory. In Spain, on the other hand, our troops had a chequered career: we took and held Gibraltar, and on the mainland, wherever Peterborough commanded, victory was ours; when a foreign general led the allied army, the French were usually victorious. One of the worst defeats which we have ever experienced was under the Huguenot Galway, at Almanza, at the hands of the Duke of Berwick, one of the illegitimate sons of James II., who commanded the army of the King of France.

Tactics.

To attempt any description of Peterborough's tactics would be impossible; for his campaigns in Spain were so erratic that, had he not been successful, he would have been dubbed a madman. Marlborough's manœuvres, on the other hand, were in accordance with the highest military science of his day, and, did space allow, it would be interesting to follow in detail the methods of handling troops on the battlefield adopted by our own great general and by the French marshals against whom he fought. But it is only possible here to indicate some of the most salient features of their tactics. Infantry attacked in heavy columns. The defenders, generally strongly entrenched in fortified villages or carefully selected positions, reserved their fire until the enemy was within thirty or forty yards' distance, when they poured in volleys from lines of infantry three or four deep. The assailants were ordered to hold their fire until they actually reached the entrenchments and could see the white of the defenders' eyes. As soon as they had succeeded in forcing their way into the position, they fell to with the bayonet. Cavalry, which played a most important part in these campaigns, was used by Marlborough with great success; and more than one doubtful day was decided in his favour by a brilliant charge perfectly timed and as perfectly led by John Churchill himself. For instance, at Malplaquet, Marlborough led a desperate attack against a line of French earthworks, in

which his eagle eye had discerned a gap. The cavalry poured through it, and though fiercely assailed by horse and foot, held on to the position they had won until the allies' infantry came hurrying up, to confirm the success and assure the victory.

The French cavalry (at Blenheim, at any rate) seem to have been slow in charging, and to have attempted to combine "shock" with "fire action"; twice on that day, when attacked by the allies' cavalry, they remained on the defensive, and



THE BATTLEFIELD OF BLENHEIM.

(From Oman's "History of England"; Edward Arnold.)

received them with a discharge of pistols and muskets, instead of vigorously counter-charging, sabre in hand. The natural result was that the momentum of the English horse carried them through the French squadrons and shattered them. The French had also a curious system of "interlacing" infantry with cavalry—in other words, placing parties of infantry in the gaps of a line of cavalry. The theory was that cavalry gained stability from the presence of infantry, but the practical result was to neutralise the advantage of the speed of the horses, by making the mounted arm conform to the slow movements of the infantry.

Artillery. As regards artillery, up to the peace of Ryswick in 1697 there was no regular organisation. A corps was improvised for each campaign: the guns were usually worked by infantry, directed by the few trained gunners in the service, who in peace time garrisoned the Tower and other fortresses. We first read of regularly constituted companies of British artillerists in 1702, when two companies of gunners, with one of pioneers and one of pontoon men, accompanied the train of thirty-six guns to the Low Countries. The histories are curiously silent about the way in which the artillery was utilised on the battlefield. It is, however, clear that the French at Blenheim had heavy batteries of 24-prs. in position, and that the artillery duel lasted four hours before Marlborough commenced his attack. During the actual progress of the fight, the duke appears to have thrust forward his guns in support of his infantry in a manner thoroughly in accordance with our modern ideas—more especially during the great final charge which shattered the French centre.

Drill. It has often been said that Queen Anne's troops were not highly drilled enough to be easily manœuvred, but at Ramillies Marlborough proved the contrary by performing a most delicate and daring evolution. To induce the French to weaken the centre of their line, he formed an enormous column of attack on his right, to threaten their left. They naturally hurried troops to the menaced point; but Marlborough, taking advantage of a convenient hollow in the ground, which, though close to the French position, concealed his movements from them, rapidly transferred a large number of the troops from the right to the centre column, which, thus reinforced, crashed through the enemy's weakened line.

Weapons. The weapons with which, in the reign of Anne, our infantry successfully played their part on the battlefields of Europe were flint-lock muskets, socket bayonets, and swords; pikes and match-locks disappeared from our Army early in the eighteenth century. The uniform was an easy-fitting scarlet coat, cut long in the skirts to protect the thighs from wet and cold; breeches; long black gaiters coming up above the knee; and shoes. For headgear, they wore cocked hats, like those of a Chelsea pensioner of the present day,

and long pig-tails, decorated with bows, plastered with powder, hung down their backs.

That Marlborough did his best for the comfort and welfare of his army in Flanders is proved by his despatches, his private letters, and his camp regulations. From the latter, interesting side-lights are thrown on the life of our troops. Discipline was necessarily stern; soldiers found out of camp without a pass signed by their commanding officers, or caught gathering "pease or beans under the pretence of rooting," are threatened with death. The culprits would, no doubt, have been treated as "maroders," and shot or hanged without mercy. Every care was taken of the sanitation of the camps; on this important point the orders were rigorous and reiterated. Prayers were to be daily performed in camp by the chaplains at the head of each brigade; on the morning of an engagement each regiment had a short service before going under fire. It is curious to see that nearly two hundred years ago British officers disliked wearing uniform, as they do now; for we find an order from Marlborough insisting that "officers shall wear regimentals in camp." To ensure a supply of meat for the men, commanding officers were to encourage butchers to buy, kill, and sell meat to their regiments—an order which rather implies that no regular issue of meat was made to the troops. Discipline.

It was not given to Marlborough to make innovations in the art of war, as was the case with Frederick the Great, who, fifty years later, revolutionised tactics by the rapidity of his fire and by his attack in line. But if Marlborough made no great discoveries, if he contented himself with the methods of his contemporaries, no man ever possessed more fully the power of utilising the tools he had to his hand. No British general ever inspired his troops with greater confidence in himself, or showed greater serenity under fire, or carried to a higher degree the art of winning victories. He was the first British general of the distinctly modern type who took part in a great Continental campaign; and the experience he acquired in the Low Countries and Bavaria enabled him to lay the foundation of the discipline and the regimental system which now obtain in the British Army.

W. LAIRD CLOWES. The Navy.

THE accession of William and Mary put an end, for the time, to the active naval rivalry between England and Holland, and substituted for it an active alliance. Holland, it is true, had already received from England a blow that was destined to be fatal to her commercial supremacy, but she was still strong upon the sea, and her aid was of inestimable value at a moment when France was making a vigorous effort to establish herself as a naval power greater than any. That Great Britain needed help is clear enough. The first great naval conflict that occurred, after the Revolution, between her and France was a drawn battle. The second was a British defeat. The third only was a British victory. But even the third was stubbornly contested. It was really a succession of actions, the most remarkable of which were fought off Cape Barfleur and under Cape La Hogue. At first, the French, under Tourville, gained some tactical success; but they were terribly outnumbered, and in the end their defeat was crushing. It is not a little remarkable that just as Torrington, at Beachy Head, had been ordered to fight at all costs, so Tourville had received from his sovereign the explicit order, "*Combattre l'ennemi, fort ou faible, et quoi qu'il pût en arriver.*" Upon each admiral were poured out subsequently the reproaches which properly had been earned by his superiors, and which should have been shared by the dockyards. Each was popularly held to be responsible for the disaster which overtook his fleet. Great Britain, at least, learnt from these events the wisdom of giving a somewhat freer hand to her naval commanders.

Naval Efficiency.

The naval reforms that had been instituted by James were well intentioned, but were, to a large extent, badly carried out, or were hampered by the prevailing corruption. William, himself a man of transparent honesty, was a little better served; and, during his reign, some real, as well as much apparent, progress was made. Yet it was necessarily slow, and not a great deal could be done until after the peace of Ryswick in 1697. Previous to that time, it is true, a new and more satisfactory scale of war-pay for officers was introduced, the marine regiments were reorganised, new docks and storehouses were built at Portsmouth, and, as presently will be related, Greenwich Hospital was founded. An Act was

THE BATTLE OF [illegible] MAY 17[illegible]

(*From the Picture by Richard Paton* [1721–1791] *at Greenwich Hospital. By permission of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.*)

also passed, in 1696, for the establishment of a register for 30,000 seamen, who were at all times to be in readiness for the service of the Royal Navy, and who were to enjoy a bounty of 40s. yearly. It was directed that none but these registered seamen should be eligible for preference to the rank of warrant or commissioned officers in the Navy; that they should be entitled to a double share of all prize-money; and that when maimed or superannuated they might be admitted to Greenwich. But after the peace came the real cleansing of the Augean stables of mismanagement and corruption; and among the most important reforms then effected was the laying down of new regulations for the conduct of the Ordinary—that is, of the reserve of ships not in commission. It is manifest that upon the condition of such ships depends mainly the preparedness of a country for a naval war. The regulations for the Ordinary, as laid down in 1697, provided for the survey of the hulls, rigging, furniture, and stores of the ships to be laid up; for the despatch to London of estimates for the full repair and completion for sea of the vessels; and for the preservation of the fabrics from decay. These are very elaborate,

Discipline.

but are, for the most part, of merely technical interest. It appears incidentally that up to that time the officers of the Ordinary—the officers who were in charge of the ships, and who were only of warrant rank or below it—had been permitted "to Lodge, Eate, and Drink in the Great Cabbins, or Round Houses." They were ordered thenceforward "to make use of the Cabbins appointed for them at Sea, excepting the Pursers, whose Sea Cabbins being generally in the Hold, are to have the use of some other Cabbins between Decks." Again: "Each ship in harbour is to have a Jack and Ensigne always on board, to be putt forth on Sundayes and Hollydayes," and "the Smoaking Tobacco in his Ma^{ts} Yards and Ships in the Docks is absolutely prohibited . . . otherwise than over a Tub of Water." "And forasmuch as the Harbouring of Women and Children on board his Ma^{ts} Shipps in Ordinary may expose them to accidents . . . as well as Inconveniences of other kinds, We doe hereby strictly forbid the Lodgeing or Keeping of any Women or Children on board the s^{d} Shipps on any pretence whatsoever." That this regulation was necessary appears from an anonymous communication which reached the Admiralty

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

at about the same time, complaining that "a Great Shippe at Chatham" had lately been "without so much as one man on board, only a Woman or two, who, by the way, are dangerous." Guardships at each port were, moreover, presently re-established. They were urgently enough called for, since we learn that during the latter part of the war the dockyard people actually went by night to break up ships lying in Ordinary in order to supply themselves with cheap fuel for their houses. *Apropos* of the presence of women on shipboard, it may here be mentioned that it is a well-established, though little known, fact that Miss Anne Chamberlayne fought alongside her brother, Captain Clifford Chamberlayne, of the *Griffin*, in 1690, at the battle of Beachy Head. Subsequently, it may be added, she married, and fitly became the mother of a distinguished naval officer.

Rations

The food of the British seaman had already become practically what it was in the days of Nelson. The weekly allowance per man was: bread or biscuit, 7 lb.; beer, 7 gals.; beef, 4 lb.; pork, 2 lb.; peas, 2 pts.; oatmeal, 3 pts.; butter, 6 oz.; and cheese, 12 oz. In 1805 the only differences were that in lieu of 3 pts. of oatmeal the seaman received $1\frac{1}{2}$ pts. of oatmeal and 6 oz. of sugar, and that he might, upon occasion, receive half a pint of vinegar weekly, and limejuice when the ship was on salt rations. At both periods wine might, in certain circumstances, take the place of beer at sea, in the proportion of one pint of the former to one gallon of the latter, or spirits, in the proportion of half a pint to a gallon. At both periods, also, beef and pork were interchangeable, 3 lb. of beef equalling 2 lb. of pork; and at both periods it was directed that once every week a quantity of flour and suet should be issued instead of a certain quantity of beef. The allowance of beer, a gallon a day, may seem excessive, but the brew was weak. The average contract prices for "sea-beer" per tun of 252 gallons were, in 1684–85, 33s.; in 1686–90, 36s.; in 1691, 39s.; in 1692, 43s.; and in 1693, 50s. By February, 1695, prices had fallen again, and it was found possible to conclude the contract for the beer for the Navy in that year at 38s. The quantity purchased was 53,083 tuns, 1 hogshead, 20 gallons—a quantity estimated to suffice, with allowance for wastage and for non-consumption, for 35,000

men. Beer, like other things, if not "taken up" for consumption, entitled the seaman to compensation in cash—for food and drink in the Navy has always been held to be part of the seaman's pay—but the rate of compensation was modest, and was, for beer, 1½d. a gallon; for bread, 1¾d. a pound; for beef, 2d. a pound; for pork, 2½d. a pound; for peas, ½d. a pint; for oatmeal, ¾d. a pint; for butter, 3d. a pound; and for cheese, 2d. a pound.

Pay. In 1700 a new scale of pay for sea officers was established; but the rates which during the war had, as has already been mentioned, been increased, were now again reduced. As the pay was not materially altered for many years afterwards, the rates introduced in 1700 may here be given. They were, per day: admiral of the fleet, £5; admiral of the white or blue, £3 10s.; vice-admiral, £2 10s.; rear-admiral, £1 15s.; captain to the admiral of the fleet, £1 15s.; captain of a first-rate, £1; of a second-rate, 16s.; of a third-rate, 13s. 6d.; of a fourth-rate, 10s.; of a fifth-rate, 8s.; of a sixth-rate, 6s.; lieutenant of a first- or second-rate, 5s.; of other rates, 4s. Masters were paid by the lunar month from £9 2s. to £4 13s. 4d., according to rate; surgeons, £5 in all rates. The commander-in-chief was allowed 50 servants; an admiral, 30; a vice-admiral, 20; and a rear-admiral, 15. Captains were allowed four servants for every 100 men forming the complement of their ships. An admiral's allowance for table-money was £365 a year; but other flag-officers, unless commanders-in-chief, had none. The half-pay establishment, per day, was: one admiral of the fleet, at £2 10s.; two admirals, at £1 15s.; three rear-admirals and one captain of the fleet, at 17s. 6d.; twenty senior captains (having war service), at 10s.; thirty captains next senior, at 8s.; forty senior lieutenants (having war service), at 2s. 6d.; sixty lieutenants next senior, 2s.; fifteen senior masters (having war service), 2s. 6d.; fifteen masters next senior, 2s. The rates for lieutenants were far too small to enable a gentleman to live on shore, and so we find that during the peace a considerable number of lieutenants, as well as some captains, temporarily entered the merchant service. At about this time the earliest lists of naval officers were officially published.

The chief naval expeditions of the reign, leaving aside the ordinary cruises of fleets and single ships on foreign stations,

were many of them mismanaged where they were not otherwise unfortunate. If the strategical conduct of affairs in 1693 had been left to the naval officers, Sir George Rooke would have been reinforced from the fleet at Torbay, and would not have been exposed to the disaster which overtook him in June, when the French captured from him three men-of-war and about

Naval Expeditions.

ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE ROOKE. (*Greenwich Hospital.*)
(*By permission of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.*)

90 merchantmen of the convoy. But the counsel of persons who had no notion of the real use of fleets prevailed. It was known that the French were at sea in force, and that Rooke and his valuable charges were in danger; but it was contended that if the fleet at Torbay put to sea to succour Rooke or to go in search of the French, the latter might bombard towns on

the south coast. Sir Francis Wheeler, in the West Indies and North America, was unsuccessful. Benbow, successful in annoying St. Malo, failed at Dunkirk. Wheeler, made commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, was lost at Gibraltar, with a large portion of his squadron. The Camaret Bay expedition ended in a complete and bloody repulse. Berkeley's attempts against Dunkirk and Calais miscarried. Lord Carmarthen's hasty withdrawal from off the Scillies at sight of a number of merchantmen, which he mistook for French men-of-war, was little short of disgraceful. Wilmot's conduct in the West Indies was infamous. Only too probable is it that the circumstances of the time operated on many men as they did on Marlborough, leading them to be wary of serving William too well lest they should incurably offend James, who might yet return. But there were compensations; and if, after 1692, the reign did not witness any very brilliant naval victories, it saw much good, though ostentatious, work done. Amongst the good deeds of our Navy at this time, not the least was its vigorous action for the putting down of piracy and buccaneering in distant seas. The famous Captain Kidd was not the only one of many miscreants of this kind who paid the penalty of their crimes.

Greenwich Hospital.

The establishment, at the time of the Spanish Armada, by Howard and Hawkins, of the naval benevolent fund known as "The Chest at Chatham" has already been noted (Vol. III., p. 644). The reign of William and Mary witnessed the foundation of another and a nobler provision for the relief of seamen who had fought and suffered in the service of their country; and just as it was the war with Spain in 1588 that suggested the formation of the Chatham Chest, so was it the war with France in 1689 and the years following that brought about the erection of the Royal Palace at Greenwich into a naval hospital. Henry Maydman,[1] writing in 1691, was the first to advocate the utilisation of Greenwich Palace for the benefit of the fleet. But he desired to turn "the new great house that stands void there" into a naval school rather than a general naval asylum, though it is to be remarked that he employs the term "hospital" in the description of his plan, and that he proposed to appoint for the government of the establish-

[1] H. Maydman, "Naval Speculations and Maritime Politics," London, 1691.

ment "a superannuated captain, to command the house; a purser, to victual them, with petty warrants from the Victualling Office; a boatswain, gunner, and carpenter, all superannuated officers, each to take a squadron of them under his care." But the immediately inciting cause appears to have been the impression made on the tender heart of the queen by her wounded seamen after the battle of La Hogue. In all probability she, or some of her advisers, had read Maydman's book, which was just then much talked about among all who took an interest in the affairs of the Navy; and it might well have thus happened that although Maydman's main idea was not adopted, part of his plan was carried into effect. Be this as it may, in 1694, by letters patent, the king and queen devoted to the purposes of a national naval hospital "all that capital messuage lately built or in building by our Royal uncle King Charles the Second, and still remaining unfinished, commonly called by the name of our palace at Greenwich," together with the adjacent land. The king personally presented an

GREENWICH HOSPITAL.

annual revenue of £2,000 to the new foundation; the good example was generally followed by the nobility and people of wealth, nearly all of whom subscribed; and Sir Christopher Wren gratuitously provided the architectural designs for the completion of the buildings (p. 532). The Registered Seamen's Act of 1696 obliged all mariners, whether of the Royal Navy or of the merchant marine, to contribute from their wages 6d. a month towards the maintenance of the hospital.

The government of the new Hospital was vested in commissioners nominated by the Crown, and under the commissioners was a resident Governor, usually a naval officer of distinction. Under the Governor were a Lieutenant-Governor, usually a naval captain; four captains, usually commanders; and eight lieutenants. There was also a treasurer, with three clerks. The first treasurer was the immortal John Evelyn, the diarist. The Hospital was opened late in 1704, and early in 1705 had 100 pensioners. In 1814 that number had grown to 2,700, a number which it never exceeded. In 1865 only 1,400 inmates remained, and in 1869, it having been determined that the system had become antiquated and unsatisfactory, the Hospital wholly ceased to be a residence for pensioners, and, instead, the large income of the foundation was devoted to making allowances to old seamen and officers living elsewhere, and to the widows and children of men killed on service, as well as to the provision of maintenance and education at Greenwich for 1,200 boys and 200 girls. In the meantime the income had increased enormously. The Hospital, in 1707, acquired by Act of Parliament a right to unclaimed and forfeited prize-money, and to a percentage upon all prize-money; and in 1735 it was given the vast forfeited estates of the Earldom of Derwentwater. On the other hand, it lost, in 1829, the contribution of 6d. a month from naval seamen's wages, and, in 1834, the contribution from merchant seamen's wages. It also, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, ceased to have any interest in prize-money. But the Consolidated Fund awarded grants which made good the greater part of its losses, and in 1893 the invested capital of the establishment, the management of which had been further reformed in 1885, amounted to £4,000,000, and its income from landed property to £21,000. The Hospital thus founded in 1694 was, as

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

Macaulay said of it, "an edifice surpassing that asylum which the Magnificent Louis had erected for his soldiers," and its usefulness in encouraging the Royal Navy during the century and a quarter of storm and stress that followed can scarcely be overestimated.

Naval Progress.

Soon after the Revolution Sir Clowdisley Shovell and other qualified persons made numerous practical recommendations concerning the improvement of English war-ships. Many of these presently bore fruit. Shovell strongly opposed all contract work, declaring that it was invariably ill-done. He advocated the innovation of oval-shaped tops; the supplying two spare topmasts to every ship; the fitting of spritsails so that in case of need they might serve as main-topsails; the making of sprit-sail, topsail, mizen topsail, and maintopgallant yards similar and interchangeable; the use of shifting backstays; the reduction in weight of lower-deck guns, which were then in large ships 48- and even 60-pounders, and much more; and as half a dozen other officers were equally full of useful suggestions, it is not astonishing that the reign of William and Mary, and of Anne, witnessed the making of many improvements. Another incentive to progress arose out of the country's conflicts with France, a country which was already far advanced in the sciences of naval architecture and of maritime warfare. Between the Revolution and the close of the century considerable numbers of obsolete vessels of all classes were got rid of. On the other hand, more than twenty sail of the line and about fifty frigates were built, with the result

MODEL OF WINSTANLEY'S EDDYSTONE.

(By permission of the Elder Brethren, Trinity House, London.)

that the nominal strength of the fleet was well maintained, and its material efficiency was almost doubled. During this period, too, the emoluments of the officers and men of the Government yards were increased, and, as has been seen, some of the more gross of the manifold abuses of the yard were corrected.

Light-houses.

The lighting and buoying of harbours and estuaries received much attention under William, as did also the general lighting of the coasts of England. The construction of an Eddystone lighthouse was first proposed to Trinity House by Mr. Walter Whitfield in 1691, and one was built at his expense in 1694–98, in consideration of certain dues granted to him under patent from the Crown. Mr. Henry Winstanley, of Littlebury, Essex, designed and erected it, and a light was first shown from it in October, 1698. In 1699 Winstanley strengthened the tower, and raised it from 80 to 120 feet in height. It stood until the great storm of November, 1703, when, with its designer in it, it was destroyed.

Exploration.

In the maritime discoveries of the period the chief naval participator was William Dampier, who, after an adventurous, stormy, and semi-piratical youth, obtained in 1698, when he was forty-six years of age, a post-commission in the Navy as captain of the *Roebuck*, and made an interesting and eventful voyage to the Eastern Archipelago and the South Seas. In this voyage[1] he surveyed part of Australia, in the first English visit to which, by a portion of William Swan's buccaneering crew in the *Cygnet*, he had taken part in 1687–8.

The reign of Queen Anne was, upon the whole, a fortunate one as regards the service of the Navy as well as of the Army. There were a few conspicuous failures, and these were more than counterbalanced by the glorious successes of Rooke, Shovell, Dilkes, Byng, Dursley, Norris, Wager, and others. The victory of Vigo dealt so terrible a blow to the naval power of France that during great part of the remainder of the war the French were able to prosecute only a *guerre de course*. In such leaders as Forbin and Du Guay Trouin they had first-rate officers for this kind of work, and they took an extraordinary number of prizes. But a *guerre de course* has never decided the fate of a campaign, and the peace of 1713 was extremely advantageous to Great

[1] His voyage will be described in the next volume.]

Britain, seeing that it left her mistress of Gibraltar, Minorca, Nova Scotia, most of Newfoundland, St. Kitts, and Hudson's Bay.

The naval successes of the reign were not, however, won until some very necessary examples had been made of officers who had allowed ill-discipline, disaffection, personal spite, or, in a few cases, cowardice to impede their performance of

The Navy in War.

THE EASTERN SEAS, SHOWING NEW HOLLAND AND NEW GUINEA.
(*From a Dutch map, drawn between* 1656 *and* 1688.)

their duty. In no reign before or since have so many officers been severely dealt with. The list includes not only the miserable captains Richard Kirkby, Cooper Wade, and John Constable, who betrayed Benbow in 1702, and with reference to whom Benbow's opponent, the gallant Du Casse, wrote characteristically: "Sir, I had little hopes, on Monday last, but to have supped in your cabin; but it pleased God to order it otherwise. I am thankful for it. As for those

cowardly captains who deserted you, hang them up, for, by God, they deserve it." There were also in the catalogue Vice-Admiral John Graydon, Rear-Admiral Sir John Munden —who was treated with little regard to justice—and Captains George Ramsey, Samuel Meade, Charles Hardy, Robert Jackson, Edward Windsor, Baynham Raymond, John Lowen, Henry Lawrence, Thomas Campion, Sampson Bourne, George Cammock, Bennet Allen, Richard Long, Charles Adamson, Thomas Ekins, Timothy Bridge, John Mitchell, Philip Dawes, William Cross, Andrew Douglas, William Kerr, William Wright, Baron Wyld, and many others. Some of these had previously done good service; others did good service after their punishment. But the number and rank of the sufferers indicate how many and how serious were the departures from the strict correctness of professional conduct, and suggest that the *personnel* of the Navy at the beginning of the eighteenth century left much to be desired.

The Navy under Anne.

At her accession the queen created her consort, Prince George of Denmark, Lord High Admiral, and appointed a Council to assist him. The prince died in 1708, and, after a brief interregnum, Thomas, Earl of Pembroke, succeeded him, but resigned after holding office for a year. The queen then offered the position to Edward Russell, Earl of Bedford, but he recommending that the office should be again put into commission, a commission was appointed, with the earl as First Lord. Thenceforward, for more than a century, the post of Lord High Admiral remained unfilled.

The Marines.

The Marines, which after various vicissitudes had again become an organised corps, began in 1704 the long and splendid record of their more important achievements by taking a large share of the glory gained by the capture of Gibraltar. From that time forward there were few naval successes to which they did not conduce.

The Eddystone Light-house.

The great storm of 1703, besides being fatal to thirteen men-of-war, and about fifteen hundred of their officers and men, and causing immense damage on land, swept away, as has already been said, the first Eddystone lighthouse. A second one was very quickly begun by Mr. John Rudyerd, a silk merchant of Ludgate Hill, assisted by Mr. Smith and Mr. Norcott, shipwrights, of Woolwich Dockyard. It

was of wood, built about a solid core of moorstone, and rose to a height of 92 feet. The light, consisting of twenty-four wax candles, two and a half to the pound, was first shown on July 28th, 1708. The structure stood till 1755, when it was destroyed by fire.

MODEL OF RUDYERD'S EDDYSTONE.

(*By permission of the Elder Brethren, Trinity House, London.*)

The naval legislation of the reign was important. In 1706 Acts were passed for the better manning of the fleet. Civil magistrates were empowered to search for seamen who might be concealed. Persons who might conceal seamen were made liable to penalty; and persons delivering them up might claim reward. Conduct money was allowed. Seamen turned over from one ship to another were to be paid up arrears of wages, and able-bodied landsmen were to be raised for the sea-service In 1710 the Act of the previous reign for the registering of seamen was unwisely repealed, and the press-gang, thereby rendered almost necessary in war-time, became thenceforward a scourge in every sea-port. In the same year a duty was laid upon all ships trading to Liverpool during twenty years, the profits to be applied to improving the harbour, buoying the Channel, erecting landmarks, and building a wet dock. Another Act of the same year provided for the further enlargement and fortifying of the dockyards at Portsmouth, Chatham, and Harwich. In 1714 an Act was passed to confirm the statute of Edward I. concerning wrecks, and to order, in addition, that in case either the queen's or merchants' vessels lying hard by at anchor should omit to give assistance when demanded, their

Naval Legislation.

commander should forfeit £100 to the proprietors of the distressed ship. It was further provided that a reward should be paid to persons assisting a distressed vessel, and that, pending the payment of the reward, the vessel and her cargo might be detained. Another Act of 1714 offered a substantial reward for a method of discovering the longitude at sea, and appointing a board to sift claims, to decide upon the merits of the discovery when made, and to superintend any experiments that might be deemed desirable. This Act was modified and rendered more effectual in 1753. The two measures led to much progress in the art of navigation, and ultimately to the perfection of the chronometer.

Privateers.

The circumstances of the wars which lasted throughout the reign of Anne opened many opportunities to privateers, and the age witnessed the exploits of some of the most distinguished of these characters, British as well as French. Among the British the most successful were Captain Woodes Rogers, and his colleague Stephen Courtney, who respectively commanded the *Duke*, 30, and *Duchess*, 26. In their most famous voyage they were accompanied by Dampier, who, though he had previously held a post-commission in the Navy, went only as pilot, and by Dover, the inventor of the favourite opiate and sudorific powder, who went as surgeon. The owners of the vessels were Bristol merchants. The voyage, begun in 1708, did not end until 1711. In the course of it Rogers captured many vessels and plundered many towns on the Pacific shores of America, took a very rich Acapulco ship, engaged another for two days, and came home by way of the East Indies. To the discovery by Rogers on the island of Juan Fernandez of Alexander Selkirk, a seaman who had existed there alone for five years, we owe the most enthralling romance of adventure in the language—Defoe's "Life of Robinson Crusoe." But Rogers and Courtney were far from being the only privateers of great merit in the reign of Anne. Colby, in 1708, though commanding only a sloop, engaged a Spanish convoy, and took the man-of-war sloop in charge of it, and six of her merchantmen, with an enormous treasure. And there were other men of almost equal daring. Looking to the piratical character of most of these, it is

MONUMENT TO ADMIRAL SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

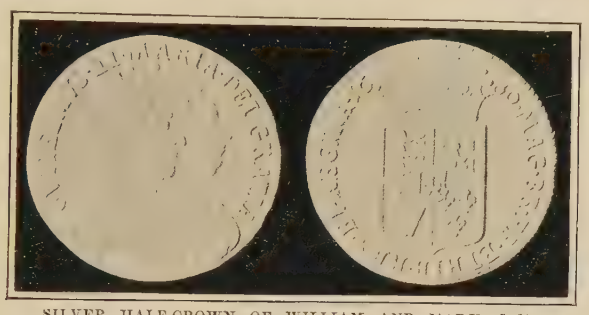
interesting to note that when a few years later Woodes Rogers was made Governor of the Bahamas, he put down buccaneering with a strong hand.

REGINALD HUGHES. Painting, Sculpture, and Coinage: Artists.

NEITHER James II., nor William III., nor Anne contributed anything to the advancement of the arts. Kneller, the one artist who dominated the period, was the successor, and in a way the supplanter, of Lely. He was a German by birth, coming from the old Hanse town of Lübeck. Of a not more original and distinctive talent than Lely, he was even less careful of his fame. His training was exclusively Dutch, though he had travelled in Italy and had resided in Venice. His first great success seems to have been soon after his arrival in England, in 1674, when the young Duke of Monmouth sat to him. Charles sent him to Paris to paint a portrait of Louis XIV., but died in his absence. James favoured him still more, and was sitting to him when the news of the landing at Torbay was brought to London. William and Mary, Anne, Peter the Great, and the Emperor Charles VI. also were among the number of his sitters. His activity was prodigious, and a contingent of Flemings and Englishmen assisted in filling his canvases. It is probable that he rarely painted more than the head and the hands of his portraits, but it must be owned that some of his faces show masterly characterisation. It was for William and his queen that he painted the beauties at Hampton Court. Seven of the admirals now at the same palace are by him, the rest being by the hand of his contemporary, Michael Dahl. He also worked for Queen Anne, and in her reign his portraits of the wits of the Kitcat Club were executed. He settled at Whitton and led the life of a man of quality, amassing, by the aid of his assistants, a considerable fortune, part of which was subsequently lost in the South Sea Bubble. He usually received sixty guineas for a full-length portrait. He continued in the practice of his lucrative art for something like forty years, under Stuart and Guelph alike, and was made a baronet in the year 1715. Of foreigners there is a long list contemporary with Kneller, many of whom—such as Pieters, Van der Roer, Bakker, Vergazon—were among the number of his assistants, as was, on occasions,

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

John Baptist Monoyer, a flower painter of merit from French Flanders. The native painters were few and undistinguished. Among them, John Riley has left portraits of Lord Keeper North and of Waller the poet, not inferior to Kneller.



SILVER HALF-CROWN OF WILLIAM AND MARY, 1689.
(*Actual size.*)

Sculpture was, perhaps, at its lowest ebb under the last of the Stuarts. Francis Bird was the fashionable sculptor of Anne's reign. He was responsible for the queen's clumsy statue outside St. Paul's and the bas-reliefs in front of the same Cathedral, besides the monuments of Dr. Busby and Admiral Sir Clowdisley Shovell at Westminster. **Sculpture.**

The gold coins of William III. and Mary are of the same character as those of Charles II., bearing, of course, busts of the king and queen. The four shields are disposed quarterly, France being in the fourth quarter, and Nassau in a scutcheon of pretence. In silver, at first, only the half-crown was issued, but after 1691 we find crowns, shillings, sixpences, groats, half-groats, and pence in this metal. After the queen's death her profile disappears from her husband's side, and the shields are disposed cross-wise in the older fashion. The halfpence and farthings continued to give trouble. In 1690 there was a coinage of tin, resembling that of the last year of Charles II., which was followed by one of copper and pewter. King **Coins.**

TIN FARTHING, 1690.
(*Actual size.*)

William revived the vicious practice of farming the coinage of these small pieces to private individuals. As a result a petition was presented, in 1694, by the tradesmen of London, complaining of the badness of the coin and of the extensive forgeries of halfpence and farthings, and praying that all be struck in the king's mint and of full value.

GUINEA OF WILLIAM, 1701.
(*Actual size.*)

The forgeries were not, however, confined to the small pieces. The lucrative industry of clipping and counterfeiting silver, facilitated as it was by the degraded state of the coinage, was, in fact, carried on in this reign with greater energy than ever. Something like a commercial panic ensued, and, in the sequel, a Parliamentary Committee was appointed to seek for a remedy. The general re-coinage they recommended (p. 726) was not completed until 1699. Nearly seven millions were coined, five out of the seven being executed at the Tower Mint, the rest in the provinces. The origin of these provincial coins is evidenced by the letters B. C. E. N. and Y. stamped on the obverse, indicating the mints of Bristol, Chester, Exeter, Norwich, and York. All the coins are plentiful, and possess little numismatic interest.

FIVE-GUINEA PIECE OF ANNE.
(*Actual size.*)

There was a marked improvement in the coinage under

Anne. Her gold and silver coins are of good design and workmanship. The guinea gold is distinguished by the mark of the elephant. The precious metal captured from the Spaniards is identified by the word "Vigo" under the queen's bust. Certain plumes on some of the silver coins are believed to indicate the Welsh origin of the metal. After the Union there is a fresh arrangement of the shields, England and Scotland impaled taking the first and the fourth place, France the second, and Ireland the third. The most curious incident connected with Queen Anne's coinage was Dean Swift's proposal to the Lord Treasurer to utilise the copper coinage for popular historical object lessons. His principal points are as follow:—"That the English farthings and halfpence be recoined upon the Union of the two nations. That they bear devices and inscriptions alluding to the most remarkable parts of H.M.'s reign. That there be a Society established for the finding out of proper subjects, inscriptions, and devices." "By these means," he urges, "medals that are at present only a dead treasure, or mere curiosity, will be of use in the ordinary commerce of life, and at the same time perpetuate the glories of H.M.'s reign, reward the labours of her greatest subjects, keep alive in the people a gratitude for public services, and excite the emulation of posterity. To these generous purposes nothing can so much contribute as medals of this kind, which are of undoubted authority, of necessary use and observation, not perishable, nor confined to any certain place—properties

GUINEA OF ANNE.
(*Actual size*).

HALFPENNY OF ANNE.
(*Actual size.*)

not to be found in books, statues, pictures, buildings, or any other monuments of illustrious action." Nothing came of the Dean's eloquence, except the preparation of certain pattern farthings, with Britannia holding an olive branch, or an olive branch and spear, with the mottoes, *Pax missa per orbem* (peace sent through the world), and *Bello et pace*, and a pattern half-penny, with the rose and the thistle growing on a single stem. These patterns are rare, whence probably the superstition which prevailed under the Georges, and, indeed, is not yet extinct, that the ordinary farthings of Queen Anne are very rare and valuable. To this day the officers of the British Museum have the melancholy task of declining offers to sell ordinary Queen Anne's farthings to that institution for £500 apiece made by deluded owners of that quite common coin.

T. WHITTAKER. Science and Philosophy: Biology.

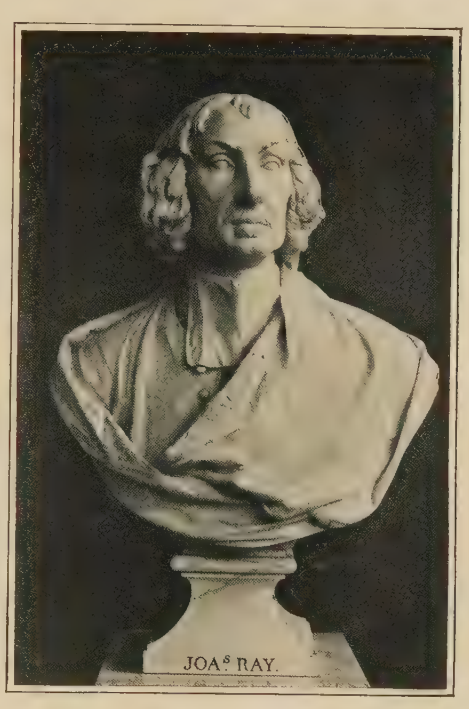
THE growing attention to detail in science is shown especially by the work done in the classificatory parts of biology. Classificatory studies had indeed been cultivated in a scientific spirit from the beginning of the modern period. Among the earliest modern zoologists is mentioned an Englishman, Wotton (1492–1555), who sought to understand the classification of Aristotle as it really was, undisfigured by medieval fancies, and then proceeded to its revision and modification. A little before the period we have now to deal with, Dr. Robert Morison, of Aberdeen, had published a systematic arrangement of plants; the titles of his works being "Præludia Botanica" (1672) and "Plantarum Historia Universalis" (1680). The principal names in botany and zoology during our period are Nehemiah Grew (1628–1711) and John Ray (1628–1705). Both naturalists had already, during the preceding years, done important work; but they come best in this place.

Nehemiah Grew.

Grew was the earliest vegetable anatomist and physiologist of England. Elected a fellow of the Royal Society on the recommendation of Bishop Wilkins, he succeeded Oldenburg as secretary in 1677. In his work on "The Anatomy of Plants" (1682), special attention is paid to the sex-differences of plants. The work contains plates representing the process of germination in various seeds. The author's observations exhibit a very clear conception of the relations and analogies of various portions of the seed.

Selections from notes of Ray's journeys in Great Britain were edited by George Scott in 1660, under the title of "Mr. Ray's Itineraries." Ray himself published an account of his foreign travel in 1673, entitled "Observations, Topographical, Moral, and Physiological, made on a journey through parts of the Low Countries, Italy, and France." The Continental tour here described he had made in company with his friend and pupil, Willoughby, who was to have given an account of the zoological part of their great collection. Willoughby died in 1672, leaving only the ornithology and ichthyology for Ray to edit. Ray used the botanical collections for the groundwork of his "Methodus Plantarum Nova" (1682), and "Historia Generalis Plantarum" (1685). The plants gathered in his British tours had been already described in his "Catalogus Plantarum Angliæ" (1670), a work which is the basis of all later English floras. In the "Methodus Plantarum Nova" he separated flowering from flowerless plants, and divided the former according to the number of cotyledons. The difference between the monocotyledonous and dicotyledonous embryo had already been noted by Grew. Besides editing Willoughby's books, Ray wrote zoological works of his own. His attention to anatomical characters in the division of groups, has caused him to be regarded as the father of modern zoology. In zoology he fixed the conception of "species" for more than a century.

John Ray



BUST OF JOHN RAY.
(*Trinity College, Cambridge.*)

In botany his system of classification is the dawn of the "natural system." His two books entitled "The Wisdom of God manifested in the Works of the Creation" (1691), and "Miscellaneous Discourses touching the Dissolution and Changes of the World" (1692), were the most popular of his writings. From those works have been derived a great number of the ordinary arguments for design in nature.

Astronomy.

Within this period comes much of the work of Edmund Halley (1656–1742), who in 1720 succeeded Flamsteed as Astronomer Royal. Among other achievements, he discovered the proper motion of the fixed stars, and calculated the orbit of the 1682 comet. This was the first calculation of the orbit

MEDAL COMMEMORATING EDMUND HALLEY.

of a comet that was ever attempted. The prediction of the comet's return was verified in 1759 and 1835. Halley's catalogue of the stars of the northern hemisphere appeared in 1679; his "Synopsis Astronomiæ Cometicæ" in 1705. In 1706 appeared his translation from the Arabic (which he had acquired for the purpose) of a treatise of Apollonius, with a restoration of two lost books.

Popular Interest in Science.

It is a note of the time that the diffusion of Newtonian opinions in England took place by means of experimental lectures of a popular kind as well as by books. This interest spreading beyond scientific circles became stronger in the eighteenth century; but even before the Newtonian epoch there are traces of it. In 1661 Sir Thomas Salusbury[1] had put forth

[1] *Cf.* Whewell, "History of the Inductive Sciences," **i., p. 298.**

a translation of several works of Galileo. The book, he says, being "intended chiefly for gentlemen," he has been "as careless of using a studied pedantry" of style "as careful in contriving a pleasant and beautiful impression." At first Newton's doctrine of gravitation gained little acceptance outside of England. In France it at length made rapid way, through the efforts of Voltaire after his return from his English visit in 1728. Till then the Cartesian theory of vortices, in spite of its difficulties, had in many places retained its hold as a kind of new academical orthodoxy, in succession to Aristotelianism. Its privileged position, however, where it had been accepted, lasted for a very short time; and the victory of the Newtonian physics was decisive.

Philosophy: John Locke.

The first continuous movement in English philosophy begins with John Locke (1632–1704), whose special work it was to make investigation of the origin of mental phenomena precede all inquiries as to the validity of knowledge. Locke took his full share in the active life of the period, and was turned to philosophy partly by his practical aims. He was born in the county of Somerset, and educated at Westminster and Oxford, becoming in 1660 a tutor of Christ Church, where he resided great part of thirty years. In philosophy he came under the influence chiefly of Descartes. At the same time he was influenced by the atmosphere of experimental research in which he lived at Oxford and London, and himself, among his other occupations, practised medicine.

His Works.

The first book Locke published with his name was the "Essay Concerning Human Understanding" (1690). Before this he had published anonymously the earlier of the "Letters on Toleration" and the two "Treatises on Civil Government." The "Thoughts on Education" appeared in 1693, and the work on the "Reasonableness of Christianity" in 1695. Locke's remaining literary activity consisted for the most part either in new editions or continuations of these works, or in controversy. His most celebrated controversy was with Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, and had reference especially to the doctrine about "substance" contained in the "Essay." In 1700 the "Essay" had reached a fourth edition. Almost simultaneous was the French translation, by Pierre Coste, from the author's latest revision.

His Political Treatises.

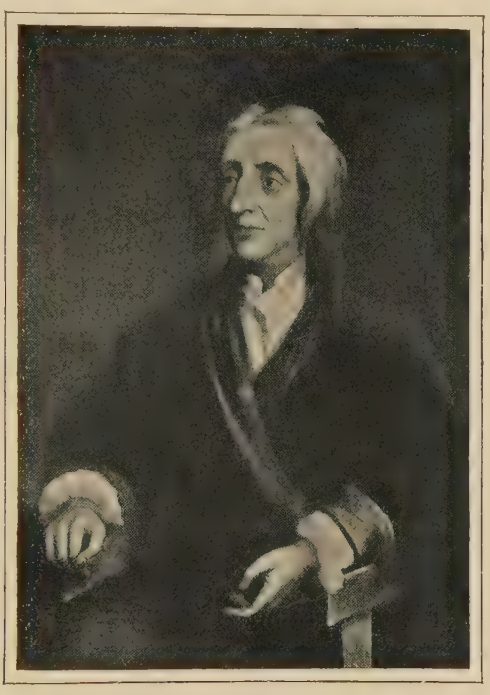
All of these works have been influential; but it is by the "Essay" that Locke's philosophical influence became a permanent force. His political treatises (1689) were written as a reply to Filmer, and were mainly a defence of the settlement which had been actually accomplished at the Revolution. The "Letters on Toleration" also had a very direct reference to the practical problems of Locke's own time. They are a plea for permitting free religious associations independent of the Established Church, rather than a thoroughgoing argument for intellectual liberty. The ground taken is that, for the purposes of civil government, strict religious uniformity is not necessary in a State. Next to the "Essay" in permanent interest come probably the "Thoughts on Education." In the history of philosophy, however, Locke may almost be identified with the "Essay Concerning Human Understanding."

His Philosophical Position.

Notwithstanding its enormous influence, the "Essay" contains very little in the way of definite solution of philosophical problems. The results attained by Hobbes and by Berkeley are as much more definite than Locke's as their literary style is superior to his. The place of Locke in English philosophy is like that of Kant in German philosophy. He takes up the problem of "criticism of knowledge," and determines the questions that his successors shall put to themselves. Berkeley is directly dependent on Locke for his starting-point, as Hume is in turn on Berkeley and Locke.

Locke's method is, before discussing directly what we can know, to consider historically the way in which the mind acquires its actual contents. First of all, he seeks to show that there are no "innate ideas," or rational principles prior to experience. That the mind has no principles of knowledge actually prior to experience would now be generally admitted. The question Locke fails adequately to consider is whether principles of knowledge do not pre-exist in the mind in a latent form. While rejecting the "intellectualist" position of Descartes as he understood it, Locke, however, is not to be classed as a "sensationalist." It was by a simplification of his doctrine on the part of some of his French disciples that he came to be so classed. The mind, in his view, acquires by experience ideas from two sources, which he calls "sensation" and "reflection." The term "ideas," it must be noted, with Locke as with

Berkeley, includes what Hume afterwards called "impressions," as well as what he called "ideas," which are copies of impressions. We become conscious of "ideas of reflection" by internal observation, which is thus set over against external sense-impressions as another immediate source of the contents of mind. Thus Locke is properly described, not as a "sensationalist," but as an "experientialist."



JOHN LOCKE.

(By permission of the Dean and Governing Body, Christ Church, Oxford.)

In his conclusions about the nature of reality, he distinguishes between "primary" and "secondary" qualities of bodies. The former, such as extension and resistance, are really in objects. Our perceptions of them are copies of the thing as it is. The latter, such as heat and cold, colour, taste and smell, are not in objects, but are effects produced in the percipient by modifications of the primary qualities. The real causes of them in bodies do not resemble our ideas.

Anticipation of Phenomenalism.

Out of simple ideas we form complex ideas. These may be ideas of "substances," of "modes," or of "relations." One of the most remarkable parts of the "Essay" is where Locke brings out the obscurity of the idea of substance. This serves as the starting-point for Hume's more radical criticism. Knowledge Locke defines as the perception of the agreement or disagreement of ideas. The term is thus applied by him only to truth that can be made the subject of demonstration. For the guidance of life, the importance of beliefs, and of probabilities not amounting to certainty, is insisted on.

His Ethics.

Locke's ethical doctrine was a kind of utilitarianism, right and wrong being made to depend on the results of actions in procuring happiness or unhappiness. Among the consequences of their actions that men have to regard, are rewards and punishments assigned by a divine or human lawgiver, or by public opinion. Locke conceives of ethical propositions as capable of a quasi-mathematical development from definitions of terms.

Shaftesbury.

Against Locke, as well as against Hobbes, the ethical doctrine of Shaftesbury is a reaction. Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury (1671–1713), had been a pupil of Locke; but in his general philosophical views, as in his ethical doctrine, he took a direction opposed to his master's. Positively, his ethical theory was influenced by the ancient moralists, of whom he was an enthusiastic student. His object is to give morality a base independent of all external authority. While he is metaphysically an optimistic theist—or perhaps pantheist—morality in his view is to be practised for its own sake, and not for the hope of reward or fear of punishment. The basis for morality he finds in a psychological investigation of human nature. Among the passions, he finds that unselfish affections are as natural to man as selfish ones. Over and above both, there are "reflective" feelings of approval or disapproval of the morally beautiful or ugly. As æsthetic feeling is called forth by order or disorder in the parts of objects, so the moral feeling is excited by harmonious or inharmonious relations among the affections by which conduct is determined. This "moral sense" is innate. The reflective feelings that constitute it are

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

not purely æsthetic, but have the power to determine action. Like the æsthetic sense, the moral sense, though innate, needs exercise to produce its proper effect. The harmony that is the object of the moral sense consists in a certain ordering of the selfish and unselfish affections as part of a system. Virtue is directed to the general good; yet egoism is not to be altogether repressed, but has its part in the harmony. To virtue happiness is joined.

Samuel Clarke.

In ethics, Samuel Clarke (1675–1729) continues the intellectualist direction of Cudworth. Action according to the "fitness" or "unfitness" of things is what, in his view, constitutes virtue. Not to regard these relations in our actions is as irrational as to deny a truth of mathematics. The work in which especially his ethical doctrine finds expression is his "Discourse Concerning the Being and Attributes of God" (1704), the outcome of the Boyle lectureship, to which he had been appointed. He was throughout his life a conspicuous figure in the philosophical and philosophico-theological controversies of the time. By his translation of Rohault's "Physics," with notes (1697), he contributed to the spread of Newtonian principles.

The English Deists.

What is called "English deism" now begins to show itself as a movement. Of the writers who belong to the group known as the "deists," the most noteworthy are John Toland (1670–1722), Matthew Tindal (1656–1733), and Anthony Collins (1676–1729). The deists have in common not any definite philosophical doctrine, but an effort towards a rationalistic criticism of the Biblical documents, and an attempt to set up a primitive pure religion supposed to be prior to everything that is called revealed religion, and to contain all that is good in it without the superstitious doctrines and the ceremonial elements with which it has become mixed. Toland's work, "Christianity not Mysterious," appeared in 1696; Collins's "Discourse of Freethinking," in 1713; "Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion," in 1727; Tindal's "Christianity as Old as the Creation," in 1730. From this last work (translated into German in 1741) dates the influence of English deism on German theology.

In philosophy Toland was a pantheist rather than a theist. He was, indeed, the inventor of the term "pantheism." All

the deists came more or less under Locke's philosophic influence. Collins was a friend and disciple of Locke. It is not, however, to any great extent, by their philosophy proper that the deists were historically influential, but chiefly in the sphere of religious thought. Both the French Encyclopædists and German biblical criticism owe much in the way of suggestion to the English deists. In England, it has been pointed out by historians, the deists and their orthodox opponents argue on very much the same ground of general pre-suppositions. Upon the question of the limits of free religious investigation an appeal to the fundamental principles of Protestantism was common to both. The apologists were admittedly better equipped with the appropriate learning, but there was no definite victory on either side. The deistic controversy died down, and new issues appeared.

Berkeley.

The first great figure in English philosophy among Locke's successors is George Berkeley (1685–1753), Bishop of Cloyne from 1734. Berkeley was born in Ireland, of an English family, and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. His philosophic masters were Descartes and Locke. His early writings, by which chiefly he has been influential in philosophy, belonged to this period. His later writings, which form a distinct group, marked off by an interval of practical activity from the earlier, will be referred to in the next chapter.

His Theory of Vision.

Berkeley's chief philosophical works of the first period are the "New Theory of Vision" (1709), "Principles of Human Knowledge" (1710), "Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous" (1713). The first of these is psychological, and prepares the way for the metaphysical doctrine of the "Principles" and the "Dialogues." The received theory was that we know extension and extended objects by touch and also directly by sight; the extension perceived in the two cases being the same. Berkeley proved that our ideas in the two cases are not originally the same. By the eye we get nothing directly but ideas of colour. These visual ideas come to serve as signs of certain tactile ideas. ("Idea," as has been said, with Locke and Berkeley includes both impressions of sense and their copies.) Colours seen by the eye have been constantly accompanied, under certain circumstances, with

experiences of touch. Thus, when the former occur again the latter are suggested. This complex combination is really what we call our idea of visual extension. Till it is analysed, we take it to be simple; and think, for example, that we directly see distance. In reality, what we do is to infer, from certain present visual ideas, the ideas of touch which have been found conjoined with them in the past.

This is a slight indication of Berkeley's famous theory of vision, which has been accepted by most English psychologists since his day, and may be taken, on the whole, as established. Where the analysis is less complete is in the treatment of tactile extension itself. In touch, Berkeley does not distinguish so exactly as has been done since, the active from the passive elements. Much also has been added by physiologists to the account of the optic mechanism; but, in spite of all the aids to the psychology of vision since Berkeley's time, he remains the great discoverer in this field.

His Nominalism.

The next step to his metaphysical doctrine was his theory of "abstract ideas." This was a psychological preliminary which he himself regarded as very important, but which recent critics are disposed to think was not quite so important, either in relation to his own doctrine or generally, as he supposed. Against Locke's position that there is an "abstract idea," for example, of a triangle that is neither equilateral, nor isosceles, nor scalene, but all and none of these, Berkeley contends that we have no such ideas of an object in general, but only ideas of particular objects. We can make one particular idea stand for those that resemble it, and can thereby reason about classes of objects, and that is all. This view is, in a manner, a continuation of the nominalism held by Hobbes, and, though with occasional inconsistencies, such as the position about "abstract ideas," by Locke. Berkeley, however, makes less reference to the importance of language for thought. What he insists on is the individualised character of every possible idea that is to serve as a sign in abstract thinking. Hume, who insists more on the fact that the sign is usually a word, identified Berkeley's doctrine with his own, and has thus caused it to be sometimes misunderstood.

His Idealism.

Berkeley's metaphysical doctrine, developed in the "Principles" and the "Dialogues," is known as Immaterialism or Idealism. According to Berkeley, what the received philosophy called material substance has no real existence. The only true "substances" are "spirits," in which are included the Deity and all individual minds. Material things have no being except that which consists in their being perceived by minds. All that we can find on analysing our conception of matter is various sensible ideas grouped in various ways and constantly recurring in a certain order. The existence of an unperceived substratum of bodies, different from all ideas of sense, is, when examined, unintelligible. The true existence of the external world is simply that of a system by which ideas constantly accompany or follow one another in definite ways. The cause of this system is God, the Infinite Spirit, by whom created and finite spirits have been so constituted that certain ideas serve to them as signs of certain others. Thus, as Berkeley held, the whole structure of the materialistic philosophy of the time was overthrown.

Independent Berkeleians.

Two minor metaphysicians whose doctrines are akin to those of Berkeley are John Norris (1657–1711) and Arthur Collier (1680–1730). Norris was a disciple of Malebranche. He was also influenced directly by Descartes and by the Cambridge Platonists. In some "Cursory Reflections" (1690), he came forward as the earliest critic of Locke's "Essay." The first volume of his "Essay towards the Theory of the Ideal or Intelligible World" appeared in 1701, the second volume in 1704. Collier, who was a neighbour and friend of Norris, was also a disciple of Descartes and Malebranche. The "Clavis Universalis," the work by which he is known, appeared in 1713—that is, three years later than Berkeley's "Principles." In this work Collier arrives definitely at an assertion of Immaterialism. Norris had approached, but had never quite reached, this point. Collier's doctrine was arrived at by a way different from Berkeley's, being a kind of Platonic development of Cartesianism, argued out in scholastic fashion, and not at all on the empirical and psychological lines of Locke. It is, however, very curious as appearing so near the same time, and seems to have been thought out quite independently.

GEORGE SAINTSBURY. Literature

We closed the section of the last chapter devoted to literature with some reference to the rise of the famous or infamous "Restoration drama." But, as there hinted, the chief recognised examples of it, with the exception of those of Wycherley (for Etherege has not even yet forced his way among the quartette, which accident arranged and use and wont have consecrated, of Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar), date from our present period. Indeed, the common term is so great and so misleading a misnomer that some have tried to substitute the word "Orange" for "Restoration." This does not seem very happy, for the Orange monarchy was a mere episode in English history; the word does not at once suggest any meaning to the reader who runs, and, as a matter of fact, the plays were not nearly so much "orange" as "blue." Besides, Etherege and Wycherley, who between them started the style, were beyond all question men of the Restoration, and the tone of the plays is Restoration likewise. It embodies, more definitely than anything else, the insolent and extravagantly lawless reaction from the still more insolent and extravagantly law-making ascetics of Puritanism. Whatever exceptions may be taken in detail, the flashing antitheses of Macaulay nowhere carry with them more trustworthy light than in his essay on this drama. Its most brilliant examples may have been produced under William, but the spirit of it must be sought in the pages of Pepys and Grammont—in their sketches of things that happened twenty or thirty years before William came to the throne.

The "Restoration Drama."

Despite the astonishing intellectual brilliancy of this drama at its best, it must be admitted to present, on the whole, a most unlovely spectacle. That its standards of morality are profoundly immoral is the least part of the matter. The comic muse has never been straitlaced, and from Aristophanes to Plautus, from the first play of Shakespeare to the last of Fletcher, the "peal of elvish laughter" which Charles Lamb pleaded in mitigation is often, if not always, requisite. But this particular drama breathes a spirit which, fortunately, is by no means always, or often, found in company with mere indecorum or mere sensuality. It is scarcely ever passionate, and it is almost always brutal. Just as the actual gallants of

the period carried false dice in their pockets, and did not hesitate to hire ruffians to maim or murder a rival or an opponent, so the heroes of Etherege and Wycherley to begin with, of Vanbrugh and Farquhar—though of Farquhar least of all—to finish, and of the great Mr. Congreve, the sovereign of the style between them, do not confine their play to "the game." As a rule, they are neither gentlemen nor men of honour. The great sentence of a novelist of our time—"There are some things that a fellow *can't* do"—does not apply or appeal to them. They have anticipated in a higher sphere the ideas of Jonathan Wild. Indeed, Jonathan, in one or two of his relations, is a milksop, a romantic weakling, beside such a person as Vainlove, the hero of Congreve's first play, the *Old Bachelor*. It is noteworthy, and it is pleasant to note, that the great and healthy genius of Dryden could not stoop to this type of gutter-blood. His Wildbloods, his Woodalls, his young rakes in general, have extremely little to say for themselves on the score of morality, and not much on that of refinement. But they are, as a rule, good-natured, and they only play tricks to curmudgeons and wittols, to light o' loves and baggages. The proper moral man may, like Parson Adams at Mr. Wilson's story, indulge in "a great groan" over them, but the fairly indulgent man of the world need seldom itch to give them a cudgelling. To most of the heroes of the "Restoration drama," on the other hand, the only fit instrument of purification would be what their own day called an "oaken towel."

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

WILLIAM WYCHERLEY, BY SIR PETER LELY
(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

Nor with few exceptions, of whom the chief is the immortal

Millamant of Congreve's masterpiece, the *Way of the World*, and the more romantic Angelica of *Love for Love*, are the mistresses of these very ungentle gentlemen too worthy for them. On the other hand, when this great stumbling-block has been, with whatever pains and disgust, surmounted, the intellectual and literary delights of this drama far more than pay the adventurer for his trouble. There is far finer humour elsewhere in English, but such an astonishing blaze and volume of wit nowhere else exists either in English or out of it. Molière, though he has higher gifts than Congreve and Vanbrugh, is not their master, though he may have been their teacher, in this respect; the famous fireworks of Sheridan a century later, brilliant as they are, are little more than a reflection of these. The old reproach that everybody is witty, that the grooms and footmen outshine the fine gentlemen of other days, is but a pedantic objection. We can only be thankful for such prodigality, and it would be as reasonable to complain of an auriferous country because the footstools and the mounting-blocks were of gold.

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

WILLIAM CONGREVE, BY SIR G. KNELLER.

(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

As we have noticed before — as has often been noticed—the most epoch-making men of this set were born close together, four decades after Etherege and Sedley, three after Shadwell and Wycherley, and at least a decade after Southerne — a bad comedy writer and a not despicable tragedian, who was loyal to Dryden, was much helped by him, and survived all the other writers of the period, not dying till the very year of Prince Charles's landing at Loch-na-Nuagh. Congreve was

born in 1670, wrote all his plays, including the wildly over-praised tragedy of the *Mourning Bride*, between 1693 and 1700, and lived for thirty years longer as a famous, gouty, idle gentleman, placeman, and wit. His other play, not yet mentioned—the *Double Dealer*—appeared in 1693. Vanbrugh, who, born two years later, died three years earlier, a knight and an architect, almost surpassed Congreve in wit, though not in lightness; and in *The Relapse*, *The Provoked Wife*, and the *Conspiracy*, produced comedies of marvellous brilliancy and of more stage knowledge than Congreve's own, though without the airy grace which in Congreve almost reaches poetic height. He also, unlike Congreve, left some very inferior, chiefly in adapted, work. Farquhar, not born till 1678, and destined to die at the age of less than thirty, produced his first play—*Love and a Bottle*—in 1698, and followed it up with others, of which the best are *The Recruiting Officer* and the famous *Beaux' Stratagem*. Both Vanbrugh and Farquhar, it should be observed, were military men. To their society is sometimes admitted Colley Cibber, who was born between Congreve and Vanbrugh, who lived to be poet laureate, and to be the butt of Pope's satire, but who was a very clever man and no mean dramatist. Of the whole batch, Farquhar is the freest from the ugliest phase of the ugly fault above censured. Nemesis, however, showed an unwonted freedom from lameness in punishing it. Just before the century was ended, not long before Dryden's death, at the very moment of the appearance of the most brilliant work of Congreve and Vanbrugh, Jeremy Collier, a nonjuring clergyman and a man unpopular in more ways than one, published his famous "Short View of the Morality and Profaneness of the English Stage," denouncing with bad reasons as well as good, foolishly as well as wisely, the enormous licence which the playwrights of the last forty years had taken. With the exception of Dryden, whose submission it is fair to attribute not merely to age, but to a sense that he was in the wrong, the rest attempted to make head against "the parson," as Dryden himself called Collier; but their case was too bad, and for once a serious critic got the better of a most popular and prevailing party of exceedingly clever authors. It is true that the explorer of the plays of the early eighteenth century will

Jeremy Collier's Attack on the Stage.

not find any exaggerated prudishness in them. But there was a distinct turn of the tide, which was hastened and made definitive by the efforts of the Queen Anne essayists. Steele, who might not have succeeded by that characteristic which Parson Adams with unconscious, and his creator with conscious, irony praised as "almost equal to a sermon," was certainly helped by Collier in substituting sentimental for sensual interest to some extent, and in banishing mere brutality altogether.

Dryden's Later Poems.

Dryden himself had the less interest in showing himself stiffnecked, that his own dramatic ventures since the Revolution drove him once more to bread-winning had generally been unfortunate, that they had latterly ceased altogether, and that he had, with his indefatigable labour and his marvellous versatility, discovered new roads to fame. He had always been fond of translating, or rather paraphrasing, from the ancients, and after King William was well on the throne he produced, by arrangement with Tonson the bookseller, and by subscription, a complete translation of Virgil, which was very successful, and which brought him in, it is said, the sum (wretched in comparison with what Pope was to make soon afterwards by his Homer, but considerable for the time) of twelve hundred pounds. He did much other hack-work, prose and verse, sometimes unworthy of him in so far as it was hack-work, but always instinct with his massive and incomparable energy. And then at last, for the ridiculous pay of two hundred and fifty pounds, and under an odd title —that of "Fables"—he printed, just before his death, beyond all question the greatest book of English verse between "Paradise Lost" and the poetical revival of the nineteenth century. This volume of paraphrases from Ovid, Chaucer, and other classics, with divers miscellaneous original poems, exhibited the most marvellous command of language, metre, and imagery, and (though the poet was all but seventy, and at the point of death, due less to any particular illness than to a worn-out constitution) was full of fiery vigour and robustness as well as perfection of form, with a varied range of colour in the sober scheme which he permitted himself that would have been wonderful in the work of a man in the very prime of life. He died in the dividing year of the centuries, and

with him the period of education of the "school of prose and reason" ended. For some eighty years to come it had but to show what it could accomplish when it was in full possession of the field, and left to its own devices.

DIDO MEETING ÆNEAS.

(*From the engraving in Dryden's translation of Virgil; ed.* 1697.)

At his death things did not look very well for the immediate production of works of genius, and, as a matter of fact, nothing deserving that name, except the anonymous and anomalous "Tale of a Tub" (p. 786), appeared during the first decade of the new century. But Dryden's place was to be taken with more

quickness than usual in the succession of literary monarchs by a pupil of his own, who, like most pupils who have thus succeeded their masters, had the wit to select a special part of that master's teaching, and to refine upon it rather than to attempt any advance in scale or range. The rather excessive acrimony and the extreme contradictions of the not infrequently revived discussion as to the merits of "Pope as a poet," turn on this peculiarity, at the same time that they for the most part ignore it. Posed as the question was, by the first revolt from the "Papistry" of the eighteenth century, in the form, "*Was* Pope a poet?" it cannot be very fertile of profitable discussion. If we are to deny the name of poet *simpliciter* to the master of a versification at once so consummate and to a great extent so novel, to the author of such really magnificent examples of their own kind of verse as the character of Atticus and the conclusion of the "Dunciad," to the man who, for nearly an entire century, gave more poetic pleasure to a greater number of his own countrymen than any other writer—then talk about poetry becomes a mere logomachy. We begin splitting up the poetic pleasure into kinds and parts, deciding that this is essentially poetic and this not, and in other ways becoming what (unfairly enough to the schoolmen) is called purely scholastic. What kind and what degree of poetic excellence may be allowed to Pope is a very different question, and something must be said of it when we come to the end of his career. At present we are concerned merely with the beginning thereof, though with a very remarkable beginning. Pope, who was only twelve years old when Dryden died, and had been born (no mean coincidence) in the year of the Revolution, appears to have begun writing verse very early; but he was such an unmitigated liar that his own statements about himself must be very cautiously received. His "Pastorals" appeared in Tonson's *Miscellany* (the sixth part of a publication, the first five of which had been, in a manner, edited by Dryden and had contained much of his best work), in 1709. It is pretty certain that they were really written several years earlier; but as this was the year of the poet's majority, and as the fact of their appearance is assured, we need not look beyond it. These "Pastorals" are excessively insipid and artificial; but they already display a

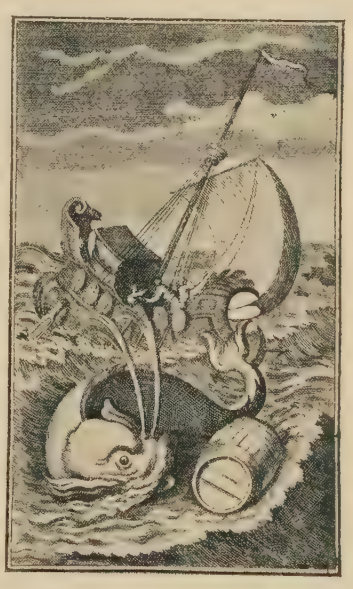
Pope.

most artful selection and softening of the Drydenian couplet, so as to rob it, indeed, of most of its majesty and of nearly all its variety, but to communicate to it an extraordinary brilliancy and mannered grace. The "Essay on Criticism" (1711) is much less insipid and even more polished. Next year came the "Rape of the Lock," in which appears for the first time the felicity with which the poet caught and rendered the tone of the best society of the day. The piece has fancy, though fancy a little mechanical, and, taken with its predecessors and its immediate successors, "Windsor Forest" and the paraphrase of the "Temple of Fame," it shows almost conclusively the astonishing way in which Pope could apply his couplet (he hardly used any other form of verse, and used none with any real effect) to subjects the most dissimilar in appearance. These were his chief productions before the death of Anne; though, before that event, he was engaged in the famous translation of Homer, which was at once to secure his fortunes in the ordinary sense, and to exalt him to the most extraordinary height of popular estimation that any poet had attained—perhaps that any poet has ever attained, except for a brief time—in England. Of this we shall speak later. Meanwhile, it is enough to say that Pope, who was a Roman Catholic, a Londoner by birth, and the son of a well-to-do linendraper, was early introduced to the best literary and other society, formed a part (till he quarrelled with its chief) of the Addisonian coterie, and contributed to the Essays of which we shall have to speak presently. He was even more closely connected with the mightiest genius of the time, Jonathan Swift, whose perhaps greatest book, the "Tale of a Tub," appeared, as has been said, in 1704, and was written five or six years earlier.

Minor Poets: Prior.

The poets, other than Pope, of this period, are, with one exception, either mediocrities, for whom the term mediocre is almost too kind, or else persons best postponed to the following chapter. The excellent Garth, who, following Dryden very closely, wrote a poem on the unpromising subject of "The Dispensary," which is considerably better than might be expected, and "Namby-Pamby" Philips, a sort of rival of Pope's as a pastoralist, may deserve mention; though, in common with a great number of writers from this time forward,

their place in literary history is due much more to their association with greater men and to the place they hold in Johnson's "Poets" than to any intrinsic merit. Matthew Prior has no need of any such allowances and accidents. He was a much older man than any who have been mentioned for the first time in this chapter, and had been born as far back as the year after the Restoration. Except for an exceedingly flat parody on Dryden's "The Hind and the Panther," which he wrote with Montague, he was not known as a man of letters till far into Anne's reign, being contented with a Cambridge fellowship till the Revolution, after which he received divers diplomatic appointments. These culminated, during the great Jacobite intrigue of the queen's last year, in a mission to Paris, which might have cost him his head, and did cost him his liberty for some time, though he was set free again years before his death in 1721. Prior was a man not exactly of great, but of exquisite and peculiar, genius. His larger poems, "Solomon," the worse, and "Alma," the better, have long been little read. But his smaller pieces, though displaying a distinctly epicurean temperament, have the better as well as the wiser philosophy of the Garden, and frequently display an unsurpassed lightness and delicacy of touch, varied now and then by another touch of melancholy humour, for which elsewhere we must almost go to Shakespeare, certainly to Thackeray. Many of his "Chloe" poems, and such things, as the "Kitty, beautiful and young," and the lines on Lady Margaret Harley, show the first quality: the "Lines written in a copy of Mézeray" defy competition in the second.



FRONTISPIECE TO SWIFT'S "TALE OF A TUB," ED. 1724.

An almost contemporary of Prior, Defoe, will, like Swift,

The Essayists.

and for similar reasons, best be deferred, though he had been writing for some thirty years and more when the queen died; but it is necessary to note that his remarkable *Review*, a (for the most part) tri-weekly publication, which he wrote entirely himself, and continued under the greatest difficulties for eight or nine years, set the pattern, to some extent, of the famous Essays which form the distinguishing characteristic of the queen's reign, and with some remarks on which we must close this section. Volumes have been written, and volumes more might be written, about the genesis and fortunes of the periodicals, the chief of which were the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, which appeared during the last five years of Anne, and the chief promoters of which were Addison and Steele, though most of the wits had a hand. They were partly political, but in the main social, literary, and, in the best sense, miscellaneous. To which of the two kings of this Brentford the palm must be assigned in originality and brilliancy is a favourite subject of critical difference. Both were Oxford men, but Addison never diverged from the studious habits of his residence at Magdalen, and even when Right Honourable and a Secretary of State, was essentially a "don." Steele by no means sowed all his wild oats at Merton, and, after serving some considerable time in the Life Guards, engaged in many businesses besides politics and periodical writing, being, by turns or all at once, a playwright, a theatrical manager, and a "projector" of divers commercial schemes. Addison, after long receiving the general preference, which was, as it were, summed up in Macaulay's famous Essay, has of late years rather given way to Steele, who certainly had the priority as far as ideas go, and who, with less literary finish and a more uncertain taste and touch, surpassed his friend in tenderness of feeling and in generosity of tone. In literature, however, the superiority of Addison can hardly be questioned; and the famous and lofty eulogy conveyed in the precept to whoso would acquire a perfect style, to "give days and nights to the reading" of him may so far be endorsed as to admit that in the particular kind of style he has no superior. As for the Essays themselves, though, perhaps partly from political reasons, a stand was made in them for Milton, the principles of literary criticism inculcated must necessarily seem inadequate now. But they did a great

Addison and Steele.

SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

deal to follow up the assaults of Jeremy Collier on the ferocious brutality of the Restoration drama, and by frequent notice of interesting books, English and foreign, they did very much to spread the study of literature. The same chastening and reforming influence which was thus applied to the theatre was exercised in reference to several matters, though not with a very great deal of immediate effect. But the position which

JOSEPH ADDISON, BY SIR G. KNELLER.
(*By permission of J. Clinton Baker, Esq., Bayfordbury, Herts.*)

they hold most securely is that of a gallery of pictures—slightly fantastic on the one hand, and a very little caricatured on the other—of manners, of society, even of fashions, which from the delicate vividness of the painting and the enduring charm of the literary medium equals, if it does not excel, anything else of the kind. For a full century, too, the *Tatler*, the *Spectator*, and the *Guardian*, but especially the *Spectator*, were not merely imitated again and again, but held the position

The Influence of the "Spectator."

of a sort of code of taste in behaviour, reading, expression, all over the kingdom. It is not so very much of a hyperbole to call the English eighteenth century the century of the *Spectator*, and it may be doubted whether any one man, or any group of men, has ever, through literature, exercised such an extensive and durable influence over life as Addison and Steele did by means of these little sheets issued originally day by day, to be served up with the teapot and the chocolate cups. They owed this influence probably to their singular and hardly equalled combination of general sense, right feeling, and even wisdom, with an intimate understanding and relish of the follies and fancies of the time. And it is not superfluous to note that the little kitcat sketches of individuals, the tiny groups of incident and adventure which they contain, undoubtedly did a great deal, and perhaps did more than anything else, to turn the national mind into the channel where it was to find its most original and (poetry excepted) perhaps its most successful course—the channel of prose fiction.

Whatever apparent inconvenience may be caused by halting in the middle of the so-called Augustan period of literature, it may be turned into a positive advantage by the opportunity which this halt affords of observing the complete—as we observed at our last halt the partial—disappearance of the seventeenth century spirit and temper from literature. Careful critics have amused themselves, and have not lost their time by any means in pointing out isolated examples—in Lady Winchilsea, Dr. Croxall, Christopher Smart, and others—of the diviner and less artificial air which between the death of Vaughan and the rise of Blake seemed to be banished from poetry. But the rarity of these exceptions more than proves the rule. By the death of Anne (the greatest names of whose literature proper, be it observed, had a strange tendency to pass away soon after her) the eighteenth century was fully on its way, not merely in years, but in character. Johnson, its most characteristic single name, was born; Pope, its ruling poet, had fully declared himself. The decadence, accompanying the profanation, of the drama had set in. The style of sermonising —one of the most profitable and, perhaps, the most popular of all the literary exercises of the age—had sunk entirely from the rugged learning, the flaming eloquence, the sharp logic of the

Decadence and Reaction.

preceding century to the not inelegant, slightly jejune, rather moral than theological, and eminently decent performances of which Tillotson had set the example, and of which the two Sherlocks—father and son—were for a period of three-quarters of a century characteristic exponents. Poetry, as we have seen, had first had its whole arsenal re-equipped by Dryden, and had then had one particular weapon selected and brought to the utmost pitch of mechanical perfection—to a sort of

SIR RICHARD STEELE, BY SIR G. KNELLER.
(*By permission of the Worshipful Company of Stationers.*),

magazine-rifle conception, in point of rapidity, precision, and the like—by Pope. The social essay had in a very few years been born, and come to its fullest perfection. Philosophical writing was still very largely used, and was to be brought by Berkeley to a point of form which it never had reached before and has never approached since. Only two divisions of the prose writer's art were as yet little cultivated, and it is curious that these two are in one respect one. There had as yet been no great historians in England with the solitary exception of Clarendon, and there had been no great novelists at all. Still more

curiously, the narrative of fiction and the narrative of fact were both to wait for nearly a generation before they received supreme literary form at the hands of their practitioners. Even in our next section, covering all but thirty years, we shall have no history of importance to mention, and remarkable fiction, except in the case of the isolated and anomalous work of Defoe, will still lie just beyond the sky-line. But what we shall have to notice will be interesting enough—the complete working up of the Augustan tendency, the establishment to all appearance in permanence of the notion that order, correctness, precision were not merely the chief, but almost the only things worth cultivating in literature; that English before Dryden was but as brick to marble, that it was hardly worth while to look beyond the flood of the Restoration for anything. We shall find, as we always find, the seeds of reaction being sown at the same time—the very moment of triumph is always the eve of decay. But of the triumph there can be no doubt.

G. TOWNSEND WARNER. The Progress of Manufacture.

THE effect of the Huguenot immigration on the English silk industry has been already described, but the stimulus was lasting, not merely temporary. Throughout the reigns of William and Mary, and Anne, the silk trade was advancing fast. English workmen learnt to copy the French methods, trade secrets became diffused throughout the body of English silkworkers, but the fashion remained for French goods: so much so that almost all the goods produced at home were sold as "French make," the term being given ambiguously to either goods made in France or made by the French refugees. English craftsmen felt this to be an injustice, but the government refused, for the most part, to countenance the oppression of foreigners. By an Act of 1709, the oath of allegiance and the taking of the sacrament were all that was required of refugees on being naturalised. This Act was repealed by the Tory party in 1712, but the measure was a political one, for the refugees almost without exception took the Whig side. Little or no obstacle was thrown in the way of their coming to England. Opinion was more divided about their possessing the political privileges of English-born subjects. Parliament treated them with con-

sideration. In 1709, 7,000 poor people came from the Palatinate and Suabia. They were destitute, and were for some time lodged in tents at Blackheath. £24,000 was voted by Parliament for their support. Some settled in England, and 3,000 of them were planted on the River Hudson. There they quarrelled with the settlers, and finally removed to Pennsylvania, where they came to enjoy much prosperity.

The Immigrants Welcomed.

Help bestowed on refugees was regarded by economists as a profitable investment. In accordance with the Mercantile Theory (p. 626), it was clearly desirable to encourage all new trades. It was pointed out with pride that with the coming of the refugees English trade had risen and French trade decreased. In a short time the number of looms in Lyons had fallen from 18,000 to 4,000; in Tours there were seventy mills at work instead of 700. Before the Revocation England had annually imported £200,000 worth of lustrings, but by 1698 the English silk industry had grown so much that importation was totally forbidden.

Linen.

The refugees brought with them many trades besides silk-weaving. A linen factory was set up in Ipswich, but the country that made most progress with the trade was Scotland. Following English methods, an Act for burying in Scots linen was passed in 1686, and measures taken to promote the growth of flax, and spinning and weaving encouraged throughout the country. Money devoted by the Act of Union to the industrial arts in Scotland was devoted to the linen trade. After 1707 a good deal of linen was sent from Scotland into England, much to the disgust of English linen manufacturers, who feared competition. They appear to have wished that the Scotch should content themselves with making linen yarn and exporting that to be made up in England, either into linen, or what was called cotton, a material which had in reality linen threads for its warp.

Sail-cloth.

At Ipswich a refugee named Bonhomme taught the manufacture of sail-cloth. This was peculiarly favoured, not only as a new trade—for hitherto England had imported largely from France—but as a new trade which helped to strengthen England's right arm—the navy. The factory was destroyed by French agents, who bribed the artisans to return to France,

but in William III.'s reign another factory was set up in London. It was some time before the new industry was able to supply English wants in full. Even as late as the reign of George I. a proposal to prohibit the import of foreign sail-cloth was rejected because it was held that such action would weaken the navy by restricting supplies of a most important article. This is worth notice, because it shows a disposition to put the needs of the navy above the general consideration of the national wealth. The manufacture of tapestry was established at Fulham by an ex-Capuchin monk, who revealed the secrets of the art. The factory was subsequently removed to Exeter. The hat trade was another importation of the same date. The refugees brought the secrets of preparing the beaver and sticking it to the hat. So completely for a time did France lose the trade that the English factory at Wandsworth used to supply even the Roman cardinals. Eventually a refugee went back to France and restored to that country their lost arts and part of the lost trade. Paper-making was another art which we owe to foreigners. Prior to the immigration the only paper made in England was coarse brown paper, made at Dartford (Vol. III. p. 500). All the finer kinds of paper for writing and printing were imported, much from France. It is believed that we paid £100,000 annually for paper. Refugees from Bordeaux and Auvergne introduced the manufacture in England. The manufacture was the object of jealousy on the part of the French, who succeeded in destroying it as they had done the sail-cloth business, by bribing the artisans to return home, but the check was only temporary. Another mill was soon set up, and in a short time England was able to do much towards providing paper for herself. The manufacture of velvets and damasks was also brought from France at this time. The refugees also gave a great stimulus to the watchmaking and clockmaking trades, especially in the case of pendulum clocks. Other kindred arts, such as the making of roasting-jacks, locks, and mechanical toys, were also taught by foreign immigrants. They also extended the English cutlery trades by teaching the manufacture of the finer sorts of hardware and surgeons' instruments. One Huguenot produced for his

Tapestry.

Hats.

Paper and other Trades.

admission into the Edinburgh Corporation of Hammermen a surgeon's saw and lancets. Another industry which was much improved by foreign skill was that of glass-making. The glass made in England had been hitherto bottle glass. The refugees began the making of crystal glass and plate glass, and caused a great increase in the number of glass houses in and about London. Stained glass, too, was manufactured, William Price claiming to make glass of the old red colour, and Joshua Price petitioned to be afforded "a seasonable opportunity to undeceive an unbelieving age by showing his talent in painting the figure of St. Paul in the upper window towards the east" of St. Paul's Cathedral. Another proof that the English glass industry owes much to the refugees is that almost all the technical terms in the glass manufacture are derived from the French. Thus the melted glass is the "found" (*fondre*), the "siege" (*siège*) is where the crucible is put, and the fork used is called "foushart" (*fourchette*). Some sorts of pottery had been made in England from very early times. In 1635 a patent was granted for the "art of dying of Panne Tyles, Stone Juggs, Bottles of all sizes and Earthen Wicker Bottles." Lead glazing was used until 1680, when the art of salt-glazing was discovered, it is said, through an accident. At this time there were twenty-two ovens in Burslem, where articles were made for domestic use. In 1671, John Dwight took out a patent for the "mistery of transparent earthenware," or porcelain. This was the origin of the Fulham manufactures known as white gorges, marbled porcelain, statues and figures, transparent porcelain and "opacous, redd, and dark-coloured" porcelain. Dwight seems to have employed a number of foreign workmen, and to have owed

Glass.

GLASS MAKING.

("*Art of Glass*," *translated in* 1699 *by Handicquer de Blancourt.*)

Pottery.

much to them. In 1688 two brothers, named Elers, came from Holland and set up in Burslem. They made red ware and a black ware of the nature which Wedgwood afterwards made famous. They were much troubled in Burslem by the curiosity of their neighbours, who spied on their doings and processes. Accordingly, in 1710, they removed to Lambeth, where they carried on their old business and a glass-house also.

All these trades, whether new or merely improvements on old processes, were welcomed in England, despite the fact that here and there was found a grumbler who confused his pocket with his patriotism, and who thought the foreigners threw Englishmen out of work. But there were two callings followed by refugees, for which, in the opinion of the time, little that was good was to be said. One was cloth-weaving: the other calico-printing. English cloth-weavers did not think they had much that was new to learn, and held that more weavers in England meant generally less work for each. As it was, weavers found it difficult to get an adequate supply of yarn. There seemed no reason, then, for welcoming strangers who were only skilled in what Englishmen were already proficient. The other trade—calico-printing—was somewhat different. The industry was new. It was set up first at Richmond, and afterwards removed to Bromley Hall. The manufacture of cambrics was carried on in Edinburgh. Both attained considerable success. Calico and cotton goods were the fashion. Brought from the East, everyone was attracted by the lightness and delicacy of the new material. Women especially favoured them. Defoe says "that chintzes were advanced from lying on their floors to their backs, from the footcloth to the petticoat," uses for which cotton goods still continue in favour. It was in vain for the calico-printers to urge that their raw material increased in value by manufacture much more, relatively, than silk; or that they paid a duty of 14d. per yard; or that it was better to print calico than to buy it printed from the East. They were met with a challenge to show the utility of any calico: Had not the material formerly used in its place been woollen goods? was the invariable question. It was impossible to deny that calicoes were now used for many purposes for

Cloth and Calico.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

POTTERY, LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(Victoria and Albert Museum).

which woollen goods had formerly been employed. Consequently, calico was prejudicial to the ancient woollen industry. The supporters of the woollen trade were often very violent, going so far in one case as to throw aquafortis at the wearers of the obnoxious calico. This "riotous and inhuman conduct" seems to have checked the trade for a time, as the calico-printers complained their business had stagnated. Violence and legislation were the only two things that could check the

BROMLEY HALL, BROMLEY-BY-BOW.

wearing of calico, as the material, according to Defoe, cost but one-eighth of the price of the woollen goods superseded. A tax was imposed on printed calicoes in the reign of Anne, and in 1720 they were totally prohibited. No doubt the prohibition was generally popular in England.

The New Trades and the Old.

Thus the reigns of William and Anne were marked by considerable industrial progress. But the progress is due rather to the establishment of new trades than to the development of old ones. The coal trade was increasing slowly as the use of coal became more common; the woollen trade did not do more than hold its own. The fear of rivalry in new

materials shows that it was not expanding rapidly. The iron trade seems to have been stationary. This was due to the want of fuel. But the new trades took root quickly and grew fast. The growth was due, however, not to mechanical inventions, but to human skill and taste, and these came with the refugees. Small industries were prosperous. Copper was much in demand, and, as it was smelted with coal, did not suffer from the same hindrances as the iron trade. The Cornish mines were worked with activity, and there were projects for reopening the disused Cumberland mines in Newlands and Coniston. An interesting account is given of Cornish tin mining. The first thing was to seek a shoad, or detached bit of ore, that might indicate the vicinity of a lode. The lode was then sought by sinking essay hatches, or trial shafts, and when the lode was found a shaft was sunk and a drift, three feet by seven feet, was driven into the hill. Two shovelmen and three beelemen[1] went to a drift, and the ore was raised by being thrown from shamble to shamble, little platforms each the cast of a spade up the shaft. It was sometimes hauled up in keebles,[2] and if water was troublesome an adit was driven to get rid of it. The ore was first stamped by water stamps, and then washed to the launder, a trench in the floor where the ore sank to the bottom. As gathered up from here it was termed forehead, middle, or tails. It was then put into the trambling buddle,[3] and the last of the earth washed off. The tin kiln was four feet square, and covered on the top with a moorstone[4] with a hole in the middle. Half way up the furnace was another moorstone, which did not reach quite to the back, but left room for the flame from below. Through the hole the ore was placed three inches thick on the lower stone. A fierce fire was made down below, principally with furze, and the flame came up at the back and reverberated on to the ore, burning away the mundick.[5] When this was done the ore was raked down into the fire and fresh ore spread. The ore thus obtained had then to be stamped again, put again in the trambling

Mining.

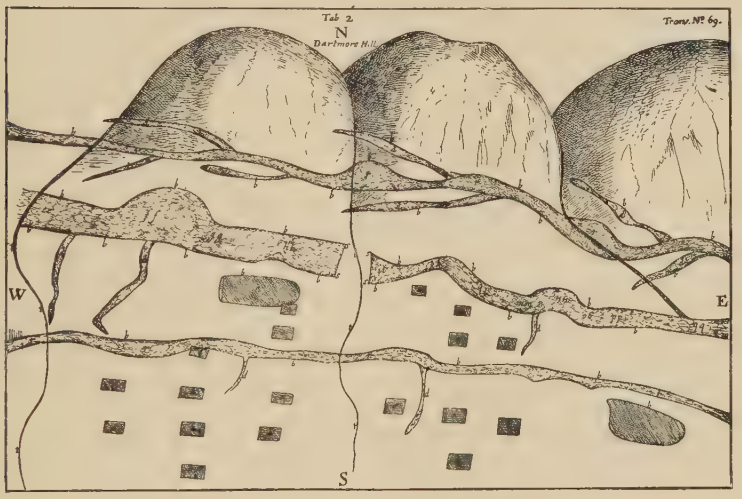
[1] The beele is a miner's pick. [2] Buckets.

[3] The buddle is a sort of round pit: the ore is placed in it, together with a little water, and is trambled or brushed over, to get rid of impurity, by an arrangement of rotating brushes or branches.

[4] A large slab of granite. [5] Pyrites.

buddle, and finally re-smelted before the metal was obtained fairly pure. Japanning and lacquering could be done in England so well that, in the opinion of the trade, they surpassed Indian lacquer and rivalled Japan — an opinion which may reasonably be questioned. Salt-makers, tanners, printers were all active. This general activity can be better judged owing to the practice, then becoming common, of collecting statistics. The school begun by Child and Petty was continued by Davenant and Wood. No doubt some of their figures are

Statistics of Progress.



SKETCH-PLAN OF TIN MINES IN CORNWALL.

(*Royal Society*, "*Philosophical Transactions*," *Vol. VI.*, 1671.)

not to be trusted, but there is much that is valuable. According to Davenant, the exports take a great spring upwards during the reign of William III. In 1688 the annual value of English exports was £2,006,374. In 1699 it was £6,788,166. Owing to the stress of war, it fell in 1703 to £6,644,103, and in 1705 to £5,308,966. In 1710 it was £6,690,828, and in 1715, £7,379,409. In 1711 the value of the exports to Holland alone was £1,937,934, and of the imports from that country, £579,832. The population of the towns was growing with similar rapidity. Industries tended to concentrate again, as the old town regulations grew more and more effete. It is clear that

the long wars of the time did not do much to hinder English industries. In some ways they caused expansion, by opening new markets and spreading our carrying trade. The growth of trade was also fostered by the new coinage and the banking system. Activity led to some speculation, and we may trace in William III.'s reign the same spirit that afterwards became rampant at the time of the South Sea Bubble. The most discreditable affair of the time is the business of the Mine Adventurers. The shareholders took over a number of mines and copper works belonging to Sir Carberry Price and Sir Humphrey Mackworth, and were grievously swindled. The company soon burst, and the case of various shareholders who were ruined came before Parliament. In fact, the company promoter was beginning to find plenty of victims. Trade was becoming more reputable. It was less discreditable to a gentleman to be engaged in commercial enterprise. The old families intermarried with City families for the sake of money, and Pope describes the family of the time:

Mining Speculation.

> "Boastful and rough, your first son is a squire;
> The next a tradesman meek, and much a liar."

One consequence of this was that many ignorant persons were anxious to invest in trading concerns, and, as was natural, often lost their money.

CHARLES CREIGHTON. Public Health.

THE death of Queen Mary in the Christmas week of 1694, from an attack of hæmorrhagic or malignant small-pox, brings to light one obsolete characteristic of that disease—its frequent occurrence and fatality in the palace, in the mansions of the great, and in the families of well-to-do people. Sydenham, indeed, says that few of the common people died of it compared with the numbers that perished by it among the rich; and although he had no exact comparative proof, nor could have any, for the reason that his practice in Pall Mall brought him little into contact with the masses of the people, yet it is clear, from the diaries, letters, and other memorials of the time, that small-pox was a very serious trouble among the upper classes. A brother and sister of the king died of it at Whitehall within a few months in the year of the

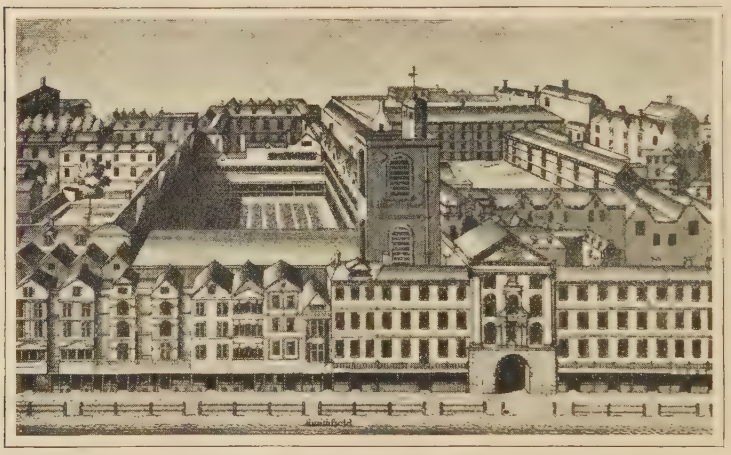
Small-pox.

Restoration; the king's surviving brother, the Duke of York, had a mild attack of it some years after, and it is said to have been the malady by which a son of that prince died in childhood. This prevalence of small-pox in the houses of the upper and highest classes is noted from the time that the malady began to be common or fatal in London, in the first Stuart reigns, until the beginning of the Georgian era. While the first great prevalence of small-pox appears to have been in London, it is not long before we begin to hear of it in the families of country squires and of well-to-do provincial citizens. Ralph Thoresby, the antiquary, who was a prosperous cloth merchant in Leeds, lost by it his two children at once in 1689, and ten years after again lost two of the four that had meanwhile been born to him. At Halifax, one of his correspondents lost three children together in 1681. In the weaving towns of the south-west, such as Taunton, the epidemics came at somewhat regular intervals of years, and carried off large numbers of children. The villages were visited at longer intervals, and in them the attacks were quite as many among the adults as among the young. The most favourable age to have it was from about five to fifteen or twenty, so much so that all the children in a house where it had broken out were allowed to take it if they would, as in an instance related by Evelyn of a rich household near Bagshot. In remote parts the visits of small-pox were rare, but disastrous when they came. It is not to be assumed, however, that other contagions in the same class were at all common. Measles is heard of in occasional epidemics; scarlatina rarely, and mostly of a very mild type. Fevers of the nature of typhus were common, especially in the Seven Ill Years at the end of the seventeenth century, but then chiefly in the northern parts, and not more than usually so in London. The first years of the eighteenth century, until the fever and small-pox of 1710, were unusually healthy in London. The same decennium was the first in the history of Sheffield (from the Restoration) in which the annual baptisms exceeded the burials in the parish registers, the marriages being one-third more than in the last ten years of the seventeenth century. The good health of this period, which was the time of the war with Louis XIV., resembled that of the war with Napoleon a century after; but

prices of food were as low in the former as they were high in the latter.

The Sick Poor.

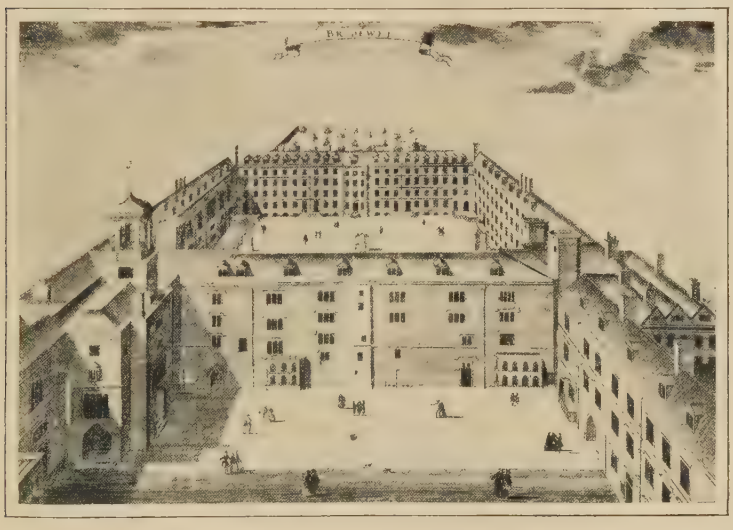
The public assistance of the poorer classes in time of sickness, so conspicuous as it is in modern life, was late in beginning, having made little progress until the great wave of philanthropic sentiment in the second half of the eighteenth century. There were, indeed, many almshouses, the endowment of which was one of the most usual forms of beneficence in the wills of rich citizens; and there were some "hospitals," in the sense of asylums for the aged and infirm, which had survived



ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL.
(*From an engraving of* 1723.)

the general alienation or decay of medieval charities. In London the two great monastic foundations of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield, and St. Thomas, in the Borough, had been converted into surgical and medical infirmaries. The old royal palace of Bridewell, adjoining Fleet Street, had been used from time to time as a plague-hospital, in addition to the two small pest-houses in Finsbury and Westminster. But the design of great hospitals for the sick, which makes one of the most characteristic Socialist visions of More's "Utopia," had come to little in the London of half a million or more inhabitants; while in Bristol, Newcastle, and other large towns nothing had been done towards it except under the Poor Law.

One reason for the slow growth of medical charity was that it almost necessarily implied the gratuitous services of medical men. Individually, the practitioners of the healing art have shown perhaps more than the average beneficence; certainly it is not to the profession of medicine that the reproach of avarice is proverbially joined. But when reduced to a system, or exacted by rule, the gratuitous service of medical men becomes an anomaly. In the plague of 1603 one of the London clergy doubted whether the doctors, who had mostly sought



BRIDEWELL HOSPITAL.
(*From an engraving of* 1720.)

safety in flight, were "bound in conscience to be resident, in regard of their profession and ability to do good, or whether they may use their liberty for themselves and, as they think, for their lives, in regard they are no public persons, and live, not by a common stipend, but by what they can get." In the last year of James II. the question of free medical help to the poor entered on its modern phase—whether, namely, the physicians who took guinea fees from the rich should be suffered at the same time to advise and physic the poor gratis, to the injury of the apothecaries or general practitioners whose business lay among the poorer class. On 27th July, 1687, the

Physicians and Apothecaries.

College of Physicians had resolved that all belonging to their corporation should give, when desired, their advice gratuitously to the sick poor in their respective localities within the city of London and seven miles round. Next year a room was fitted up in the newly built college in Warwick Lane as a laboratory for the compounding of drugs to be dispensed free to the poor on the prescriptions of the physicians. Applicants were to be adjudged "poor" who brought a letter from the parish clergyman. The project was opposed by the apothecaries, who had corporate privileges as well as the physicians (having their Hall at Blackfriars), and by a faction siding with them within the College of Physicians itself. This was the famous dispute satirised in Garth's poem of "The Dispensary," in which the case against the apothecaries and the physicians abetting them is maintained almost wholly as one of personalities or modes of practice, and with little regard to the economic question underlying it. The resolution of the College, having been openly set at naught by certain fellows or members, was voted anew in 1694. But in 1696 it was found expedient to abandon corporate action, fifty-three of the fellows, including the president, the high officers, and many seniors, guaranteeing the expenses of the Dispensary from their private purses, and meeting the objections of the apothecaries half way by charging the poor cost price for the physic. The Dispensary, however, languished, and in 1724 the room in Warwick Lane was dismantled and turned to another use. It was in times of epidemic sickness, as formerly in times of plague, that the poorer classes suffered most from their inability to fee physicians or pay the somewhat lengthy bills of the apothecaries. There are special complaints of a cynical or mercenary spirit among medical men during the severe epidemics of small-pox in 1710 and 1714; but that was merely the spirit of the time in London. When small-pox broke out among the domestics of a great house, they were sent to private houses kept by "nurses"; and it was chiefly to accommodate the domestics and other immediate dependents of the rich that the first small-pox hospital was opened about the middle of the eighteenth century, the admission to it being by subscribers' letters.

The establishment of Greenwich Hospital for disabled and wounded seamen has been dealt with in an earlier section

(p. 757). There had been a Commission for the Sick and Hurt appointed as early as 1664, on the declaration of war with the Dutch, which was empowered to appoint surgeons at the ports, and "to dispose of half of the hospitals through England." It is not easy to name any hospitals existing at that time outside London; one-half of St. Thomas's Hospital was certainly set apart from that year for the sick and wounded in the Dutch naval war. Reference has been made on a previous page (p. 742) to the complete neglect of sanitary precautions in 1689 among the Duke of Schomberg's troops in their camp at Dundalk, and in the winter quarters at Belfast—about one-half of an army of some 12,000 having perished before a shot was fired. Little is known of the health of the army in Marlborough's campaigns: but Dr. Freind has preserved some accounts of the extensive prevalence of dysentery and fever in Peterborough's expedition to Spain. It was not until the next generation that a real science and practice of military hygiene was created by the writings of Pringle and Monro.

The Sick and Wounded in War.

In the reign of William and Mary the rise of a number of voluntary associations, with moral, religious, or philanthropic aims, expressed the widespread desire for social reform. It is true that in 1689, as in 1642, social reform was not made a party cry; but the cordial reception given to the Prince of Orange, especially in the City of London, was partly due to the belief that the social disorders of the last two reigns would be suppressed. The City authorities combined with their Whiggism the Puritan horror of profanation of the Sabbath, cursing and drunkenness, and they knew that they had William's sympathy in these matters. The first sign of a change in the policy of the Government was given in a letter sent by William to the bishops, 1689, ordering them publicly to preach against the keeping of courtesans, swearing, etc., and to put the ecclesiastical laws in execution without any indulgence.[1] The next was given in a letter of Mary, written in the absence of the king, to the justices of the peace in Middlesex, July 9th, 1691, which recommended the execution of the laws "against profaning the Lord's Day, drunkenness,

MARY BATESON. Social Life.

Signs of a Moral Reform.

[1] Evelyn, "Diary," February, 1690.

profane swearing and cursing, and all other lewd, enormous, and disorderly practices," which had universally spread themselves by the neglect and connivance of the magistrates. Any officer of justice guilty of these offences or negligent in punishing them was to be punished himself as an example.

On the whole, however, it was not through Court influence that progress was made in the reform of manners. It was from the people, not from the Government, that the movement of

CHARITY CHILDREN AT THE GREYCOAT HOSPITAL, WESTMINSTER.

Societies for the Reformation of Manners.

social reform came. The work which Cromwell had given to his major-generals was now taken up by voluntary associations. The title "Society for the Reformation of Manners" was first used in 1692,[1] when five or six private gentlemen of the Church of England, with the help of the queen, banded themselves together to inform against all persons who broke the penal laws. To prevent the charge of covetousness, the societies paid over the fines to charities, and took a subscription from their members to pay the expenses of prosecutions. In 1698 the

[1] Coke, "Detection," iii., 66. Wilson's "Defoe," i., 297.

CHARITY CHILDREN AT THE NATIONAL THANKSGIVING, 1713.

(From an engraving by George Vertue.)

societies received a stimulus from a proclamation against vice and impiety in all classes issued by William III. The spread of vice was ascribed to the magistrates' neglect to enforce the laws, and the judges of assize and justices of the peace were ordered to read the proclamation before giving the charge, and all ministers of religion were to read it four times a year after divine service.

Defoe's "Poor Man's Plea" (1698) was penned in the belief that the new orders would be put in force only against poor offenders. Nevertheless, the king's proclamation took some effect, for by 1699 "divers persons of quality" had joined the societies for reformation, including twenty-nine of the nobility, seven judges, and six bishops. Besides undertaking to inform, the societies established quarterly lectures on moral subjects, and at Bow Church sermons were periodically preached setting forth the objects of the reformers In 1699 the original society claimed to have obtained thousands of convictions for cursing, drunkenness, and profanation of the Lord's Day. A special society of fifty persons, chiefly tradesmen, dealt with disorderly houses, and, with the help of the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen, five hundred had been put down in London before 1699. The constables united in a third society, and in London, Westminister, and Southwark there were eight other associations with similar objects.[1] Leicester, Coventry, Shrewsbury, Hull, Tamworth, Newcastle, Liverpool, and Chester had their own societies in 1699; and Archbishop Tenison's circular to his clergy encouraged them to meet with pious persons of the laity, to devise methods for reformation of manners.

The attempted co-operation of Churchmen and Dissenters in these societies led Archbishop Sharp and others to view their influence with suspicion and dislike, and at Nottingham, York, and Carlisle Sharp did his utmost to prevent their action.[2] Others objected to the whole scheme of reform as an impracticable undertaking.

In Defoe's poem on the "Reformation of Manners" (1702) an attack was made on those justices of the peace, themselves of bad character, who had joined these societies; but the societies

[1] An account of the Societies for Reformation of Manners, 1699, ascribed sometimes to Defoe, sometimes to Josiah Woodward.

[2] Newcome, "Life of Sharp," i., 170, *seq.*

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

1714]

held their ground, and, supported by Queen Anne's proclamation against vice (1703),[1] Defoe himself acknowledged (1706) that the rapidity of the reformation had been unparalleled "in such a time and in such circumstances."[2] In 1711 Sacheverell preached against the informers, calling their work "a sanctified pretence of reformation," and urging the Christian virtues of forbearance and forgiveness. To this attack Josiah Woodward, the historian of the societies, replied. But, as Defoe foresaw, the societies became chiefly instrumental in convicting offenders of humble rank, to whom the penalty of a fine was a serious matter. In 1759 they were used chiefly for the purpose of putting down Sunday trading.[3]

ANTHONY HORNECK.
(*After the picture by Mary Beale.*)

As early as 1687 Anthony Horneck had made rules for a society of Church of England young men, which met with opposition, but as chaplain to William III. Horneck was more successful in organising societies for religious conference, and for the support of lectures and daily prayer in churches. In 1699 these numbered thirty-nine in London, Westminster, Nottingham, Gloucester, etc., and ten in Dublin. In 1699 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge took over the duty of providing charity schools and distributing books, leaving missions to the Society for Propagating the Gospel, which dates from 1649. Under Anne both societies flourished: by 1713, 2,250 charity children had been placed as apprentices and servants, and in 1711 a house-to-house collection, in support of missions, was organised by the queen's leave. Through the influence of Thomas Bray, who was active in the work of both societies, many parish libraries were established, and protected by an Act of Parliament, 1709.

Church Societies.

Besides exercising her influence in patronising various

[1] Malcolm "Manners of London." *See* the *Observator*, No. 92
[2] *Review*, iii., 613–14. [3] Malcolm, iv., 329; v. 329.

humanitarian undertakings, Anne kept her Court free of scandal. She ate in private, so that, Burnet tells us,

"except on Sundays, and a few hours twice or thrice a week, a night in the Drawing Room, she appears so little that her Court is as it were abandoned."

In the queen's absence her ministers received at one o'clock, three times a week, in her drawing-room. Thither Swift went regularly to meet his acquaintance, to get a dinner, and save a coffee-house.[1]

"LONG THREAD LACES, LONG AND STRONG."
(*Tempest*, "*Cryes of London*," 1711.)

Queen Anne never went to the public theatres, but had a few plays at Court.[2] She repeatedly issued proclamations against immoral plays, against admitting the audience behind the scenes, and against the masking of women. In the preceding reign Jeremy Collier's "Short View" led, in 1698, to the prosecution of Betterton, as a representative actor, for the use of obscene language; and again, in 1701–2, the players of Lincoln's Inn Fields were prosecuted for

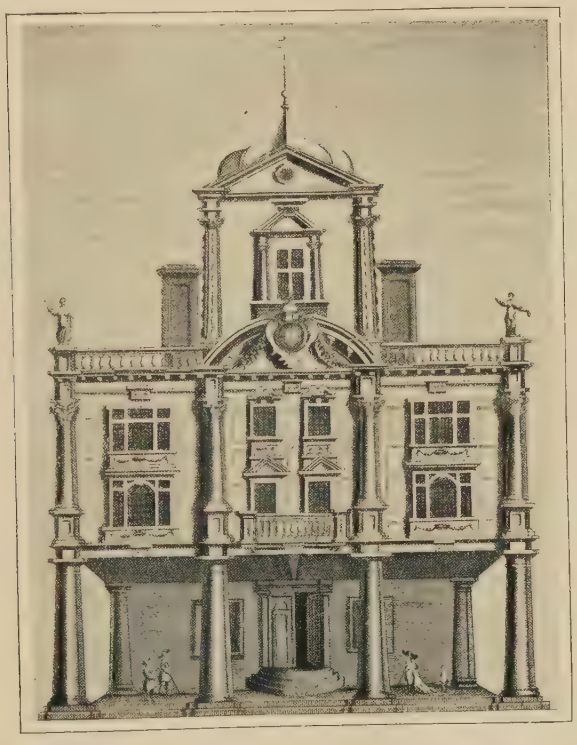
The Stage.

"uttering impious, lewd, and immoral expressions."[3] In spite of the fine acting of Betterton, Mrs. Barry, Mrs. Bracegirdle, and, later, of Nance Oldfield, the theatre was not flourishing during the reign of William III. or Anne. When, in 1682, the Duke's and the King's Companies were united, the Duke's Theatre in Dorset Gardens was used only for spectacular pieces, but in 1695 a quarrel among the actors led to the erection

[1] "Journal to Stella," Works, iii., ed. 1814, pp. 43, 151.
[2] Strickland, xiii., 103.
[3] Malcolm, v., 117; and "Dict. Nat. Biogr.," s.v. Betterton.

1714]

of a new theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields for Betterton's company. The consequence was that neither this nor the King's House in Drury Lane was well filled, and the gallery at Drury Lane was opened free to servants during the whole piece.[1] In Anne's reign the theatres in Dorset Gardens and Lincoln's Inn Fields ceased to exist, and there remained only



THE DUKE'S THEATRE.

Drury Lane and the new Haymarket Theatre, opened 1705, and used for operatic performances.

The first Haymarket opera, 1705, was got up by subscription tickets—half a guinea for stage-boxes, 5s. for first gallery, 2s. for upper gallery, or about double the theatre prices. In 1707 Italian singers were mixed with the English, and the first opera entirely in Italian was given in 1710. In that year Handel

Opera.

[1] Malcolm, iii., 97.

came to England, and produced his *Rinaldo*, containing the great aria, "Lascia ch' io pianga." The great singers of the time were Mrs. Tofts, who could sing Italian, Madame de l'Epine, and Nicolini Grimaldi. At the same time concerts in the "great room" of York Buildings became fashionable, and five-shilling tickets were sold in the chocolate and coffee-houses.

Fairs. Before the Handelian opera had in some degree purified dramatic performances, "next to the play-house" Bartholomew and May Fairs were regarded as "the chiefest nurseries" of vice,[1]

VAUXHALL.
(*From a drawing by Canaletto.*)

and in 1703 the Grand Jury of Middlesex "presented" May Fair, after an open fight had taken place between the constables and some disorderly soldiers in the fair of 1702; but it was not till 1709 that the May Fair puppet-shows were stopped. In 1700 an attempt was made to stop Bartholomew Fair, when the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen forbade any booths to be used for interludes, stage-plays, comedies, gaming-places, lotteries, or music-meetings.[2]

The Westminster justices in 1698 put a stop to a "ridotto,"

[1] Duke of Manchester, "Court and Society from Elizabeth to Anne," ii., *passim*. [2] Malcolm, v., 113.

THE MUSIC PARTY.

(By permission, from the painting in the possession of the Right Hon. the Earl of Carlisle.)

Vauxhall. or "redoubt," which it was proposed to hold at Vauxhall.[1] It was to be a fête in the Venetian manner, with basset-banks and other entertainments, at which all persons were to be masked. Ultimately the "ridotto al fresco" was established, and was a

MAY DAY: THE FIDDLER AND THE MILKMAIDS.
(*Misson's "Mémoires,"* 1698.)

great success. Sir Roger de Coverley, on his visit there, found it his duty as a justice of quorum to animadvert upon the morals of the place.

Cocking. In 1703 the cruel game of cock-throwing, in which the object was to spike cocks, thrown with their legs tied, on to sharp stakes, was stopped on Shrove Tuesdays within the City. Fighting-cock matches were popular as ever, and formal competitions took place between such societies as the "Gentlemen of London" and the "Gentlemen of Warwickshire."[2]

Gaming. Beyond the imposition of a duty of sixpence per pack on cards and five shillings a pair on dice, by the Act 10 Anne, c. 18, no serious effort was made to stop the prevalence of gaming. Hitherto piquet cards had cost only 2s. 6d. per dozen packs; ombre and basset cards were rather dearer.[3] After the Act, Swift enters in his Journal to Stella: "Cards are very dear

[1] Malcolm, iii, 58. [2] *Ibid.*, v., 114, 125. [3] Ashton, i., 105.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

. . . which spoils small gamesters."[1] The licensing of public gaming-houses belonged by patent to the Royal Groom-Porter,[2] in whose house some of the worst gaming-brawls took place.

Lotteries.

The lottery system, which developed rapidly under Charles II., was, by Act of Parliament (5 William and Mary, c. 7), employed in 1694 to raise a loan of a million to the State, in shares of £10 each. After 1699 State-lotteries were suppressed by Act of Parliament, but revived in 1710–11 (8 Anne, c. 4, and 9 Anne, c. 6) for two loans of £1,500,000 to the Government. The method was to issue 150,000 tickets at £10 each ticket, "the principal whereof is to be sunk, the Parliament allowing nine per cent. interest for the whole during the term of 32 years, which interest is to be divided as follows: 3,750 tickets will be prizes from £1,000 to £5 per annum during the said 32 years; all the other tickets will be blanks . . . each blank ticket will be entitled to 14s. a year for the term of 32 years."[3] The sales of goods of private persons were generally held by lottery, not by auction, and illicit lotteries under the form of insurance were numerous till an Act was passed in 1712 to prevent both forms of speculation. In 1708 was started the Taylors' Friendly Society for insuring the lives of adults and children, and in 1709 the Lucky Seventy, a tontine, or "the longest livers take all."[4] The newspaper advertisements give evidence that a period of speculative mania was at hand.

THE NEWSPAPER WOMAN.
(*Tempest, "Cryes of London."*)

Newspapers.

In the reign of Queen Anne the first daily paper was permanently established, the *Post Boy*, in 1695, having had only a brief existence. In the *Daily Courant*, 1702, only one side was printed, measuring fourteen inches by eight inches. Some

[1] Works, ii., p. 366. [2] Malcolm, iii., 50; v., 1. [3] Ashton, "History of Lotteries," 49–52. [4] Malcolm, v., 5. Ashton, "Social Life," i., 112, *seq.*

of the small sheets were printed leaving a page blank, on which London correspondents could write to their friends, and send a personal and a news-letter for the same money.[1] The *London Gazette*, price 1d., was the "truest and most cautious,"[2] and it alone, among the weeklies, contained more than the briefest summary of Parliamentary intelligence. Foreign news was translated out of the foreign papers; the dates of the sailings of ships and accounts of the taking of prizes were all that most papers contained.[3]

Essay Papers.

In 1689 appeared *Weekly Memorials*, or an account of books lately set forth, with literary reviews. The *Observator* and Defoe's *Review* and *Rehearsal*, 1704, pointed the way to the *Tatler*, 1709; *Spectator*, 1711; and the *Guardian*, 1713. The influence of the essayists was great, not only upon literature, but also upon society (p. 792). The *Tatler* was designed not only

"to enliven morality with wit," but "to temper wit with morality," to recover its readers "out of that desperate state of vice and folly into which the age is fallen." According to Gay, Steele was the first to show that "anything witty could be said in praise of the married state, or that devotion and virtue were any way necessary . . . to the character of a fine gentleman." He "made learning amiable and lovely, a welcome guest at tea-tables and assemblies."[4]

It was painful to no man to part with his beloved follies when he saw them ridiculed.

In 1712 the flood of papers and almanacs was somewhat checked by the stamp duty of a halfpenny per half-sheet, and the tax of a shilling on each advertisement. The fifty-five weekly papers, the daily *Votes of Parliament*, and the fashionable essay papers could be seen at the coffee-houses for the fee of 1d.[5]

Coffee Houses.

Many of the coffee-houses had for long been identified with one or other political party, and these are scarcely to be distinguished from clubs.[6] The political dining-clubs, such as the Tory "October," or the Whig "Kitcat" Club, met at taverns—

[1] The *Flying Post* and Dawk's *News Letter*, 1695, 1696. Nichols, "Lit. Anecd.," iv. [2] Misson, "Travels in England." [3] Ashton, ii., 71.

[4] Gay's "Character of Steele," 1729, quoted in Drake's "Essays," pt. v., p. 381. [5] Misson. In 1696 there were nine weekly papers (Nichols, iv.); in 1709, fifty-five. Malcolm, iv., 238.

[6] For a full account, *see* Ashton, i., 214, *seq.*

the first in Westminster, the second in the Strand. In summer the "Kitcat" dined at Hampstead and paraded on the Well Walk. **Clubs.**

In the "Journal to Stella," Swift notes the appearance of coarse Doiley napkins (Doiley was a leading linen-draper), fringed at each end, which were put upon the table to drink with. In some "Rules of Civility," 1703, translated from the French for the benefit of the fashionable world, readers were warned not to wipe the knife and fork on the bread or the cloth, but on the napkin. On the sideboard a basin was placed in which they could be washed: "Some are so curious that they will not endure a spoon to be used in two several dishes." The reader is also requested not to pick his teeth at table with knife or fork.[1] **Table Manners.**

HELMET EWER OF 1713.
(Trinity College, Oxford.)

The dinner-hour was steadily becoming later; the usual hour was three o'clock. The fashionable man began the morning with chocolate, followed in a couple of hours by green tea. In a satire upon the habits of tradesmen they are described as rising before six, they attend matins, take a half-pint of sack and a dash of gentian before eight, and after nine take tea and tobacco in a coffee-house.[2] Supper, served after eight,[3] was still only a slender meal.

Chesterfield, describing the manners of Queen Anne's time, says:— **Visits.**

"Every woman of fashion kept what was called 'a Day,' which was a formal circle of her acquaintances of both sexes, unbroken by any card-tables, tea-tables, or other amusements. There the fine women and fine men met perhaps for an hour."[4]

Sunday calling was fashionable, and instead of the formality of leaving cards, servants were sent to ask a "How do ye?" Swift, in his sickness, received a number of these "Howdees."[5]

[1] Quoted in Bülbring's edition of Defoe's "Compleat Gentleman." [2] Malcolm, iv., 229, 237. [3] Spence, "Anecdotes," p. 20. [4] Stanhope, "Queen Anne," p. 566. [5] "Works" (1814), iii., 82. Malcolm, iv., 238.

The Parks.

The Ring, as a fashionable meeting-place, was rivalled by the Mall, in St. James's Park, where the leaders of society assembled on foot. Owing to the bad behaviour of some masked women who were driving in the Ring in hackney coaches, masking was forbidden and the park closed to hackneys, 1695, and in 1712 to one-horse chaises. The sale of ale and spirits was also stopped. On fine evenings there were two or three hundred coaches, going gently for ladies and gentlemen to have a view of each other. In 1699 a guard-house was erected to secure the public road against footpads, and the growth of Kensington drew public attention to the dangers of the road between Hyde Park Corner and Knightsbridge. William III. having bought Nottingham House and

HACKNEY COACH, 1709.

(*From a fragmentary Table of Fares issued by the Sheriffs' Court.*)

made it his palace, the road through the Green and Hyde Parks, to connect St. James's and Kensington, was improved and lighted with 300 lamps.[1]

Conveyances.

The number of hackney-coaches in London was fixed in 1694 at 700, in 1710 at 800; on Sundays a still smaller number was licensed to ply. The fares were fixed from one shilling for a mile and a half. In 1711, 200 sedan chairs were licensed plying at a fare of one shilling per mile. Both coaches and chairs were, as a rule, unprotected by glasses, and the sharp stones with which the streets were paved made the motion uncomfortable. On the river the boats were cushioned, and in wet weather a cloth was spread over a few hoops to protect the stern[2]; but the disorderly conduct of the boatmen made river travelling unpleasant. People of quality kept private barges, and put their watermen into livery.

[1] Larwood, "London Parks." Chamberlayne, "State of England."
[2] Misson, "Travels in England."

Eel Seller.

Strawberry Seller.

Chicken Seller.

Chimney Sweeps.

STREET SELLERS IN LONDON, 1698.

(Tempest, "Cryes of London.")

The Post.

In 1700 the Londoners' penny post was doubled, and within a radius of ten miles from the General Post Office a penny was paid by the sender and a penny by the receiver of a letter. Parcels under a pound in weight went by the same system. There was a general office for the management of the London penny post in Bishopsgate Street, and five sorting-houses; letters were received at 500 shops and coffee-houses, where hourly collections were made. Povey, the unfortunate inventor of many schemes, planned a halfpenny post, but he was not allowed to work it. In 1710 the postage of the whole kingdom was reorganised by statute; the charge for a "single" letter was 3d. for distances under eighty miles; 4d. beyond that distance to any place in England; to Edinburgh or Dublin, 6d., and the letter thence onward charged by distance. The rearrangement was due to the union with Scotland. A weekly sum of £700 for the service of the war was to be levied on the post-office receipts. The country posts left London only three days a week, and posts were received on the alternate days. Posts to Wales and Ireland came and went twice a week, but the Irish post was always uncertain, as it depended on the winds. The Court and the Fleet stations received a daily post, Sundays excepted, when no postal work was done. The post was expected to go 120 miles in twenty-four hours.[1]

The Packet Services.

The packet-boats by which foreign mails were sent served for the conveyance of Continental travellers. The passage between Calais and Dover in 1686 cost passengers 5s.,[2] but the use of the master's cabin cost 5s. extra, and the payments to the clerks of the passage, customs officers, searchers, water-bailiffs, master of the ferry, landing-boatmen (at Dover and Calais), amounted to as much again.[3] The length of the passage, of course, depended entirely on the wind. During the war the packet-service was rendered more irregular than before, as the boats engaged in the pursuit of prizes,[4] and were used to carry merchandise, exposing them to attack. The general order was issued to captains, when engaged with

[1] Chamberlayne, "State of England," 1711.

[2] Gemelli, p. 111. Churchill, "Collection of Voyages," iii., vi.; and *see* Camden Miscellany, ix., 40. [3] In 1663. Skippon, *ib.* vi., 361.

[4] Treasury Papers, 1697, vol. xlviii., 20, on the prizes taken between Falmouth and Corunna.

VIEW OF HARWICH ABOUT 1710, SHOWING PACKET BOAT.

(From a contemporary print dedicated to Henry Viscount Bolingbroke.)

privateers, and when fighting was of no further avail, to throw the mail-bags overboard.[1] Some new packet-boats of swifter build, which were expected to escape attack, were built so low in the water that they were in danger of sinking. In time of peace three packet-boats ran from Dover to Calais (Tuesday and Friday evening if the wind served), two from Falmouth to Corunna (the Groyn) leaving fortnightly; two from Dover to Nieuport, Flanders (Tuesday and Saturday), three from Harwich to Helvoetsluys (Wednesday and Saturday), three from Holyhead to Dublin (Monday and Thursday), and a weekly service from Donaghadee to Port Patrick (Wigtownshire). During the war the French, Spanish, and Flemish services were discontinued, five boats were put on the Harwich line, and a line from Falmouth to Lisbon was opened, going weekly in 1712, with five boats in the service, of 160 tons each, with thirty-five men and fourteen guns. The packet-service to the West Indies was opened 1710, and left on the last Thursday in the month. By the Act of 1710 New York entered the packet-service, and had a General Post Office.[2] All who could do so got passages in the royal yachts, which made regular crossings to Brill in the reigns of William III. and Anne, and in the Hanoverian period crossed more frequently. Sometimes an individual would hire a sailing-vessel for the crossing, as did Lady Mary Wortley Montague, who paid five guineas for her passage to avoid crossing at night. Those who missed the packet and could not afford this method experienced much vexatious delay.

Yachting.

Charles II., who had considerable knowledge of sailing-vessels, introduced to England the Dutch "yacht," and his example developed in the fashionable world an interest in the swift sailing of pleasure-boats. In 1665 Charles and the Duke of York had a race between their rival yachts, built by the brothers Pett. At first the yachts provided little accommodation, for the king kept his barge and kitchen-boat in attendance[3]; and when Pepys had to spend a night on board he slept on the cushions in the cabin.

When yachts became more numerous, they were used by

[1] Lewins, "Her Majesty's Mails." [2] "Treasury Papers," lxx., 27; cli. 24, etc. Chamberlayne, "State of England," 1711.

[3] Evelyn, October 1, 1665. Pepys's Diary, August 17, September 17, 1665.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

rich men and their friends for the Channel passage, and the viceregal yacht, between Holyhead and Dublin, picked up Swift as he was rowing in search of a vessel in which to make the passage.[1]

The Grand Tour.

Misson's "Instructions to Travellers" (1696) was the guide most generally used, and Addison, on his travels in Italy, rejoiced in the accuracy of Misson's works. The war, however, made travel almost impossible during a considerable part of the period. Italy was most easily visited. Misson recommends travellers to go singly or only in small parties, owing to the limited accommodation, and to carry, if not a bed, at least bedclothes, also a small iron machine wherewith to close doors. All his own luggage was got into "portmantles." A passport, he says, may be useful, but is not necessary.[2]

He recommends travellers staying long in one place to hire lackeys, couriers, and interpreters, and put them into livery. He gives information to help every traveller to make his own guide-book, to correct the itineraries and maps—for every traveller was perforce rather an explorer than a mere tourist. Towards the end of the period many young men of good family were sent to make favour at the Hanoverian Court.

Coaches.

Foreigners travelling in England were delighted with the easy means of communication they found here. In 1713 the flying coaches, with six horses, did 90 to 100 miles a day, at a cost of 2d. or 3d. per mile. Gloucester was reached from London in a day, Hereford in a day and a half. The journey

[1] "Journal to Stella," September 2, 1710.

[2] Bolingbroke, "Letters," ed. 82. £6 was paid for a passport, but the price was exceptional

A WAGGON, 1709.

(From a Table of Fares issued by the Sheriffs' Court.)

to Bath cost 16s. Most of the coaches engaged in long journeys did not proceed in the dark, but "slept" at the inns. Chamberlayne, in his "State of England," 1711 (the "Whitaker" of the period), says, with regard to the danger from highwaymen, that the number had been sensibly diminished since Mary's proclamation offering £40 for every capture.

COFFEE-HOUSE BABBLE" ON THE SACHEVERELL CASE, 1710.

("*Vulgus Britannicus.*")

In the reign of William III. and Anne many statutes dealing with highways were passed to extend the turnpike system in counties lying about London. In William's reign the width of roads was regulated and their boundaries defined. The Act 8 and 9 William III., c. 16, ordered justices to erect guide-posts at cross-roads under penalty of a fine; and they were further authorised to summon special sessions for the mending of ways. The Quarter Sessions might order assessment for repairs. An effort was made to stop carters from driving six or more horses tandem. An Act of Charles II. on the subject had been evaded, but fresh laws were passed, limiting the team to eight beasts, drawing in pairs with a shaft between. In Anne's reign only six beasts were allowed in a team, except up hills. In spite of these restrictions the main roads alone were passable in winter. Notwithstanding the difficulties of travel, many of the wealthier country gentry visited London with their families during the season (October to May), and in the

summer the leisured classes made their way to the great baths in search of pleasure or of health.

A few travellers went to Aix-la-Chapelle for a water cure,[1] but the Court was content with Epsom[2] and Bath. Yorkshiremen, like Thoresby, had the "Spaw courses" at Quarry Hill, Leeds, and the Bath House at Buxton was improved by the Duke of Devonshire, 1705. London citizens sought health at Sadler's New Tunbridge Wells, near Islington, or bought their spaw waters in London. Tunbridge was less fashionable than of yore, and was frequented by "fat city ladies with tawdry Atlasses."[3] The London Turkish Bath, at the Bagnio or Hummum, in Covent Garden, costing five shillings a bath, was fashionable, and a few advocates maintained the virtues of the cold bath. **Watering Places.**

After Queen Anne's visit, in 1703, to Bath, great prosperity came to the town, and under the rule of Beau Nash its repute was well maintained, and the disorderly and dirty practices of the preceding reign were stopped. To put an end to the rough dances in canvas booths, he arranged subscription balls in the Town Hall, and started an assembly-house with a code of rules and a strict etiquette. The Beau opened the ball at six o'clock with a minuet, and after two hours country-dances began. At eleven he stopped the band, and never conceded one dance more though a princess pleaded. He made the introductions, warned young ladies against beaus and adventurers like himself, stopped promiscuous smoking, and prevented the men from wearing swords. Men might not dance in top-boots, nor ladies in aprons; neither might gentlemen appear in their morning-gowns and caps before ladies. He arranged the laying-out of the South Parade and collected £18,000, by subscriptions, for the repair of roads in the neighbourhood. Before his time the lodgings, though expensive, were rough, dirty, and poorly furnished.[4] **Bath.**

The use of large sash-windows and the admission of light led to an increased desire for showy furniture and ornament. Tapestry had given place to wainscot and wall-papers.[5] The

[1] Wilson's "Defoe," i., 210.
[2] Craik's "Swift," 151, in 1708.
[3] 1703. Atlas was a cheap silk. *Cf.* Causton's "Tunbridgialia."
[4] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1762.
[5] Ashton, i., 63. Chamberlayne, 1711.

Furniture.

practice of tea-drinking brought in china cups and teapots, and Queen Mary's mania for the collection of Chinese ornaments became the fashion. The sale of china for ladies' cast-off clothing was a recognised trade,[1] and in 1724 Defoe writes that china was piled on the tops of cabinets, secretaires, and every chimney-piece to the tops of the ceilings, on shelves set up to hold it.[2] The English ware made at Vauxhall, Lambeth, or Fulham[3] also obtained popularity.

Women's Dress.

Queen Mary set the fashion of using chintz and East India calicoes in dress, and in Anne's reign an immense number of stuffs with Eastern names were introduced.[4]

Bodices were generally laced in front, the lacing wide across

COSTUMES AT THE CORONATION OF WILLIAM III. AND MARY.
(*From an engraving by Romeyn de Hooghe.*)

the chest, and narrowing to a point at the waist. The plain petticoat was now out of fashion, and skirts were covered with little frills or furbelows. At the back of the skirt a piece of drapery was bunched up into panniers, in front fell an apron, generally green. The tendency for dresses to widen at the hips brought in the hoop. In 1709 the *Spectator* says:—

"The petticoats which began to heave and swell before you left us are now blown up into a most enormous concave, and rise every day more and more."

[1] Malcolm, i., 242. *Cf.* Swift on the china-hucksters.

[2] Defoe, "Tour," i., 122.

[3] Ashton, i., 74. On pewter, brass, and kitchen utensils, *see* Lady M. W. Montague's "Letters"; on earthenware, Addison's "Lover."

[4] Ashton, i., 178, gives a list.

SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

In 1710 hoops assisted in the distension. The furbelowed "mantua" and hood were worn outdoors throughout the period. With the use of the hoop came a reduction in the size of the headdress, which had grown enormous when women wore the French *fontange*, or commode, consisting of starched frills raised one above another, an exaggeration of the cap of the French "bonne." At the back of this erection fell a quantity of lace, called a "head." In evening dress, long curls were worn, one drooping over the shoulder in front, as may be seen in the portraits of Queen Anne. Pattens and clogs were worn by ladies.

Men's Dress.

The long coat of Charles II.'s time tended to become rather shorter and squarer, the skirts hanging stiffly at the back, and

HEADDRESSES UNDER QUEEN ANNE.
(*From Sutton Nichols's view of Hampton Court Palace.*)

held out with whalebone or other stiffening.[1] The waistcoat was still long enough to meet the stockings at the knees. Coats and waistcoats were embroidered,[2] and the buttonholes were elaborately frogged. The "Calamanco" waistcoat of glossy satin and wool-twilled stuff, brocaded to show a pattern on one side only, was generally worn. The cuffs of the coat were square and wide. After the battle of Steinkirk, the Steinkirk, or black cravat, came into fashion, in place of the white lace tie. The hat was cocked in a variety of ways, but no feathers were worn, except in the army. Both sword and cane were carried; in 1701 footmen alone were forbidden sidearms.[3]

Wigs.

The wig in one of its modified forms had become universal, not only with fashionable people, but with tradesmen.[4] Besides the full-bottomed or dress wig, there were various forms of wigs

[1] *Spectator*, No. 145. [2] Swift, Works, iii., 163. [3] Malcolm, v., 314.
[4] Ashton, ii., 65. A print showing printers at work in curled wigs.

for daily wear, such as the bob-wig, the "ramilie" or tie-wig. The queen was indignant when Bolingbroke appeared before her in a ramilie, saying, "I suppose his lordship will come to Court next time in his nightcap!" A dress-wig might cost as much as £60[1]; Swift paid for his three guineas.[2] Wigs were now generally powdered and perfumed for dress occasions; fops occasionally ventured to appear in flaxen wigs. In the morning men kept their shaven heads in nightcaps, and wore "night-gowns" or dressing-gowns, sometimes of very elegant materials. An advertisement records the loss of a man's yellow-flowered satin morning-gown, lined cherry-coloured satin. Though no hair was worn on the face, daily shaving was not habitual: Swift frequently notes "shaving-day" as an event. Smoking was out of fashion, snuff having taken its place. A fine "snush-box" was an essential point in a beau's equipment.

Poor men were beginning to wear the coat and waist-coat, but the short-skirted doublet, made of plain cloth or "drugget," was still to be seen among the humblest classes, and was worn by the oarsmen of the Thames.

Manners. The separation from France during the war led to an increase in the boorishness of English manners. Wit and charm were not so highly rated as in the reign of Charles II., and the Stuart grace of manner was not transmitted to Mary and Anne. Both ladies showed good breeding in their treatment of inferiors, but neither possessed much personal charm. Their good qualities came out in the domestic circle, not in the public drawing-room, where Anne found little to say, and was impelled by nervousness to gnaw the end of her fan. In general society violent political partisanship was a surer passport to social success than a well-bred cynicism which was superior to politics. Fashionable society was for the first time divided into two political worlds; those who belonged to no party had no place in society.

Evelyn, writing to Pepys, 1689, still found that the English had much to learn from the French in

> "the civilities of giving or taking the wall, sitting down, entering in at or going out of the door, taking leave, *l'entretien de la ruelle*, and other encounters *à la cavalière* among the ladies. . . The Italians and Spaniards exceed us infinitely in this point of good breeding. Nay, I observe our

[1] Hatton Corresp., Camden Soc., 1699. [2] Works, iii., 147.

THE MALL, BY MARCO RICCI. (*Portion*).

(*From the painting in the possession of the Right Hon. the Earl of Carlisle.*)

women of quality often put us to 'O Lord, madam!' when we have nothing to fill up and reply."

Women's Education.

Again, the tendency for the sexes to separate socially became more marked as the interest in politics increased. This, perhaps, was due to the state of women's education. Swift, writing a letter to a young lady[1] lately married, takes it for granted that she cannot read aloud or spell. He urges her to practise both arts, and thinks that by copying passages from books her spelling will improve. She need not fear that she will be thought learned, as she has no chance of arriving at the perfection of a schoolboy.

The evils of the prevalent system of girls' education did not pass unobserved. Yet when Mary Astell issued her Serious Proposal, 1694, for a college or monastery for women, in which special educational advantages were to be provided and girls prepared for the duties of life, Burnet opposed it on the ground that the promoters of the scheme would be suspected of leanings to Roman Catholicism, though Mary Astell was a strong Churchwoman.

As to boys' home education, chaplains, whose behaviour often gave offence, began to disappear from noblemen's houses. They had always been reckoned among the "domestics," and were required to leave the dinner-table before the sweet course.[2] The war closed France, so that it became usual to have French tutors, often refugees, and also a governor, to teach Latin and Greek, and sometimes geography and history. Burnet was a strong advocate for these last, and held that boys who showed an incurable aversion to Latin should have their attention directed to natural history. As tutor to the little Duke of Gloucester, Burnet had scope to carry his theories into practice, going into religious questions very copiously, and through geography so often with him that he knew all the maps very particularly; the forms of government in every country were explained to him, all the great revolutions, the "Gothic constitution," and the beneficiary and feudal laws, by the time he was eleven years old.

In his account of the country gentry Burnet writes: "They are the worst instructed and least knowing of any of their

[1] Works, v., 148. *Cf.* also xvi. 310, and Essay on the Education of Ladies.

[2] *Tatler*, 255. *Guardian*, 173. Ballard, "Learned Women," 262.

rank I ever went amongst. . . . After they had forgot their catechism, they acquire no more new knowledge but what they learn in plays and romances." He saw many first led astray at the Universities, where men were taught merely to despise all who had forsaken the Church. He lamented the barbarous custom which required for the honour of the house that none should go out of it sober.

The commonalty he found densely ignorant in matters of religion, Dissenters alone being well taught. This ignorance was not diminished, though numbers of cheap, small books were circulated by charitable societies. The trading classes were

"the best Body in the Nation, generous, sober, and charitable: So that while the People in the Country are so immersed in their Affairs, that the Sense of Religion cannot reach them, there is a better Spirit stirring in our Cities; more Knowledge, more Zeal, and more Charity, with a great deal more of Devotion."

But he adds that many of the townspeople, suffering from want of exercise, were filled with gloom, and made their religion a source, not of joy, but of melancholy.

JAMES COLVILLE. Scotland: The Union, 1707.

To this period belongs the most momentous event yet encountered in the nation's history, the organic change that incorporated the sister Parliaments. A rapid and even picturesque series of events led up to this issue. At the Revolution armed Hillmen, in grim plaided bands, watched alike the trimming official Whigs of the Convention and the blood-dyed Tories of the days of persecution. The bishops still opened the meetings, praying that the exile, as the darling of Heaven, might speedily possess the hearts of his friends and the necks of his enemies. But Parliament abolished Prelacy, and the angry mob in the Parliament Close soon hustled the bishops into obscurity. Dundee, heading the reactionaries, roused the worst elements of social disorder to bolster up a bad cause. But a stray bullet on Killiecrankie saved, by a gallant death, a reputation tarnished in the service of despotism. Two years later the ever-open Highland question again found tragic utterance amid the blood-stained snows of Glencoe, where a Whig administrator, Dalrymple, tried the old Royalist game. But though the object was now more justifiable and the means

THE PASS OF GLENCOE.

Photo: McIsaac & Riddle, Oban.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

no whit more brutal, the power of a free Parliament and not a Secret Council was abroad. A Parliamentary Opposition made Glencoe the subject of the first Royal Commission. That such a thing was possible was the most hopeful sign of the times. The victory of the Parliament of 1690 in abolishing the Lords of the Articles, and the driving of Dalrymple, William's Viceroy, from office, made a Parliamentary Union a necessity. The question was complicated by religious and economic difficulties. The Episcopalians, arrogant and disaffected, and the Presbyterians, intolerant and suspicious, hated each other. North of the Tay the former were still all-powerful. The Scottish Ulster in the Lowlands was divided between Extremists and Moderates. Economic disquiet was still more deeply seated. England's trade was still hide-bound by jealous exclusiveness (p. 262). The Darien Scheme, though significant of new-found energies, proved an industrial Flodden, only vastly more searching in its social effects. The flame thus fed was fanned by the spurious patriotism of the Jacobites that for long delayed and imperilled the Union. But the exiled Stuarts never had any hold on the people, and never influenced the national life save for the glamour of romance that the enchantment of a receding past has thrown over the cause.

The Commission to treat for union was dissolved in 1703, owing to England's refusal of equal trading privileges to Scotland. The consequent antagonism produced on the one side the Act of Security, which excluded the English succession to the Scottish throne, and on the other the Alien Act, which refused to the Scots the privileges of English citizens. But the English Whigs soon came to see that union was absolutely necessary to secure the Revolution Settlement. The repeal of the obnoxious Alien Act of 1705 prepared the way for the resumption of negotiations. A young patriotic party, under Fletcher of Saltoun, eager for a free Parliament, stood out for a Federal Union, but the votes of the moderate Whigs secured the appointment of commissioners whose deliberations throughout 1706 resulted in an Incorporating Union on the basis of free trade and uniform taxation. The Act of Union thus negotiated was touched with the sceptre by the Royal Commissioner on 1st May, 1707, and thus ended the old Scots Estates. The Union consolidated the Parliamentary and the

fiscal systems of the two countries, supplemented the Scottish Judicature by the highest English Court of Appeal, and secured the National Church by a clause in the Coronation Oath.

After 1707 the social interest of Scottish history vastly increases as the political diminishes. The attitude of the Scottish members in the House of Commons — their isolation, clannishness, and disagreeable pertinacity in the redress of grievances—is of much less moment than the settlement of the Church and that falling into line with the general progress of the nation in manners, culture, and industrial activity which the Union brought in its train. The Revolution by no means led Presbyterian polity into smooth waters. Extremists clung to their anachronism of a Covenant.

ANDREW FLETCHER OF SALTOUN.

(*Sutherland Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

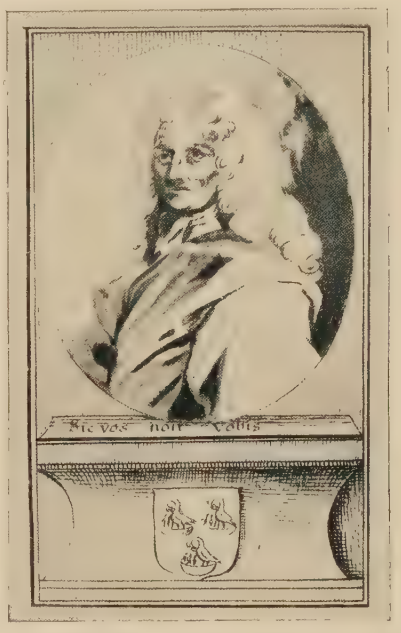
Social Changes.

The Episcopalians, Jacobite and disloyal to the core, hated Revolution and Union alike. The king had no love for that free General Assembly which the people cherished as the last of their institutions. But these discordant elements were reconciled and the Kirk established in peace until the influx of Southrons, engaged in the new fiscal and administrative duties, introduced the elaborate ritual which was alien alike to Presbyterians and Northern Episcopalians. Many incidents, notable at the time, served to produce much friction. The Abjuration Oath made many nonjurors of the secretly disloyal. The Presbyterians, on the other hand, though faithful to the Union, saw in the spread of ritual an inrush of Popery, and in the Coronation Oath and the power of the spiritual peers a danger and an insult to Presbyterian polity. The Tory reaction, associated with Bolingbroke and Sacheverell, took effect in Scotland, producing the famous measures of 1712—Toleration of Episcopacy and the Restoration of Patronage, both fruitful of long-enduring effects. In another direction the incidental results of the Union were socially unsettling. The new fiscal system, alien and unfamiliar, was extremely unpopular, and produced

an industrial disloyalty even more virulent than the political. To support an illicit trade by smuggling was patriotic; to discountenance it was to act the obsequious spy for the English. Even the well-meaning Scot believed it would take much cheating of the English revenue to make up for Darien.

Industry and Trade.

The great awakening of industrial energy produced the Bank of Scotland (1695) and the African Company (1698–1700). There had been nothing like it since the schoolmastering days of James VI. Even the Cromwellian troubles were not unfavourable to business, for the country then enjoyed a brief spell of free trade. But the Restoration withered up every energy save that of persecution. The Revolution stimulated enterprise; the Union gave it scope. But the difficulties ahead were considerable. For three centuries the English claim of suzerainty had blighted national growth, and this was followed by a century of protest against English dictation in Church matters. The final struggle for a share in imperial expansion and trade is the story of the eighteenth century. The trading companies, sanctioned by the Scottish Parliament (1695), began the industrial war. To a London Scot, William Paterson, was due the first-fruits of this measure, the African Company, ruined at the outset by its luckless Darien venture. The scheme possessed the nation like a mania. The enthusiasm was like that which signed the National Covenant. The same year saw the Bank of Scotland started with the assistance of Holland, an English merchant. Banking business was confined to Edinburgh, for country merchants had so little owing

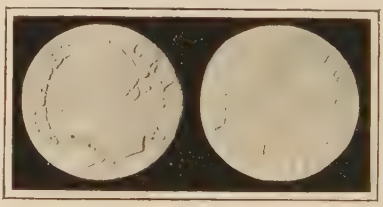


WILLIAM PATERSON.

(*MS. Add.* 10,403.)

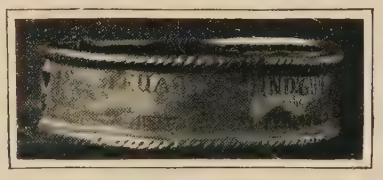
in the capital that exchange was impracticable. Defoe says there were no gold coins current or to be seen, except a few preserved for their antiquity. Silver was so general that *siller* became the common name for money. Copper was at a very low ebb. When called in (1738) it was nearly worn out of existence. Scarcity of small coin was a frequent complaint. Much was now tried to develop the natural resources of the country. An exaggerated notion of its mineral wealth prevailed. The Dutch still secured the spoils of the deep-sea fishing, to the disgust of Defoe and of all patriots. But the shameful treatment of the salt industry did far more harm. The wasteful destruction of salmon was ruining an ancient source of wealth. The cattle trade of Galloway was growing, so that there were petitions for new roads to regulate the traffic. A significant feature, too, was the rise of markets on the Highland border. Macky gives a most interesting account of a great cattle fair he witnessed at Crieff, shortly after the Union. In other directions Government interference was pernicious and bewildering in its action. The trade with France was cut off, causing, in the restricting of the wine import, a change in the national habits. A cordon was drawn round the south-west coasts to prohibit importation from Ireland. In 1701, not three years after a period of starvation, there was an order that all grain from Ireland must be staved and sunk. With equal unwisdom the import of luxuries was forbidden, as tending to deplete the country of its currency. The native manufactures developed very slowly. While the export of wool and hides was forbidden, the weaving of woollens was crushed by the inrush of English goods after 1707. The industry languished

SCOTTISH PISTOLE OF 1701.



THE LAST SCOTTISH COIN: A SIXPENCE.

until the quite modern development of tweeds, tartans, and carpets. The only really vigorous woollen staple was the stocking trade, created and maintained by the enterprise of Aberdeen. On the other hand, linen continued to be a flourishing and characteristic industry. Among new industries the period witnessed the secure establishment of glass-making at Leith, paper-making on the Water of Leith and at Cathcart, and sugar refining at Glasgow. Here, also, after 1707, the tobacco trade led the way to fortune. Hitherto there had been little smoking, snuffing being preferred. Morer says



BEGGAR'S BADGE AND COLLAR OF A CRIMINAL, 1701.
(*National Museum of Scottish Antiquities, Edinburgh.*)

many would fast rather than lose their *sneeshin* of tobacco, mostly of the coarsest, dried by the fire and powdered in a tap or mill carried in the pocket. Altogether, despite the fact that the Darien Company had to employ Dutch ships, a brisk contraband trade and a general beating up of subscriptions for the deepening of harbours gave evidence of the beginnings of commerce.

State of the Country.

More than Glencoe and Darien fought against King William's popularity in Scotland. The closing years of his reign were long remembered as *the hungry years*. Never before had the land been so scourged by famine and pestilence. An army of unfortunates, said to be 200,000 in number, the product of chronic thriftlessness and repeated bad seasons, preyed upon their impoverished neighbours. Fletcher of Saltoun, familiar with the condition of collier labour in East Lothian, recommended a general return to the serfdom there prevailing. His plan neither shocked nor attracted. It had long been a familiar device with the Privy Council to encourage trade and repress vagabondage by authorising the confiscation of pauper labour in return

for food and clothing. The burghs were busied during the bad years protecting themselves against social waifs. Constables were appointed to register the poor of the town, provide badges for them, and "lay themselves out for freeing of the burgh and keeping furth thairof all vagroms." American captains gladly shipped away the poor to the plantations, and merchants drove a brisk trade in jail deliveries for the same destination. Fletcher advised that some thousands of the worst rascals, called *jockies*, should be presented to Venice to serve in the galleys against the Moors. To encourage medical science such lunatics as were worth a better fate

THE OLD PARLIAMENT HOUSE, EDINBURGH.
(*De Wit, "Theatrum Præcipuarum Totius Europæ Urbium," c.* 1690.)

than scourging were committed to the care and taming of chirurgeons. The numerous quacks were allowed to set up a stage on the street for medical practice, and attempt novel and difficult surgery on the poor. The influence of Harvey and Sydenham, however, was spreading. Sir Andrew Balfour (1630–94) introduced dissection of the human body. Dr. Andrew Brown visited Sydenham (1687), and learned under him. In 1691 he procured a licence to print an account of the New Cure of Fevers. The goat-whey cure, too, was showing invalids the value of country air. In 1699 we find George Turnbull, minister at Alloa, betaking himself to Aberfoyle for this treatment, and an interesting picture he sketches of the social condition of the Macgregor country just before the advent of Rob Roy. News spread slowly,

filtered through gazettes and coffee-house keepers. It was much hampered by Government interference and the absence of roads and bridges. Many attempts had been made to establish postal communication. Just before the Union the service was beginning to meet its expenses, but, save for a horse-post between Berwick and Edinburgh, letters were carried by foot-runners and special messengers. Before the Revolution a system of street hackneys was set up in Edinburgh, but chairs were preferred until the extension of the city increased the distances to be travelled. The street caddies, or porters, formed a unique feature of city life. The regulations of 1714 prescribe a badge apron of blue linen, the duties being to cry gazettes, sell flowers, carry links, and run errands. Changes of fashion were beginning to tell. After the revolution the craft of the bonnet-makers had disappeared, and that of the hatters taken its place. Even Stirling, near the close of the period, forms a new incorporation of the barbers "since the art of barberising or periwig-making is being more heard of."

Social life flowed on in two well-marked channels, the Whig Presbyterian and the Jacobite Episcopal. The former intensified the grave Puritanism of Covenanting times; the latter preserved the Restoration traditions. The

EDINBURGH FROM THE SOUTH.
(De Wit, "Theatrum Præcipuarum Totius Europæ Urbium," c. 1690.)

Jacobites asserted patriotism and principles in conviviality which imitated that of Ranelagh and Vauxhall. The tavern did duty for the coffee-house. Here doctors and lawyers met their clients during the day; and the wit and the idler, after a modest supper and mild potations, groped their way out of some dingy tap-room to the sound of the ten o'clock drum, threading slowly the narrow lane and the dimly-lighted street, silent but redolent of the waste of the day. Few houses had as yet a decent sitting-room that did not serve as a bedroom also. The mid-day meal was too serious to provide social entertainment, and the tea-table or *four hours* had scarcely taken a hold. Leith Links formed the great play-ground, and there or on the way thither amusement was found in horse-racing and cock-fighting. At nearer distance time-honoured amusements like tennis, golf, bowling, archery divided attention with such novelties as the assembly, the concert, and the play. But the mass of the people were more than ever notable for gravity of manners of the dour type drawn in "Davie Deans." The house-father sat at table covered and apart, seldom joined in social converse, rarely unbent to the young. Never was the national story so rich in colour and varied human interest, or so vividly depicted as in the verse of Allan Ramsay, and the shrewd and close observation of Morer, Macky, and Defoe.

Culture and Education.

The increased English influence after 1707 rapidly affected not only manners but education. The close of the period was notable for the beginnings of the great literary revival in which Ramsay's "Evergreen" played as prominent a part as did Percy's "Reliques" in ushering in the romantic movement. Jacobite sentiment and satire opened up new sources of popular song. Grave prose had two solid names in Leighton and Burnet. Pitcairn, a light Horatian wit, was much admired by contemporaries. The two Gregorys introduced the Newtonian philosophy. David Gregory (1661-1708) was the first Scot to storm the charmed citadel of Oxford, where he was Savilian Professor in 1692. Ruddiman revived the erudition of Buchanan, whose editor he was. But the most notable advance of the time was the laudable effort of the Presbyterian Church, in 1696, to plant elementary schools, which were now to be treated by the law as a duty

and burden imposed upon the heritors of every parish. In the larger and more sparsely populated districts, however, the Act failed to take effect.

P. W. JOYCE. Ireland.

It is estimated that in the time of Charles II. the Catholics of Ireland numbered 800,000, including both Old Irish and Old English; the Nonconformists, including Presbyterians, 200,000; and the Established Church Protestants 100,000. One of Charles's first measures was to restore the Established Church in Ireland; and now the Presbyterians were subjected to severe persecution under the Act of Uniformity, with the object of forcing them to conform. They resisted determinedly to the last; but great numbers, unwilling to bear the terrible religious hardships, sold out their property and emigrated to New England. During this time the Catholics, through the intervention of the King, were treated with leniency. But the respite was short; and the Titus Oates plot in England (1678) intensified the suspicion and hostility of the Government. Proclamations against them came in quick succession, and they passed through a period of great suffering. It was during this evil time, while the Titus Oates fever still convulsed the kingdom, that Dr. Oliver Plunket, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, was tried in London and executed on false testimony.

The War of the Revolution.

The alarm created among the Protestants by the accession of James II. was greatly increased by the measures taken to restore Catholicity. The Earl of Tirconnell, a strict Roman Catholic, was sent over as commander of the forces, and immediately proceeded to disarm the Protestant militia, to appoint Catholic officers in the army, and to place Catholics in many other important positions. His appointment as lord-lieutenant a little later on created quite a panic; and, in the midst of rumours and alarms, William landed in England.

Tirconnell proceeded to take possession of the principal strong places through the country; but the Protestants of Ulster prepared for resistance; and the people of Enniskillen and Derry closed their gates and refused to admit the Jacobite soldiers. James had fled to France immediately on William's arrival in England, but he soon after landed in Ireland with many French and Irish officers. Among the

Siege of Derry.

latter was Patrick Sarsfield, afterwards Earl of Lucan. The Jacobite forces laid siege to Derry, but met with a most obstinate resistance. Several attempts to storm were repulsed, and at last the besiegers sat down to reduce the town by blockade. They surrounded it completely on the land side, and ingress by water was prevented by a great boom stretched across the river below the town. Yet in spite of all privations the brave garrison stood resolutely to their

ROARING MEG AND OLD BATTLEMENTS, LONDONDERRY

posts; till at length three provision ships, coming up the river full sail, crashed through the boom and relieved the town on the 31st July, 1689, after a memorable siege of 105 days.

Battle of the Boyne.

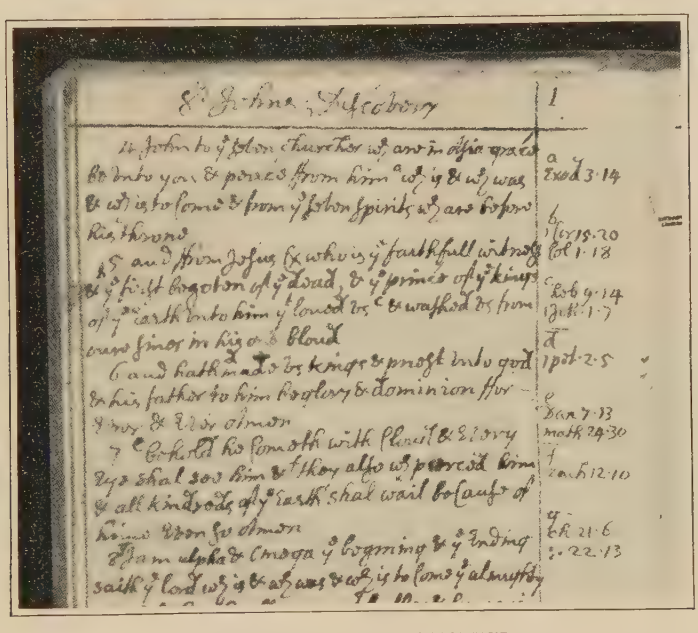
This was the first action of the struggle; the next was at the Boyne. King William, with the Duke of Schomberg, took up his position on the north bank of the river with a well-equipped army of 40,000 men; on the south bank James had posted his army of 26,000, largely composed of recruits, badly armed and badly drilled. At their head was a spiritless and irresolute king, while the opposing army was led by William, one of the best generals of the time. Yet under these great disadvantages, the Irish contested

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

1714]

the field valiantly for a whole day—1st July, 1690—and when at last forced to yield they retreated south in good order. The valiant old Schomberg was shot dead while crossing the river at the head of his men. King James fled from the field before the end of the battle, and went straight to France.

The Irish now concentrated their forces in Limerick. King William encamped before the walls with about 26,000



THE NEW TESTAMENT DISGUISED.
(*The Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.*)

men, while the city was defended by an equal number only half armed. And now began another famous siege. A great train of artillery and ammunition was on its way from Dublin; but Sarsfield, by a bold dash, contrived to intercept and overpower the convoy, and blew up the whole train. The king, having procured another supply, made a wide breach in the wall, through which rushed a storming party supported in the rear by 10,000 men. But they were resisted with great determination, the townsmen, and even the women, joining

Siege of Limerick.

eagerly in the struggle with whatever weapons came next to hand. In the midst of the confusion a battery exploded and blew up a whole Williamite regiment. This fierce hand-to-hand fight lasted for four hours, till at length the assailants fled in confusion through the breach. They had lost over 2,000 men in the assault; and King William, having witnessed the repulse of his best men, raised the siege on the 31st of August, and returned to England, leaving General de Ginkel in command.

In the following year, 1691, De Ginkel attacked Athlone,

SITE OF THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

Closing Scenes of the War.

where he was at first repulsed, but soon after took the place by stratagem. After this the Irish army, led by the French General St. Ruth, fell back on the village of Aughrim, in Galway, where they were attacked by De Ginkel. At first the Irish had the best of the fight, but towards evening St. Ruth was killed, which lost them the day. The last stand was made at Limerick, which was defended against De Ginkel with great obstinacy by Sarsfield. But now both parties were anxious to make an end of the war, and terms of surrender were agreed on and signed. The treaty was afterwards confirmed by King William.

The chief articles of the Treaty of Limerick were these:— The Catholics were to have the same religious freedom as they had in the time of Charles II., and they were not to be required to take the Oath of Supremacy. The garrison had honourable conditions, and any who wished to go abroad were to be conveyed free in English ships. Under this last condition, Sarsfield, and more than 20,000 of his men, went to Brest and entered the French service. They formed the nucleus of the "Irish Brigade," which was subsequently much distinguished in the Continental wars. **Treaty of Limerick.**

There was now another confiscation, the last of a long series since the accession of Mary. These included very nearly the whole island; and some districts were confiscated twice, some even three times. The final result was that only a seventh of the land of all Ireland remained in the hands of the Catholics. **Confiscation.**

The small Protestant population of Ireland had now the entire government of the country in their hands; they owned by far the greatest part of the land, and they held nearly all positions of influence. In order to secure these great privileges to themselves and their descendants for ever, they entered on a course of unprecedented legislation, with the main object of crushing the Catholics and extirpating the Catholic religion; but some of the provisions were subsequently brought to bear heavily on Protestant Dissenters, chiefly Presbyterians. Before the end of the seventeenth century there had been many penal enactments against the Irish, but they were intermittent, and for various reasons not very consistently carried out. But for nearly a century, beginning with the year 1695, there was a series of crushing enactments, specially directed against Catholics, which were enforced as far as lay in the power of the Government to enforce them. The main provisions of the whole penal code, including some already in existence, with the "Popery Act" of Queen Anne, and a few enactments of the time of George II., may be briefly summarised as follows: **Protestants and Catholics.**

In 1695 the English Parliament, ignoring the Irish Parliament altogether, passed an Act which abrogated the Oath of Supremacy in Ireland, but substituted something very much worse, by requiring all members of Parliament, bishops, **The Penal Laws.**

Government officers, and professional men of every kind, to take an oath of Abjuration—abjuring and denying the essential doctrines of the Catholic religion. This, so far as it could be carried out, would exclude Catholics from all positions of any consequence in Ireland, civil, military, and ecclesiastical. In the same year the Irish Parliament met, and in the two sessions of 1695 and 1697 passed a series of Acts completing the work begun in England, all in direct violation of the Treaty of Limerick. Nearly all the subsequent penal legislation was the work of successive Irish Parliaments.

Catholic schoolmasters were forbidden to teach school or to teach scholars in private houses; and parents were forbidden to send their children to any foreign country to be educated; so that Catholics were debarred from education altogether so far as the law could go. The existing parochial Catholic clergy were to be registered, and were to give security for good behaviour. All other religious of every rank—bishops, Jesuits, friars, monks, and all "regular" clergy—were commanded to quit the kingdom, and rewards were offered for the discovery of any that remained, the amount to be levied off Catholics; those who quitted and returned were guilty of high treason—penalty death. All persons to attend Protestant worship on Sundays, under a fine of one shilling (more than ten shillings of present money). A priest who turned Protestant to get a pension of £30; no Catholic church to have steeple or bells. All Catholics were to be disarmed (with a few insignificant exceptions), and magistrates were empowered to break into the houses of Catholics to search for arms. If a Catholic had a valuable horse, any Protestant might take possession of it by tendering £5. If the eldest son of a Catholic turned Protestant, he became the owner of his father's land. If any other son conformed, he was put in charge of a Protestant guardian, and the father had to pay all expenses. No person could practise as a lawyer who had not been a Protestant since fourteen years of age. No Catholic could purchase land, or accept land left him by will; or could take a lease for more than thirty-one years. Catholics were rendered incapable of voting at any sort of election.

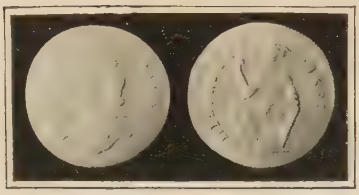
Some of these provisions, notably the Test Act (requiring the reception of the Sacrament, according to the English rite, as a condition of eligibility for important positions), were brought to bear on the Presbyterians of Ulster, who suffered a bitter, though short, persecution. But their sufferings were trifling compared with those of Catholics. The Presbyterians Suffer.

It was the governing classes who made these terrible laws; the general body of Protestants, whether Irish or English, had no hand in them. On the contrary, the popular Protestant conscience in Ireland revolted against them, which greatly mitigated their severity; and hundreds of cases are on record where Protestants made fictitious purchases of their Catholic neighbours' property and kept it faithfully for generations—secretly handing over the proceeds meantime—till the relaxation of the law enabled land and title-deeds to be restored. And numberless similar instances of secret protection of Catholics by their Protestant neighbours from direct religious persecution are recorded.

The penal laws hitherto spoken of mainly affected Catholics, and to a much less extent Presbyterians. But there was another penal code—a series of enactments for the ruin of Irish manufacturers and commerce—which affected the whole people of Ireland. They injured Protestants more directly and more heavily than Catholics, for the former had most of the leading industries in their hands, the Catholics at this time being so crushed by law as to be barely able to live. Their restrictions were brought about by the jealousy and selfishness of English traders, manufacturers, and graziers, who, to enrich themselves, ruined Irish industries and impoverished the Irish people. Most of the measures were the work of the English Parliament; but the Parliament of Ireland—under direction from the other side—passed some of the worst. Restrictions on Irish Industry.

The following are some of the main provisions of this destructive legislation:—In the years 1663 and 1666 certain modifications of the Navigation Act of 1660 were made, with the result that all export from Ireland to the colonies was forbidden, as was also the import of Irish cattle into England. Fearful distress all over Ireland was the immediate result, for the people could find no market for their farm produce. The

SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA



LIMERICK HALFPENNY.

wool trade had gradually recovered the repressive measures of Wentworth (p. 273) and was beginning to flourish. Whereupon the English traders petitioned King William to repress it; who, in reply, promised to discourage the Irish wool trade, to encourage the Irish linen trade (which could do no harm to any English manufacturer), and to promote the trade of England. The Irish Parliament was made the instrument this time: under the influence of the English authorities they put prohibitive export duties on Irish wool and woollen goods, which accomplished all the English petitioners desired; it ruined the wool trade, and caused destitution everywhere. About 40,000 industrious thriving Protestant workmen—with of course many others—were immediately reduced to idleness and poverty, and 20,000 of them emigrated to New England. Another result was an enormous development of smuggling mainly carried on with France, both of exports (chiefly wool) and of imports, in which people of all classes and all religions were actively engaged, and which continued for generations in spite of the efforts of Government to suppress it. Subsequently almost all branches of Irish industry—iron and tin-ware, gunpowder, hats, silk, cotton, beer, malt, etc.—were interfered with and ruined by Act of Parliament.

It is always hard, and often impossible, to revive an extinguished industry; and when, long subsequently, all these restrictions were removed the relief came too late.

SIEGE PIECE OF JAMES II.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

AUTHORITIES, 1689-1714.

GENERAL HISTORY.

The constitutional side of the history is best followed in Hallam, supplemented by Anson, *Law and Custom of the Constitution.* Macaulay, Burnet, and Lecky illustrate the domestic history of the reign of William III., while Ranke's *History of England* gives the best account of the European aspects of the Revolution, and of England's foreign policy after 1686. For the reign of Anne the works of Wyon, Stanhope, and Burton are admirable. *See* also Parnell, *Life of Peterborough;* and Elliot, *Life of Godolphin.* Swift, *History of the Last Four Years of Queen Anne's Reign* and *Conduct of the Allies* are excellent specimens of the party literature of the time. Bolingbroke's *Letters* are indispensable for a thorough knowledge of the reign. Martin, *Histoire de France;* Courcy, *La Coalition de* 1701; and Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power on History,* throw light upon the considerations influencing English foreign policy during the War of the Spanish Succession.

SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

Finance, etc.—The best contemporary evidence is to be found in the Journals of Parliament and the notes of the Debates, supplemented by the despatches of L'Hermitage to the States General, and by Bonnet's despatches (published as an appendix to Ranke, *History of England*), and by Narcissus Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation* (6 vols., Clarendon Press); Burnet, *History of His Own Times* (ed. Airy); Davenant, *Ways and Means;* Evelyn, *Diary;* Houghton, *Tables* (selections in Thorold Rogers's *History of the First Nine Years of the Bank of England*). There is a great mass of contemporary pamphlets and newspapers throwing light on the commercial and financial history of the period. Many are republished in the *Collection of State Tracts.* Besides Macaulay's and Ranke's Histories, the most useful modern books are: Cunningham, *English Industry and Commerce;* Dowell, *History of Taxes and Taxation;* Bruce, *East India Company;* Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage;* Thorold Rogers, *History of Prices,* vol. v., and *First Nine Years of the Bank of England;* W. A. Shaw, *Select Tracts and Documents Illustrative of English Monetary History,* 1626-1739.

Religion.—The works of Baxter and Bunyan; Burnet, *History of His Own Times;* Walton, *Lives,* and the various memoirs of the chief Churchmen of the day. Among modern works those of Ranke and Macaulay in especial; also Lathbury, *History of the Nonjurors;* Overton, *The English Church,* 1660-1714, and *The Nonjurors,* 1903.

Warfare.—Walton, *History of the British Standing Army;* Marlborough, *Life and Letters,* by Murray; also the *Lives* of him by Cox, Sir D. Alison, and Lord Wolseley; Kane, *Systems of Camp Discipline;* D'Auvergne, *Campaign of the Spanish Netherlands.*

Naval History.—As in c. xiv. *Law, Architecture and Art, Science, Manufactures, and Public Health.*—As in c. xv.

Literature.—*See* list appended to c. xv.; also Macaulay, *Essay on Addison;* Thackeray, *English Humourists;* Craik, *Life of Swift;* Aitken, *Life of Steele;* Monographs in *English Men of Letters,* and *Great Writers* Series.

Social Life.—Evelyn, *Diary, Correspondence;* Pepys, *Correspondence;* Burnet, *History of His Own Times;* Chamberlayne, *State of England;* Spence, *Anecdotes;* Seward, *Anecdotes;* Ashton, *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne, History of Lotteries;* Ballard, *Learned Women;* Duke of Manchester, *Court and Society from Elizabeth to Anne;* Andrews, *The Eighteenth Century;* Misson, *Travels;* Le Blanc, *Travels;* Works of Addison, Defoe, Pope, Swift, etc., and *Letters* of Lady Mary Wortley Montague; Craik, *Life of Swift;* Wilson, *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Defoe;* Wright, *Life of Daniel Defoe;* Lee, *Defoe's Life and Recently Discovered Writings;* Thomas Brown, *Works;* Thackeray, *Esmond;* the *Guardian, Observator, Review, Spectator, Tatler*—London; Malcolm, *Manners of London;* Gay, *Trivia;* Ward, *London Spy. Court Life.*—Jesse, *The Court After the Revolution;* Stanhope, *Queen Anne;* Strickland, *Queens of England;* Sheppard, *St. James's Palace;* Coke, *Court and State of England.*

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

Scotland.—Besides some of the works mentioned in c. xv., additional material is to be found in the *Lockhart Papers*, *Caldwell Papers;* Fletcher of Saltoun, *Discourses on Public Affairs;* Wodrow, *Analecta;* Patrick Walker, *Life of Peden;* Defoe, *Caledonia: a Poem*, and *History of the Union. Contemporary Travel.*—Martin, *Western Isles* and *St. Kilda;* Edmund Calamy, *Life and Times* (for a visit to Edinburgh in 1709); Macky, *Journey Through Scotland*, 1723 (he was a Hanoverian secret agent, whose work is very useful); Defoe's *Tour Through Great Britain*, 1724-27 (scarce; Scotland occupies three letters in vol. iii. The 5th ed. [1753] usually quoted, is a compilation based on the earlier work).

Ireland, 1661-1714.—*See* list appended to c. xiv.; also Prendergast, *Ireland from the Restoration to the Revolution;* the *Histories* by Mageoghan, McGee, Mitchel, and Wright; *Two Centuries of Irish History*, ed. Bryce; Dunbar Ingram, *Two Chapters of Irish History;* Hutchinson, *Commercial Restraints of Ireland:* Swift McNeill, *English Interference with Irish Industries;* O'Callaghan, *History of the Irish Brigade.*

THE TREATY STONE, LIMERICK.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

INDEX.

Abbot, Archbishop, 35; at court, 215
Abbot, Morris, governor of East India Company, 190
Aberdeen, 240, 247, 688
Acadia, 84
Act of Settlement, or Succession, 701, 706
Act of Uniformity, 483, 489
Addison, Joseph, 790 *seq.*
Addled Parliament, the, 6; and Monopolies, 191-194
Advertisements, early, 445, 446
Adwalton Moor, defeat of Fairfax at, 283
African Company, 837
"Agreement of the People," 302
Agriculture, the advance in (1603-1642), 159-168; (1660-1688), 600-603; writers on, 160, 604, 605; improvements in, 160-164; statistics of (1688), 607, 608; in Scotland (1660-1688), 687
Alehouses, 196, 199, 429
Aliens. *See* Foreigners
Almanza, battle of, 710, 746
Amboyna, massacres of, 73, 189, 190
America, exploration and settlement in, 74-88, 379
Amusements, under James I. and Charles I., 221-229; under the Commonwealth, 443; of the Restoration period, 658-660
Amusements, in Scotland, 258
Anatomy, in Scotland, 259. *See* Harvey
Andrewes, Lancelot, Bishop of Winchester, 35; as a writer, 134
Anglican Reaction, the (1603-1642), 24-50; in the Universities, 126 *seq.*
Annals of the Four Masters, 276
Anne of Denmark, 221 *seq.*
Anne, Queen, reign of, 703-706; foreign policy under, 710-712; and the Church, 737-738; patronage of philanthropic societies, 811; court life under, 812
Archer, Thomas, architect, 538
Archery in war, 315
Architects, growing importance of, 92
Architecture and Art (1603-1642), 89-110; (1660-1688), 531-548. *See also* Art
Arctic exploration (1603-1642), 88
Arminians, the English, 14, 36, 41; at the Universities, 128
Arms and armour, under James I. and Charles I., 60, 61; in 17th century, 317. *See* Weapons
Army, the, in transition (1603-1642), 57-62; warfare (1603-1660), 312-333; (1660-1688), 507-515; (1689-1714), 740-749; formation in battle in Civil Wars, 318; discipline of the Parliamentary, 426-429; standing, established, 507, 508; management of (*temp.* Charles II.), 513; mismanagement in (1689-1714), 741-743
Art (1689-1714), 766-770. *See* Architecture
Art collections, earliest English, 103, 107, 108
Art of War, the (1603-1660), 313-333. *See also* Army, Weapons
Artillery, 748
Artists, foreign, in England, 99, 108
Artists, native, in England, 110
Arundel, Thomas, Earl of, collector of *objets d'art*, 102
Ashmole, Elias, and the Ashmolean Museum, 555, 556
Astley, Sir Jacob, 313
Astrology, 121
Astronomy, 111, 772
Aughrim, battle of, 846
Australia, Dampier's voyage to, 760
Austria, and the Partition Treaties, 708; and the War of the Spanish Succession, 709 *seq.*
Authorities (1603-1642), 277-279; (1642-1660), 472, 473; (1660-1688), 693 *seq.*; (1689-1712), 851, 852
Ayscue, Sir George, 374

Bacon, Francis, Earl of Verulam, convicted of bribery, 8; church views of, 26; Novum Organon, 111; advancement of learning, *ibid.*; contribution to logic, *ibid.*; view of witchcraft, 121; his place in literature, 146-148; compared with Sir T. Browne, 412; on colonial church, 83; on masques, 223; on dances, 224
Baffin, William, Arctic explorer, 88; killed at Ormuz, 73
Baillie, Robert, 466
Balfour, Sir Andrew, introduces dissection of human body, 840
Bancroft, Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, 28, 52, 55
Bandoliers, 318, 510
Bank of England, establishment and early history of, 720-725
Bank of Scotland, 837
Banking, introduction of, 622
Baptists, the English, rise of, 53-54
Barbon, Nicholas, 629
"Barebone's Parliament," 336, 337, 629
Barley, use of, 197, 203, 204
Baronets, institution of, 269; sale of baronetages, 183; in 1688, 649
Barrow, Isaac, 575
Bartholomew Fair, 814
Barwick, Peter, 496
Basing House, surrender of, 290
Bate's Case, 5
BATESON, MARY: Social Life (1603-1642), 214-236; (1642-1660), 425-447; (1660-1688), 655-682; (1689-1714), 807-833
Bath, 672 *seq.*, 827
Bath, Turkish, 827
Baxter, Richard, 407-409; quoted, 55; and the Latitudinarians, 572
Bayonets, 510
Beachy Head, battle of, 750
Beale, Mary, 543
Bear-baiting forbidden, 32, 430

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

Beaumont, Francis, and Fletcher, John, 154, 155
BEAZLEY, C. RAYMOND: Exploration and Colonisation, 70-88
Bedell, Bishop, his Irish Bible, 274
Bedford, Countess of, 230
Bedford, Francis, Earl of, and the draining of the Fens, 165
Beer, consumption of, in 1688, 670; taxation of, 716. *See also* Alehouses
Beggars in Scotland, 261
Behn, Aphra, 599, 600
Benburb, battle of, 468
Berkeley, George, Bishop of Cloyne, philosophy of, 778-780; style, 793
Berwick, decay of, 263; bridge of, 265
Best, Captain, explorer, 71
Bible: Authorised version of the, 28, 130 *seq.*; Irish, 274
Bill of Rights, 696, 698
Biology, 114, 770
Bishops, become nonjurors, 732; of nonjuring Church, 734
Bishops' wars, 20, 59
Blake, Robert, Admiral, 366, 371, 375
Blenheim, battle of, 710, 747
Blenheim Palace, 540
Blith, Walter, 162
"Bloody Acts," the, 685
Blow, John, 550
Boating on the Thames, 676, 820
Bohemia, war in, 8
Bolingbroke, Viscount, 706
Bombay acquired, 474, 516
Book of Sports, 33, 34; burnt, 229
Boston, Mass., founded (1630), 85
Boyd, Robert, of Cumbernauld, 262
Boyle, Robert, 553, 554; church sympathies of, 497
Boyne, battle of the, 844
Brampton Bryan, siege of, 436
Bray, Thomas, 811
Brewing, 264
Bridewell Hospital, 201, 806
Bridges, in Scotland, 266
Briggs, Henry, mathematician, 114
Briot, Nicholas, 106
Bristol, woollen trade of, 172
BROWN, JOHN: Puritanism and Nonconformity, 50-57; Presbyterianism and Dissent, 353-362
Browne, Sir Thomas, 138, 410-413
Browne, William, 157
Brownists, 55
Bruce, Sir George, of Culross, 264
Buckingham, Duke of, George Villiers, influence on Charles I., 6; at the Ile de Rhé, 14, 316; Chancellor of Oxford University, 126; extravagance in dress, 232
Bull, George, Bishop of St. David's, 576
Bull- and bear-baiting, 659
Bunyan, John, in Civil War, 398; an experience of, 439; literary power of, 407; works of, 586-591; tales of his works, 590
Burnet, Bishop Gilbert, 736
Burton, Robert, and the "Anatomy of Melancholy," 142-145
Bury St. Edmunds, 204
Bushell's case, 500
Butler, Samuel, his "Hudibras," 584 *seq.*

"Cabal," the, 475
Cabinet system, rise and growth of, 697
Cadiz, expedition to, 12, 316
Calico, 615, 798, 799, 826
Calvinism, 34, 123, 124
Cambrics, 798
Cambridge, Calvinism at, 124; Trinity College, 125
"Cambridge Platonists," the, 560, 561
Camden, William, antiquary, 145
Campbell, Colin, architect, 539
Canne, John, 55
Canons of 1604, 28, 52
Canterbury, Puritan outrages at, 345; silk weavers at, 617
Cape Cod discovered, 74
Card-playing, Puritan attitude to, 228; at Restoration, 658; under Queen Anne, 816
Carew, Thomas, poetry of, 416
Caroline Divines, the, 572-579
Carr, Robert, Viscount Rochester, 6, 216; and the Overbury trial, 123, 217
Carriages, 674, 676; in Scotland, 266
Cartridges, 510
Cartwright, Thomas, 24, 50
Casaubon, Isaac, 30
"Case of the Army," 302
Castle Howard, 540
Catholics under James I., 4, 6, 29-30; in Civil War, 306; under Charles II., 475, 476, 484
Cattle trade between England and Scotland, 264, 838
Cavalry, in 17th century, 320, 321, 324; strength of regiments in Civil Wars, 330; importance of, in Civil Wars, 332; at Blenheim, 747
Cecil, Robert, Lord Burghley, 4, 6
Cemeteries, Scottish, 248
Chamberlayne, Miss Anne, 753
Chamberlayne's "Land Bank," 723
Chapel Royal Choir, 550
Chaplains, private, 492, 493
Chapman, George, 151
Charity schools, 737
Charles I., reign of, 10-23; family of, 10; views of, 10; and Parliament, 14; financial expedients of, 18, 183, 623; Laud's influence on, 38; and the army, 58 *seq.*; and the navy, 64 *seq.*; and the towns, 481; as a patron of art, 107; his court, 218; and Ireland, 270, 271; in Civil War, 281-289; surrenders to Scots, 290, 450; intrigues of, 290-294; faithful to church, 350; at Holmby House, 292; removed to Newmarket, 293; escapes to Carisbrooke, 294; trial and execution, 296; effect of execution in Ireland, 468; adherents of, in Civil Wars, 304 *seq.*; coinage of, 104-106; and the Scots, 452, 453
Charles II., restoration of, 342; restoration of, in Scotland, 632; results, 682 *seq.*; Ireland under, 471; marriage of, 474; the Dutch war, 474; reign of, 474-478; constitution under, 479-481; character of reign, 481; death of, 485; religion under, 485; manners of, 656, 657; and the Jews, 383; and the goldsmiths, 623; and art, 543; patronage of music, 549; touching for scrofula, 636
Cheapside Cross destroyed, 345
Chelsea Hospital, 741
Cheriton, Hants, battle of, 286
Cheshire, salt trade in, 618 *seq.*
Chichester, Sir Arthur, 269, 270
Child, Sir Josiah, 626, 627, 729
Children, treatment of, 677-680. *See* Education
Chillingworth, William, his religion of "Protestants," 43, 44, 135, 400, 401; on character of Royalists, 427
China, use of, under Anne, 825
Chocolate, 670

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

Christ Church, Oxford, hall stairway at, 98
Christmas Day, under Puritan rule, 430
Christmas in the navy (1675), 523
Church, at accession of James I., 4, 24 *seq.*; Hampton Court Conference, 4, 26, 52; under James I., 24-34; Calvinism in, 34; Anglicanism, 36; Laud's work in, 38 *seq.*; reaction against it, 50; under Commonwealth, worship suppressed, 338; made Puritan in worship, 345; under the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 350-354; ejection of ministers, 347; disendowment, 348; the Restored (1660-1688), 488-497; and people, at Restoration, 496; politics of, after Restoration, 649, 650; and the Revolution, 490; the divided (1688-1714), 729-740; and the Nonjurors, 729 *seq.*; under Anne, 737-739; co-operation with Dissenters, 811; in Scotland, 238, 247, 683; in Ireland, 268, 847 *seq.* *See also* Anglican Reaction, Clergy
Church and State, Laud's theory of, 45; under Cromwell, 357; in 1660-1688, 483-488; after the Revolution, 736
Churches, in Scotland, 249-253; order of worship in, 249 *seq.*; behaviour in, 252
Cibber, Gabriel, sculptor, 544
Civil List, fixed, 713
Civil War, outbreak of, 23, 261, 281; constitutional aspects of, 297-302; lines of division, 302-313; local divisions in, 308, 309; local conflicts in, 310, 436; neutrals in, 313; lack of preparation for, 321, 322; local fighting in, 324-326; character of soldiery, 324, 330 *seq.*; strength of armies in, 326; composition of, 329, 330; tactics in, 332, 333; parties and aims in, 344; economic effects of, 376, 377; and the colonies, 379; effect on agriculture, 601; and poetry, 414; and social life, 426 *seq.*, 655 *seq.*
Civil War, the second (1640), 294
Clarendon, Edward Hyde, Earl of, 474, 475; view of Laud, 40; in Civil Wars, 305; Chancellor of Oxford University, 566, 567
Clarke, Samuel, ethics of, 777
Classes, Social, at the Restoration, 647, 648
Claverhouse, John Graham, Viscount, 685
Clergy, persecution of, under Cromwell, 349; attitude, 352, 353; cease to tax themselves, 491; position of, under Charles II. and James II., 492-494; (1688), 650; under Anne, 739; Scottish, 460, 461
Clock-making, 796
Clothier, meaning of term, 175
CLOWES, W. LAIRD: The Navy (1603-1642), 62-70; (1642-1660), 367-375; (1660-1688), 515-531; (1688-1714), 750-766
Clubs, 819
Coaches, 674 *seq.*, 820, 825
Coal, use of, 716; taxes on, 716; in smelting, 178, 192
Coal trade (1603-1640), 178; in Scottish coal, 263; *c.* 1650, 612, 614; *c.* 1688-1710, 800
Cockfighting, under James I., 228; stopped, 430; after Restoration, 659; under Queen Anne, 816; Scottish, 692
Cockthrowing, 816
Coffee, consumption of, 670, 716; duty on, 716
Coffee houses, 443; the first (1652), 445; after the Restoration, 662; under Queen Anne, 818 *seq.*
Coinage, of James I. and Charles I., 102-107; of the Civil War period, 385, 386; of Charles II. and James II., 547, 548; of William and Mary, and of Anne, 1689-1714, 767-769; reform of, 1695, 768. *See* Currency
Colchester, 294; woollen trade of, 172
Collier, Arthur, 780
Collier, Jeremy, a nonjuror, 732; attack on the stage, 784, 812
Collins, Anthony, 777
Colonies in North America, 379; aim of English, 381
COLVILLE, JAMES: Scotland (1584-1642), 236-266; (1642-1660), 443-466; (1660-1688), 682-692; (1689-1714), 833-842
Commerce, growth of Scottish, 262-264; attracts landed classes, 802. *See* Trade, Industry
Commercial treaties under the Protectorate, 363
Commissions for enforcing the Poor Law, 200
Commissions of Array, 59
Committee for preaching ministers, 347
Common Fields, 604
Commons, House of, under James I., 4, 6, 8; under Charles I., 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, 280, 298, 299; and religion, 34, 41; Triennial Bill, 280; abolish ship-money and Star Chamber, 280; breach with City of London, 294; under Commonwealth and Protectorate, 334, 338; "Pride's Purge," 296; proceedings first reported, 444; growth of power under Charles II., 482; after the Revolution, 698; control over finance, 714; Scottish members in, 836
Commonwealth and Protectorate, the, 333-342; religion under, 432; Republican feeling under, 433; manners under, 433
Composition of society (1660-1688), 647-654
"Confederation of Kilkenny," 467
Congreve, William, 783
Connecticut colonised, 85, 379
Constitution, the, under Charles II. and James II., 478-480
Conventicle Act, 479, 484, 490
Convocation, 491, 736, 737
Cooke, Henry, choir-master, 550
Cooper, architect, 538
Copper coinage, first English, 548
Copper smelting, 799
Corfe Castle, 436
Corn, compulsory provision of, 202-204; bounties on export, 607
Corn Laws, 607, 654
Cornwall, mines of, 800
Corporation Act, 479, 490
Corruption, official, 719, 729
Coryat, Thomas, travels of, 140; on women acting, 224
Cotton trade (1603-1642), 176, 177
Council of State, the, under Commonwealth, 333, 336
Court life under James I., 215-218; under Charles I., 213; under Cromwell, 433 *seq.*; of the Restoration, 656-658; under Anne, 812
Court of High Commission, 19, 20; of Star Chamber, 18, 20; of Stannaries, 20
Courts, Scottish, under the Commonwealth, 457, 458
Covenant," the "Solemn League and, 19, 280, 346, 349, 353, 448, 459
Cowley, Abraham, 416, 422, 580
Crashaw, Richard, 416
Crawshay, John, 160
CREIGHTON, CHARLES: Public Health (1603-1642), 205-214; Public Health and Medicine (1642-1688), 630-646; (1688-1714), 802-807
Cromwell, Oliver, rise of, 283, 284; in New Model, 289; dress of (1640), 234; and the self-denying ordinances, 289; at Naseby,

289; follows Joyce, 292; efforts to save the King's life, 294; in Wales, 294; Lord Protector, 337; military despotism of, 338, 339; second Parliament of, 340; refuses title of King, 340; toleration by, 350, 356, 357; foreign policy of, 362-367; in Scotland, 334, 455, 456; in Ireland, 334, 469, 470; Chancellor of Oxford University, 564; coins of, with royal title, 386; conjugal affection of, 220; mother and wife of, 434, 435; accident while driving, 447; and agriculture, 161, 601; death of, 341
Cromwell, Richard, Protector, 341
Cropredy, Waller defeated at, 287
Crown, power of the, 1-3; position of the, after the Revolution, 696; influence on the Commons, 698
Crowne, John, 598
Cudworth, Ralph, 561
Culture in Scotland, 259, 842
Cumberland, poverty of (1636), 196
Cumberland, Richard, 562
Curling, 692
Currency, reform of, 726 *seq.*, 768
Currency, Scottish, 838
Customs duties, 182; Scottish, 263; granted to William III., 713
Cutlers, 179, 796

Dampier, William, 760
Danby, Thomas Osborne, Earl of, 480, 484-485
Dancing at court under James I., 224; Puritan attitude to, 223; after the Restoration, 658
Darien scheme, 835
Davenant, Charles, economist, 801
Davenant, Sir William, poetry of, 594
Davies, Sir John, on Ireland, 274
Debtors, treatment of, in Scotland, 260
Decimal point first employed, 112
De Dominis, Marco Antonio, 30
Defoe, Daniel, influence of Bunyan on, 590; attacks moral reform societies, 810
Deists, the English, 392, 777
Dekker, Thomas, 152
Denbigh, Lady, letters of, 435
Denham, Sir John, 593
Denmark, English relations with, 12, 363, 366
Derry, siege of, 842
Descartes, influence of, on English thought, 562
Devonshire, woollen trade of, 172, 175
Dick, Sir William, 262
Digby, Sir Kenelm, 139, 140; and the Royal Society, 396
"Directory of Public Worship," 348
Discipline, naval, 752, 761
Dispensaries, 806
Dissent recognised, 491. *See* Nonconformity
Dobson, William, 108
Donne, John, as theologian, 134; poems and influence of, 158, 159
Dragoons, early, 320
Drainage, 162 *seq.*
Drama (1600-1630), 148-155; women as actors, 224; forbidden (1642), 430. *See* Theatres
"Dramatists of the Restoration," 598
Dress, under James I. and Charles I., 229, 230, 232; of Puritans, 232 *seq.*; under the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 440, 442-443; of men (1660-1688), 664-668; (1689-1714), 828-830; in Scotland, 257
Drill in 17th cent., 318; under Charles II., 512
Drinking healths, 430, 672
Drinks (1660-1688), 670
Drogheda, massacre at, 469
Drumlanrig Castle, 688
Drunkenness at court of James I., 220; measures against, after Revolution, 810
Dryden, John, career of, 591, 592; early works, 417, 592 *seq.*; dramas, 595-597; satires, 597-598; translation of Virgil, 785; "Fables," 785; death, *ibid.*; alleged debt for style to Tillotson, 422, 423
Dudley, Dud, 609, 610
Dudley, Lord, and iron smelting, 178, 192
Dugdale, Sir R., 145, 417
Duke's Theatre, 812
Dunbar, battle of, 334, 454, 455; effect of, 448
Dunkirk, ceded to England (1657), 364; sold, 474
Dutch, trade rivalry with, 73; and English in the East, 187; war with, 362, 368 *seq.*, 372. *See* Holland
Dyeing, 175, 615

"Eastern Association," 283, 305
Eastern Counties, woollen trade of, 172
East India Company founded, 70, 186; rivalry with the Dutch, 187-188; early history of, 190-191; pamphlets on, 625 *seq.*; complaints against, 728; the new, founded, 728; amalgamation, 729
Economic practice and theory (1660-1688), 621-630
Eddystone Lighthouse, 760, 762
Edgehill, battle of, 282
Edinburgh under James I. and Charles I., 246, 247; state of, under Cromwell, 460, 464; at the Restoration, 688
Education (1660-1688), 678-681; of girls, 681; in Scotland, 259, 260, 463, 464, 842
"Eikon Basilikè" and "Eikonoklastes," 398, 399
Elephant, first brought to Scotland, 692
Eliot, Sir John, 15, 17
Ely Cathedral, Cromwell at, 345
Employment of poor, 204, 205
Enclosures in 17th cent., 652
"Engagement," the, 351, 451, 452
Enlistment, *c.* 1690-1700, 740
Episcopacy, as support of monarchy, 25; and the Oxford propositions, 299; and its adversaries (1642-1660), 343-352; abolished by the Covenant, 346; restored in Scotland, 684
Episcopalians in Scotland, 684, 836
Epsom, 827
Equity, modern, 500 *seq.*
Essex, Frances Howard, Countess of, and Overbury murder, 123, 216-217
Etherege, Sir George, 600, 781, 782
Eton College, 679
Evelyn, John, and Grinling Gibbons, 544 *seq.*; his works, 417, 606; on bear-baiting, 659; on education, 681
Exchequer bills, 725
Excise, introduced, 284, 383, 384; on salt, 622; revenue under William and Mary, 713
Exclusion Bill, 478, 480, 481
Excommunication, 491
Exploration and colonisation (1603-1642), 70-88; Dampier's voyage, 760
Exports, statistics of, under William III. and Anne, 801
Eyam, plague at, 642

Falkland, Lord (Lucius Carey), 50, 304, 308, 400

Famine in Scotland (1623), 212
Farmers (1688), 652
Farquhar, George, 784
Fell, Dr. John, 564
Feltham, Owen, 140
Fencing, 659
Fens, draining of, 163-168
Ferrar, Nicholas, 46, 219
Filmer, Sir Robert, political theories of, 390 *seq.*
Finance, the national (1603-1642), 182, 183; in Civil War period, 383, 384; at the Restoration, 622; defects of English (*c.* 1700), 718
Finch, Sir Heneage, 501
Fire of London, 532, 644
Five Articles (of Scottish Church, 1618), 240
Five members, Charles I.'s attempted arrest of, 281
Five Mile Act, 479, 484, 490
Fletcher, Andrew, of Saltoun, 836, 839
Fletcher, John, dramatist, 154
Food, prices of, in Civil Wars, 601; (1660-1688), 669 *seq.*; prices of (1660-1688), 654; Scottish (1660-1688), 689, 690; in the navy, 753
Ford, John, dramatist, 153
Foreign painters in England, 543
Foreign relations under James I., 6, 7, 8; under Charles I., 12; under Commonwealth, 362-367; from 1660 to 1688, 474, 475, 476, 478; from 1689 to 1714, 706-712
Foreigners, on reclaimed fenlands, 168; in English trade, 170, 615, 617, 794-797; opposition to, 798; in Scotland, 264, 686
Forman, Simon, 122
Fox, George, 358-362
Framework knitters, 615
France, relations with (1626), 12; treaties with (1655-1657), 364; relations with, under Louis XIV., 474-476, 478, 701, 707 *seq.*; refugees from, 616, 794-797
Free-will controversy, Hobbes and, 396
Friends, Society of, 358-362. *See* Quakers
Fuller, Isaac, painter, 542
Fuller, Thomas, 142, 403, 404
"Fundamentals," the, 338
Furniture under Queen Anne, 827; Scottish (1584-1642), 254

Gambling suppressed, 432; under Anne, 816; licensed, 818
Gardening, Scottish, under James I., 246
Gardens, public, in London, 447
Gardiner, Ralph, and Newcastle Corporation, 612
Garth, Sir Samuel, poem of "The Dispensary," 788, 806
Gentry (*c.* 1688), 649; education of, 678 *seq.*
Gibbons, Grinling, 544 *seq.*
Gibbs, James, architect, 538
Gibraltar, 746, 761, 762
Gin, 716
Girls, education of, 680
Glanvill, Joseph, 418, 562
Glasgow under James I., 247; under Cromwell, 464; in Restoration period, 688; the college, 259
Glass manufacture, 179, 797; taxation of, 717
Glencoe, massacre of, 700, 833
Goldsmiths as bankers, 623; oppose the Bank of England, 722, 724
Golf, 690
Gondomar, 7
Goring, Lord, character of, 306; disorderly troops of, 428
Gosnold, Bartholomew, discovers Cape Cod, 74
Graham of Claverhouse, 685
Grand Alliance, 710
Grand Remonstrance, 23, 281, 298, 304
Gravitation, theory of, 556-559
Greenhill, John, 543
Greenwich Hospital, 536, 756-759, 806
Grenades, 510
Grenadier Guards, 508
GRETTON, G. LE M.: The Army (1660-1688), 507-515; (1689-1714), 740-749
Grew, Nehemiah, 770
Guano, 600
"Guardian," the, 791, 818
Guineas, the first, 547
Gun Money, 548
Gunpowder Plot, 4, 30; effects of, 31

Habeas Corpus, 504-506
Hackney coaches, 445, 676, 718, 820; in Scotland, 841
Hairdressers (1660-1688), 668
Hakluyt, Richard, 145
Hales, John, divine, 44
Halifax, Charles Montague, Lord, 700, 714, 720, 728
Halkett, Lady (Anne Murray), 436 *seq.*
Hall, Bishop, 134
Halley, Edmund, 772
Hammond, Dr., writings of, 572
Hampden, John, and ship-money, 18; death of, 285
Hampton Court Conference, 4, 26, 52
Hampton Court, Wren's work at, 537
Handel, 814
Harlech, surrender of, 290
Harley, Brilliana, Lady, 436
Harrington, Sir James, "Oceana," 391, 443
Harriot, Thomas, mathematician, 111
Hartlib, Samuel, 161, 602
Harvey, William, 115-118, 630
HASSALL, ARTHUR: The Rule of the Stuarts, 1-23; the Army in Transition, 57-62; the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 333-342; Cromwell's Foreign Policy, 362-367; Political History (1660-1688), 474-483; Church and State (1660-1688), 483-488; Political History (1689-1714), 696-712
Hat trade, 796
Hawksmoor, Nicholas, architect, 538
"Heads of the Proposals," 299
Health. *See* Public Health
Health resorts, 672 *seq.*
Healths, drinking of, prohibited, 430
Hearth tax repealed, 715
Helwys, Thomas, 54
Henrietta Maria in theatricals, 224
Herbert, George, 34, 47, 48, 219
Herbert of Cherbury, Lord, 137, 138, 391 *seq.*
Heresy, death penalty for, abolished, 506, 507
Heriot's Hospital, 464
Herrick, Robert, poetry of, 414-416
Hertfordshire, wealth of, under James I., 195; supply of corn to poor in, 204
HEWINS, W. A. S.: Pauperism and the Poor Laws (1603-1642), 196-205
Heywood, John, 153
Hickes, George, 733
Highlanders, depredations of, 689
Highlands of Scotland, absence of distinctive dress, 257
Hobbes, Thomas, and mathematics, 111, 118; and Harvey's discovery, 115; his "De Cive," 135; political philosophy of, 388-390; philosophy of, 392-396; controversy with Wallis, 396-398
Holidays, Puritan, 430

Holland, attempt at union with England, 356; progress of, 377; entertainment of ambassadors by Cromwell, 434; war with (1665), 474. *See* Dutch
Holte, Thomas, architect, 93
"Honours of the Flag," 369
Hooke, Robert, 555
Hopkins, Matthew, witchfinder, 120
Horneck, Anthony, 811
Horrocks, Jeremiah, 558
Hospitals, 804, 805; private, 806
Hotham, Sir John, 231, 304
Horse-racing suppressed, 432
House of Commons. *See* Commons
House of Lords. *See* Lords
"Household Books," 689-692
Howard, Frances. *See* Essex
Howell, James, 140
Hudson, Henry, explorer, 86-87
Hudson's Bay, 86; Company, 579, 527
Hudson River, 86
HUGHES, REGINALD: Architecture and Art (1603-1642), 89-110; (1660-1688), 531-548; Coinage (1641-1660), 385-388; Painting, Sculpture, and Coins (1689-1714), 766-770
Huguenots. *See* Foreigners
Humfrey, Pelham, 550
Hutchinson, Mrs. Lucy, testimony to persecution of Puritans, 56
HUTTON, W. H.: The Anglican Reaction, 24-50; Episcopacy and its Adversaries, 343-353; the Restored Church (1660-1688), 488-497; the Divided Church (1689-1714), 729-740; the Universities, 125-130 562-571; Theological Literature, 398-409; the Caroline Divines, 572-579
Hyde Park, sale of, 445; company at, 446; after Restoration, 660; in Anne's reign, 820

Iconoclasm of Puritans, 344, 345
Impressment of recruits, 516
Independents, 55; and the Presbyterians, 292, 293, 299, 350; necessarily Republican, 345; and the Westminster Assembly, 354, 356; and the navy, 370; and Oxford, 564
India, trade with, 70-73. *See* East India Company
Industry and Trade (1642-1660), 375-385. *See* Trade, Manufacture
Infant mortality, 646
Inns, licenses for, 192; character of, 676, 826
"Instrument of Government," the, 337, 338
Interest, rate of, under James I., 195
Ireland, history (1603-1642), 266-276; rebellion of 1641, 21, 466 *seq.*; (1640-1660), 466-471; after the Restoration, 471; iron trade of, 610; linen trade of, 273; wool trade, 177, 273, 850; history (1689-1714), 843-850; penal laws, 848; fighting in, against James II., 741-742
Irish soldiers abroad, 471, 647
Iron trade (1603-1642), 178-180, 192, 609; under Commonwealth, 609, 610; Irish, 610; stationary after Revolution, 800

Jacob, Henry, 55
Jacobean architecture, 89 *seq.*
Jamaica captured, 564, 580
James, architect, 538
James I., reign of, 1-10; policy, 3 *seq.*, 6; and Spain, 4, 7; and Thirty Years' War, 8; ecclesiastical views of, 24-28, 50-52; and the army, 58; experiments in silk production, 176; financial expedients of, 182, 183; coinage of, 102-104; views on witchcraft, 120; and the Universities, 125; court of, 215 *seq.*; favourite sports of, 228; meanness of, 258; and Ireland, 267 *seq.*; desires to discontinue "touching" for scrofula, 636
James II., as Duke of York in Scotland, 684 *seq.*; reign of, 478, 482-483, 486-487; flight of, 488; and the navy, 525; and Ireland, 843 *seq.*
James Edward, the Pretender, recognised as King of England by Louis XIV., 702
Jamesone, George, painter, 108, 465
Jamestown, Virginia, founded, 77
Janssens, Cornelis, 99
Jeffreys, Judge, and Richard Baxter, 408; when Lord Chancellor, taken in disguise, 438
Jews, return of, 381-383
Jones, Inigo, work of, 93-98; work for masques, 222 *seq.*
Jonson, Ben, 150; masques, 222 *seq.*
Jougs, 253
JOYCE, P. W.: Ireland (1603-1642), 266-276; (1640-1660), 466-471; (1689-1714), 843-850
Jurors, independence of, 499
Juxon, Archbishop, 352

Keating, Dr. Geoffrey, 275
Ken, Bishop, becomes a Nonjuror, 732; character of, 492, 493, 733
Kentish petition, 701
Kettlewell, John, 733
Kilkenny, Confederation of, 467
Killigrew, Anne, 543
Killiecrankie, battle of, 699
King, Gregory, estimate of classes, 649
"King's evil," touching for, 635
Kneller, Sir Godfrey, 766
Knox, John, Liturgy of, 249

Labourers, agricultural, in early 17th cent., 160; (*c.* 1640-1688), 652
La Hogue, battle of, 750
La Rochelle, 12, 14
Lairds' galleries in Scottish churches, 249
Laity and Church, *temp.* Charles II., 497
Lancashire, rise of cotton trade in, 176; poverty of (1636), 196
Lancaster, Sir John, 70
"Land Bank," Chamberlayne's, 723, 724
Landlords, prosperity of, in early 17th cent., 159
Land tax, 718
Lathom House, in Civil Wars, 287; defence of, 436
Latin, decay of, 419, 420
"Latitudinarians," 572
Laud, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, policy of, 19; and Sunday observance, 33; career and work of, 36-46; at Oxford, 37; dignities, 37; aims, 37 *seq.*; defects, 40; failure of, 45, 46; impeachment of, 49, 50; as reformer of Oxford, 128 *seq.*; and Scottish Church, 239, 243, 251; executed, 348
Lauderdale, Duke of, 475, 684
Law, development of, 497-507
Learning under Charles I., 175; Scottish science (1689-1714), 842. *See* Science
Lecturers, clerical, under the Commonwealth and Restoration, 494, 496
Lee, Nathaniel, 599
Leeds, woollen trade of (1626), 173
Leibnitz, 559, 560
Leinster, confiscation in, 271
Leith, 263
Lely (or Van der Fas), Sir Peter, 541, 542

Life Guards, 508
Lighthouses, 760, 763; in Scotland, 263
Lilburn, John, 334
Limerick, Ireton at, 470; siege of, 845; treaty of, 846, 847
Linen trade, 177, 178, 615; of Ireland, 273
Literature (1603-1642), 130-159; theological, 398-409, 572-579; secular (1642-1660), 409-425; general (1660-1688), 579-600; (1689-1714), 781-794; characteristics of, 793, 794; Scottish (1584-1642), 259; (1689-1714), 842; Anglo-Irish, 273, 274; native Irish, 274, 276
Little Gidding, 46; in Civil Wars, 398
"Little Parliament," the, 336
Locke, John, philosophy of, 773-776; expelled from Oxford, 569
Lodge, Dr. Thomas, in plague of 1603, 209
Logarithms, discovery of, 112-114
London, progress of (1503-1636), 195; measures to check pauperism in (1614), 197, 198; slums under James I., 208, 209; in the Civil Wars, 282, 308; wealth of, in 17th cent., 384; the great fire, 532, 644; parks and gardens, 446, 447, 660, 820; health of (1660-1688), 644-646; streets of, 676; life in, 676, 677, 812-819
Londonderry, siege of, 844
"Long Parliament," work of, 298; dissolved, 336
Lord High Admiral, 762
Lords, House of, exclusion of bishops, 23; protest of 1641, 28; abolished, 333; under Cromwell, 340; restored, 342; rejects Exclusion Bill, 481; and money bills, 482; Act of Settlement, 488; under the Stuarts, 649; after the Revolution, 698; rejects Occasional Conformity Bill, 704; creation of twelve Tory peers, 706; effect on, of Revolution, 698
Lostwithiel, Essex defeated at, 288
Lothrop, John, 55
Lotteries, 817
Lovelace, Richard, 414, 416
Lyrical poetry, 414-417

Machinery, new, in early 17th cent., 168; popular view of, 170; agricultural, 601, 605
Madras acquired, 73
Magdalen College, Oxford, under James II., 486, 569
Maidstone, fighting at, 294
Maine, coast of, explored (1603), 75; (1614), 82; colonisation of, 82, 84
Mainwaring, Dr., 15, 36, 41
Malt tax, 716
Manasseh Ben Israel, 382 *seq.*
Manchester, manufactures of, in 1641, 177
Manners under the Commonwealth, 438; at table, 672, 819; in Scotland, 256; in education, 680; Scottish, 462, 842. *See* Social Life
Manufacture, growth of (1603-1642), 168-180; the progress of (1689-1714), 794-802; Scottish (1689-1714), 838; Irish, restrictions on, 177, 273, 848 *seq.*
Manures, 600, 601, 602
Marines, earliest, 374; origin of, 515; at capture of Gibraltar, 762
Markham, Gervase, 160
Marlborough, Duke of, 703; as a general, 746-749
Marriage, views of, in 17th cent., 220
Marston, John, dramatist, 152
Marston Moor, battle of, 287
Marvell, Andrew, 579, 580
Mary, Queen, death of, 700, 802; interest in moral reforms, 807
Maryland, 86, 379; coins of, 388
Mascall, Leonard, 160
Masks, at James I.'s court, 230, 232; after the Restoration, 668
Masques at Oxford and Cambridge, 126; at court, 221 *seq.*
Massachusetts Bay colony, 85, 379
Massinger, Philip, dramatist, 153
Mathematics, 111, 396, 569, 570
Mayerne, Sir Theodore, 212, 630, 631
May Fair, 814
Maypoles overthrown, 430
Meals, after the Restoration, 668-672
Measles, first epidemic of, 646
Medals, naval, 375
Medical men in plague, 805
Medicine and public health (1660-1688), 630-646; in Scotland (1689-1710), 840
Melville, Andrew, 238, 239
Merchant guilds, Scottish, 264
Methuen treaty, 716
Middleton, Thomas, dramatist, 153
"Midland Association" of counties, 283, 305
Migration to towns, 607
Military tenures, abolition of, 502-504
Militia, control of, disputed under Charles I., 23, 58; system of, 57 *seq.*, 61
Millenary petition, 4, 26, 51
Milton, John, controversial works of, 135; debt to Ben Jonson, 157; "Comus," 226 *seq.*; "Areopagitica," 350; political views of, 391, 399; his "Eikonoklastes," 399; his "Defensio," 400; controversy with Salmasius, 400; later work of, 580-583; "Paradise Lost," 581 *seq.*
Mine Adventurers, 802
Mining (1660), 612, 614, 615; for tin in Cornwall, 800, 801; in Scotland, 264
Mompesson, Giles, 192
Monarchy, theories of, 2, 390; and episcopacy, 25; Laud's doctrine of, 44; abolished, 333; restored, 342
Monk, George, Duke of Albemarle, 342, 372, 456
Monmouth's rebellion, 478, 515
Monopolies, 170; in James I.'s reign, 191-194; attacks on, 183, 184; advocated, 624
Montague. *See* Halifax
MONTAGUE, F. C.: The Development of Law (1660-1688), 497-507
Montrose, James Graham, Marquis of, plot of, 21; poetry of, 414, 416; 450-452; death of, 453-454
Morals under James I., 214; Scottish, 432; societies for reform of, 807 *seq.*
More, Henry, 561, 571
Morison, Robert, botanist, 770
Morton, Dr., 634
"Morton's Leam," 164
Mountague, Richard, writings of, 14, 41
"Mulberry Garden," 447
Mun, Sir Thomas, 625, 626
Murray, Anne. *See* Halkett
Murton, John, 54
Music (1660-1688), 548-553
Musketeers, 317, 318
Musketoon, the, 321
Mutiny Act, 740
Mytens, Daniel, 99

Napier, John, of Merchistoun, discoverer of logarithms, 111-114
Narbrough, Sir John, expedition of, 518
Naseby, battle of, 289, 354
National Debt, 623, 718, 720

Naval pay under Charles I., 66
Navigation Act of 1651, 362, 368, 378; of 1660, 621
Navigation, progress of, 766
Navy, the, history (1603-1642), 64-70; history (1642-1660), 367-375; pay of, under Charles I., 66; after the Revolution, 750-754; sympathy with Royalists, 370; history (1660-1688), 515-531; life in, under Charles II., 518 *seq.*; history (1689-1714), 750-766; manning of (1706), 763
Neade, William, his new weapon, 315
Neville, Dr., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, 125
New Amsterdam, conquest projected by Cromwell, 379. *See* New York
Newcastle, charges against Corporation of, 612, 614
New England, 379; colonies, 81-86
Newfoundland, settlements in, 88
New Hampshire, settlement of, 84, 85
New Jersey founded (1636), 86
"New Model," the, 289, 312; uniform of, 323 *seq.*; officers of, 329; structure and purpose of, 330, 332
Newport, treaty of, 295
Newspapers under the Commonwealth, 444, 445; (1660-1688), 662, 663; under Anne, 817 *seq.*; duty on, 818
Newton, Sir Isaac, 556-560; and reform of coinage, 726; spread of his theory, 772
New York acquired, 475, 516
Nominalism, 395
Nonconformists, measures taken against (1604), 28; struggle with Anglicanism, 51-57; comprehension under Cromwell, 354, 357, 358; ejection of ministers after the Restoration, 484, 489; and the Declaration of Indulgence, 482, 486; and Test and Corporation Acts, 484, 489; ejected ministers of, in Great Plague, 641; cooperate with Churchmen for reformation of manners, 810; religious education of, 833
Nonjurors, 699, 730 *seq.*
Norfolk, relative decline of (1503-1636), 195
Norris, John, 780
North-east Passage to India, 74, 86
North-west Passage, 86
Northumberland, state of, at Restoration, 648
Nottingham, 23
Nova Scotia, settlement of, 84
Nursing in the Civil Wars, 436, 437

Oates, Titus, effect of plot in Ireland, 843
Occasional Conformity Bill, 704, 706, 737
O'Doherty rising, 268
OMAN, C. W. C.: The Art of War (1603-1650), 313-333
O'Neill, General Owen Roe, 467
O'Neills, the, 268
Opera, 813
Ormonde, Marquis of, 467-469
Ormuz, fall of, 72
Otway, Thomas, 598, 599
Overbury, Sir Thomas, murder of, 123, 217
Oxford, Calvinism at, 124; Laud at, 128 *seq.*; undergraduate life at, 129; in Civil Wars, 310

Packet boats, 822, 824
Paganism, traces of, in Scotland, 258
Painting under James I. and Charles I., 98, 99; from 1640 to 1688, 541-544; from 1689 to 1714, 766
Palladian architecture, 92
Pantheism, term invented, 777
Paper trade, 706
Paris, treaty of (1657), 364
Parker, Samuel, Bishop of Oxford, 572, 574, 578
Parks of London, 660
Parliament, under Elizabeth, 2; under James I., 6, 8, 10; under Charles I., 14-17; ecclesiastical policy of, under James I., 32; and the English Arminians, 41, 42; Irish, of 1613, 270; at Oxford (1681), 481, 568, 569; conflict between the Houses, 701, 704; and the Church, 739. *See* Lords, Commons
Parliament, the Short, 280; the Long, 280; Barebone's, 336; work of, 298-302; quarrel with army, 334; dissolved, 336
Parliamentary party, sections of, 308
Partition treaties, 708
Patents of Charles I., 194. *See* Monopolies
Paterson, William, 720
Pauperism and Poor Laws (1603-1642), 196-205
Pauperism in Scotland, 261, 839, 840
Pay, naval, 66, 750, 752, 754
Peas, use of, 197
Peasantry in Civil Wars, 307
Pembroke, William Herbert, Earl of, 236
Penal laws of Ireland, 847-850
Penances (*c.* 1665), 491
Pensions in the navy, 63
Pepys, Samuel, as Secretary of the Admiralty, 525 *seq.*, 530; quoted, 658, 665, 668-670, 718
Perth, population of, under James I., 247
Peterborough, Charles Mordaunt, Earl of, 746
Petition of Right, 17, 58
Petition and Advice, the, 340
Pett, Phineas, shipbuilder, 67
Petty, Sir William, 328
Philips, Ambrose, poet, 788
Philosophy (1642-1660), 388-396; (1660-1688), 560-562; (1689-1714), 773-780
Phœnix, the, capture and recapture of, 374
Physicians flee from the plague, 209
Physicians, College of, 630, 631, 807
Pikemen, 317, 510
Pilgrim Fathers, 53, 82, 379
Plague (1603, 1605-1610, 1625, 1665), 205-212; during Civil Wars, 637; preventives of, 208, 209; conditions favouring, 209; of 1665, 637-642; circumstances favouring, 638-640; spread of, 640; panic in, 641; in provinces, 642
Plantations, Irish, 246, 470; Scottish emigrants to, 246
Plattes, Gabriel, 161, 604
Pleasure grounds, 659 *seq.*
Pocahontas, 80
Poetry (1603-1642), 155-157; (1642-1660), 414-417; (1660-1688), 579-586, 591-598; (1689-1714), 785-788; and prose, 425
Poor, aid to, in sickness, 804-806
Poor law of Elizabeth, 196; (*c.* 1660-1688), 654
Poor rate, 201
Pope, Alexander, 787, 788
Population of England and Wales under James I., 195; of London in 1662, 639; of England at the Restoration, 648; distribution of, *ibid.*; divisions of (1688), 649; of Ireland under Charles II., 843; of Scottish towns, 247
Portugal, relations with, 363, 366; Eastern trade of, 186, 188
Postal arrangements, 663, 664, 822; in Scotland, 841
Pottery and porcelain (1689-1714), 797
Poultry, 160
Powyck Bridge, skirmish at, 282, 324

Prayer Book in Scotland, 239, 280; under the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 348, 351, 352, 564; and the Nonjurors, 734
Presbyterianism and James I., 24, 50-52; Scottish, under Cromwell, 448-449; in Parliament, 290, 292; efforts to win over King, 299 *seq.*; political tendencies of, 343; in religious struggle during Civil War, 353; in Oxford, 564; persecuted in Scotland after Restoration, 686; in Ulster and Test Act, 849
Press-gangs, 763
Press, liberty of the (1655-1656), 338, 432
Prices (1603-1642), 180, 182; effects of fluctuations, 186; rise in, 376, 601
Pring, Martin, voyage of, 75
Prior, Matthew, 789
Privateers under Queen Anne, 764
Prize fights, 659
Prose, the development of, 418-425
"Protection" of Virginia tobacco, 381
Protectorate, of Oliver Cromwell, 337; of Richard Cromwell, 341; abolished, 341
Protestantism, Continental, 25, 26
PROTHERO, R. E.: Agriculture (1603-1642), 159-168; (1642-1688), 600-608
Prynne, William, 19; his "Histriomastix," 224
Public Health (1603-1642), 205-214; (1642-1688), 630-646; (1689-1714), 802-807
Punishments, military, 513, 514; naval, 521, 522, 524
Purcell, Henry, 552
Purchas, Samuel, his "Pilgrims," 145
Purefoy, Mrs., 436
Puritanism and Nonconformity (1603-1642), 50-57; and morality, 57; tyranny of, 357; effect on labour, 377; in Scotland, 460. 461; subsidence of, 647; survivals of, 677
Puritans, aims of, under James I., 4; and Hampton Court Conference, 4, 26. 52; and the English Bible, 133; dress of, 229 *seq.*, 442; and social reform, 219 *seq.*; and the stage, 224 *seq.*, 227; and amusements, 228; typical, 234-236; iconoclasm of, 344, 345; under Charles II., 647
Pym, John, 21, 23; views on Church policy, 32

Quakers, 358-362

Raleigh, Sir Walter, expedition to Guiana, 7, 80; execution, 7; scientific studies of, 110; "History of the World," 138
Ramillies, battle of, 710, 748
Ramsay, Allan, 842
Rathmines, battle of, 469
Rawlinson, Richard, 735
Ray, John, 770-772
Recruiting, 316, 740, 741
Refugees. *See* Foreigners
Regiments, strength of, 317, 326-329; officers of, 329; in Civil Wars, composite and unsatisfactory, 332; under Charles II., 508
Religion, a principle of division in Civil War, 303 *seq.* *See* Church, Episcopacy, Puritanism, Independents, Quakers
"Remonstrance of the Army," 296, 300
Rents (1660-1688), 652
Restoration and English law, 497, 498; character of, 647, 648; drama of the, 781 *seq.*
Revolution of 1688, influence of Scotland in, 686; political effect of, 696; carried out in Scotland, 699; effect of, on taxation, 715; and Scotland, 833
Rhé, expedition to, 14, 15, 316
Rhode Island colonised (1638), 85, 379
Riley, John, painter, 767
Roads, 674, 825, 826
Robinson, John, 53
Rochelle, La, 12, 14
Rochester, Lawrence Hyde, Earl of, 704
Rochester, Viscount. *See* Carr
ROCKSTRO, W. S.: Music, 548-553
Roe, Sir Thomas, traveller, 71
Roettier, Jan, medallist, 547
Rogers, Woodes, 764
Romanism in Ireland, 268; in Oxford under James II., 569. *See* Catholics
Rooke, Sir George, 753
"Root and Branch Bill," 280
Rory O'More, 466
Roskilde, treaty of, 366
Roundheads, appearance of, 234
Roundway Down, battle of, 284
Royal Society founded, 396; physicians in, 632
Royalists, composition of party, weakness of, 313; Penruddock's rising, 338; and the Church, 343; morals and manners of, 427, 432
Rupert, Prince, in the Civil War, 282, 287, 290, 436; naval exploits of, 371, 372
Rupert's Land, 379
Russia, decline of trade with, 185
Rutherford, Samuel, his "Lex Rex," 465
Rye House Plot, 481; and Scotland, 685
Ryswick, peace of, 700, 728

Sabbatarianism, 33, 34; of Puritans, 229, 430. *See* Sunday
Sacheverell, Henry, prosecution of, 705, 738; attacks societies for moral reform, 811
Sail-cloth, manufacture of, 795, 796
St. James's Park, 660, 820
St. Mary the Virgin, church of, at Oxford, 37, 345
St. Paul's Cathedral, place of meeting, 207; rebuilt by Wren, 534, 535
SAINTSBURY, GEORGE: Literature (1603-1642), 130-159; (1642-1660), 409-425; (1660-1688), 579-600; (1689-1714), 781-794
St. Thomas's Hospital, use in Dutch War, 807
Salt tax, 716
Salt trade (1627-1638), 617-621; in Scotland, 264
Sancroft, Archbishop, becomes a Nonjuror, 731
Sarsfield, Patrick, 846, 847
Savile, Sir Henry, founds professorships at Oxford, 111
Scarlatina, 803
Schism Act, 737, 739
Schools, in England, 671, 672, 680, 737, 811; in Scotland, 260, 463; in Ireland, 273
Science, natural (1603-1642), 110-118; (1642-1660), 396-398; (1660-1668), 553-560; (1689-1714), 770-773; popular lectures in, 772
Science, occult, 118-123
Scotland: rejection of union (1607), 6; union of crowns and coinage, 102; government under James I., 243 *seq.*; under Charles I., 19-21; bishops' wars, 20, 59; Church life in, 247-254, 448-449, 455, 460, 461; mansions of, 244, 246; English speech of Celtic population, 244, *note*; travel in, under James I., 244; army in Civil Wars, 285, 286, 287, 289, 290; and Charles I., 289, 292, 300; defeated by Cromwell (1640), 294; union with England (1684), 456; law in, under Cromwell, 457; history (1642-1660), 443-466; (1660-1688), 682-692; (1689-1714), 833-843; art and literature, 464-466, 842; culture, 259, 463,

842; dress, 257; manners, 254 *seq.*, 462, 689 *seq.*; pauperism, 261, 839; rural life, 244, 687; town life, 246, 460, 688, 841; union with, under Anne, 793, 835; union with, reference to, on coinage, 769; linen trade of, 795
Sculpture (1603-1642), 99, 100; (1666-1688), 544; under Queen Anne, 767
Sedan chairs, 820, 841
Sedgemoor, battle of, 515
Selden, Archbishop, and Oxford, 568
Selden, John, works and position, 136; on dominion of the sea, 65
Self-Denying Ordinances, 288
Selkirk, 247
Separatists, 52, 53; in Holland, 82
Settle, Elkanah, 599
Seven Bishops, trial of, 478, 482 *seq.*; six become Nonjurors, 732
Shadwell, Thomas, 599
Shaftesbury, Antony Ashley Cooper, first Earl of, 476, 477, 501
Shaftesbury, Antony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of, philosophy of, 776
Shakespeare, later plays of, 149, 150; possible reason for retirement of, 211
Sharp, Archbishop (of St. Andrews), 683, 684; "Household Book" of, 689
Sharp, Archbishop (of York), and the reformation of manners, 816
Sheffield in early 17th cent., 179, 180
Shields, salt trade at, 618
Shipbuilding, 64, 68, 69, 367, 528, 529
Ship-money, 18, 20, 65
Shipping, proposals to encourage, 625
Ships of the navy (1684), 528
Ships, improvement of, 750
Shovell, Sir Clowdisley, 759
Siege pieces of Charles I., 106, 395
Silk trade, 175, 176, 616, 617, 794, 795
Simon, Thomas, 385, 547
Smallpox, 213-214, 646, 801-804
SMITH, A. L.: Course of the Civil War, 280-296; Constitutional Struggle in, 296-302; Lines of Division in, 302-313; Composition of Society (1660-1688), 647-655; Finance (1689-1714), 712-729
Smith, John, explorer, 78, 82
Smuggling, 716; in Scotland, 837; Irish, 850
Smyth, John, 54
Snuff, 830
Social life (1603-1642), 215-236; (1642-1660), 425-448; (1660-1688), 655-682; (1689-1714), 807-833; Scottish (1689-1714), 841-842
Society, classes of (1688), 649
Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 811
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 811
Societies for reformation of manners, 808 *seq.*
Solemn League and Covenant, 19, 280, 346, 349, 353, 448, 459
South, Robert, 422, 424, 574
Sovereign of the Seas, the, 66, 67
Spain, treaty with (1604), 4; relations with (1611-1617), 7; Spanish match, 10; war with (1625), 13, 14; (1655), 364; trade with the East, 186, 364; and the Partition Treaties, 708
Spanish Succession, events tending to War of, 707 *seq.*; War of, 710 *seq.*; and English finance, 714, 717
"Spectator," the, 790, 791, 818
Spenser, Edmund, his influence on other poets, 156; his "View of the State of Ireland," 274
Sports, Book of, 33, 229; Puritan attitude to, 229, 432; in Scotland, 258, 842
Spring Garden, 447
Stamp duties, 717
Stanyhurst, Richard, 273
Star Chamber, 18
Statistics, collection of, begun, 801
Statutes: against witchcraft (1604), 120; Navigation Act, 362, 368, 378; of Distributions, 502; of Frauds, 502; for abolition of military tenures, 503; Habeas Corpus, 504; Mutiny Act, 699; Toleration Act, 699; Resumption Act, 701; Act of Succession, 701; Occasional Conformity, 706; Schism, 706; on lotteries, 817; penal laws, Ireland, 847 *seq.*
Steele, Sir Richard, 790 *seq.*
STEELE, ROBERT: Witchcraft and Alchemy, 118-123
Stercorius, 256
Stillingfleet, Edward, 572, 574, 773
Stone, Nicholas, sculptor, 99
Strafford, Earl of (Sir Thomas Wentworth), career of, 15, 17, 18, 21; and Irish linen trade, 177; suppression of Irish woollen trade, 177, 273; in Ireland, 271, 272; execution, 280
Streater, Robert, 542
Stuarts, rule of the, 1-23
Stuart period contrasted with Elizabethan, 1, 2
Sturtevant's patent for iron smelting, 192
Suckling, Sir John, poetry of, 415
Sugar trade, 380
Sunday observance, 32, 807, 840
Superstition in Scotland, 258
Surrey, glass-making in, 179
Sussex, iron trade of, 178, 179
Sweden, relations with, 363, 366
Swift, Jonathan, proposal as to coinage, 769
Sydenham, Dr. T., 632
SYMES, J. E.: Trade and Finance (1603-1642), 180-196; Industry and Trade (1642-1660), 375-385; Economic Practice and Theory (1660-1688), 621-630

"Tables," the, 242
Tactics in the Civil Wars, 320, 332; of the Duke of Marlborough, 746, 748
Tangier, acquired, 474; evacuated, 516
Tapestry, manufacture introduced into England, 102; under James II., 706
Tartan, 257
"Tatler," the, 790, 791
Taylor, Jeremy, 134, 135, 404, 406-407
Taxation, and the rise in prices under James I. and Charles I., 182; in the Civil War period, 383 *seq.*; (1661-1688), 479, 622; after the Revolution, 713-729
Taxes on commodities, 716
Tea, 445, 670; duty on, 716
Temple, Sir William, 475, 480
Tenison, Archbishop, 810
Teonge, Henry, diary of, 518 *seq.*
Test Act (1679), 480; (1673), 484; and Ireland, 849
Theatres, reopened after plague of 1603, 210; closed by Parliament (1642), 227; at the Restoration, 658; under Anne, 812, 813
Theological literature, 134 *seq.*
Thirty Years' War, the, 8; English volunteers in, 314
Tillotson, Archbishop, style of, 422 *seq.*; 736; as a writer, 792
Tin mining, 801
Tindal, Matthew, 777
Tirconnel, Earl of (Rory O'More), 268
Tirconnel, Richard Talbot, Earl of, 843
Toasts, 430, 672

Tobacco, use of, 671, 716, 830; in Scotland, 258, 691
Token coins, 104, 106; attempt to suppress, 548
Toland, John, 777
Toleration, 475, 479, 482, 484, 489, 507
Toleration order, 350, 354
"Tories," Irish outlaws, 470; origin of party, 480
Torture in Scotland, 684
Towns, population of (*c.* 1688), 654
Towns, Scottish (1660-1688), 688
Trade and Finance (1603-1642), 180-197
Trade, State interference with, 170; Commission of 1622, 170-172
Trade, foreign (1603-1642), 183 *seq.*
Trade, export and import, volume of (1661-1688), 621
Trades, difficulty of obtaining facts about, 169
Trades' galleries in Scottish churches, 249
Tradescant, John (father and son), 555
Trainbands, 315, 322
Travel, 674 *seq.*, 825; in Scotland (1584-1642), 264 *seq.*
Treaties: of The Hague, 12; of Lubeck, 12; of Mouzon, 12; of Susa, 14; of Madrid, 14; of Paris, 364; of Roskilde, 366; of Westminster, 364; of the Pyrenees, 367, 707; of Ryswick, 700; of Utrecht, 706, 712; of Limerick, 847
Triennial Bill, 21
Triennial Act, 700
"Triers," 351, 356
Trinity College, Cambridge, rise of, 125
Trinity College, Dublin, founded, 273
"Triple Alliance" of England, Sweden, and Holland (1668), 475
Tromp, Cornelis, 374
Tryon, Thomas, 606
Tunbridge Wells, 674, 827
Turnips, introduction of, 161; efforts to promote cultivation of, 605
Turnpikes, 826
Typhus (1622-1624), 212; in Civil Wars, 637; in London, 646, 803
Tyrconnel. *See* Tirconnel

Ulster, "plantations" of, 269, 470
Uniform, in Civil Wars, 322-324; under Charles II., 511, 512; under Anne, 748
Union of England and Scotland, 6, 102, 243; under Cromwell, 456; completed, 703, 769, 835
Universities, history (1603-1642), 123-130; in the Civil Wars, 349, 562-564; history (1650-1688), 562-571; Scottish, 259
University of Dublin, 273
University of Oxford under Commonwealth and the Protectorate, 566; after Restoration, 567; under James II., 569, 570; undergraduate life (1660-1688), 570 *seq.*; and Nonjurors, 735
University of Cambridge (1660-1688), 571
Urquhart, Sir Thomas, 140
Ussher, James, Archbishop, 273, 274, 402, 403
Utrecht, Treaty of, 706, 712

Vagrancy, measures against (1613), 199
Vanbrugh, Sir John, as architect, 539, 540; plays of, 784
Vandyck in England, 108
Van Somer, 99
Vaudois, 363, 367
Vaughan, Rowland, 160
Vaughan, Henry, Poetry of, 416
Vauxhall Gardens, 815
Velvet, manufacture of, 796
Verney, Edmund, and Oxford life, 129
Verney, Sir Ralph, 346
Verney, Lady, quoted, 351
Verney family, 439, 440
"Vested interests" in 17th cent., 196
Vigo Bay, victory of, 710, 760; coins from bullion taken at, 769
Villiers, George, Earl of Buckingham, 6; assassinated, 16; as art collector, 107; Chancellor of Cambridge University, 126
Virginia, colonised, 76-81
Visiting, 819

Wages, of seamen, 66, 754; average (1583-1642), 717; rise of (1642-1660), 375, 376; in Civil Wars, 378, 601; from 1693 to 1702, 717; of rural labourers (1660-1688), 654; of artisans, 654; of infantry under William III., 741
Wales, silver mines of, 103
Walker, Obadiah, 569
Walker, Robert, painter, 541
Waller, Edmund, 414, 593
Wallis, John, mathematician, 396, 398, 560
Walloons in England, 615
Walton, Isaak, on Nicholas Ferrar, 46; his "Lives," 140, 417, 497
Wardour Castle, 436
War, Art of (1603-1650), 313-333. *See also* Army, Tactics, Weapons, etc.
Ward, Seth, 560
Ware, Sir James, 274
WARNER, G. TOWNSEND: The Growth of Manufacture (1603-1642), 168-180; Manufacture and Mining (1660-1688), 608-621; the Progress of Manufacture (1689-1714), 794-802
Warwick, Earl of (Robert Rich), 370
Water supply of Edinburgh, 256
Watering places, 827
Waymouth, George, explorer, 75
Wealth, distribution of, in England in 17th cent., 384, 385
Weapons of war under James I., 60; in Civil Wars, 315, 317, 318; after the Restoration, 510; under Anne, 748
Webster, John, dramatist, 153
Wentworth. *See* Strafford
West Indies, Jamaica conquered, 380; Irish transported to, 470
Westminster, treaty of, 364
Westminster Abbey, stained glass of, destroyed, 345
Westminster Assembly, 345, 348, 448; effect on social life, 449
Westminster Confession, 348
Westminster School, 679
Weston, Sir Richard, 160, 161
Wexford, massacre at, 469
"Whigamore Raid," 452
Whigs and Tories, origin of, 480; conflicts of, under William and Anne, 700-706
Whigs and the Church, 736
Whitehall Palace, design for, 95
Whitelocke, Sir James, 145, 363
Whitgift, Archbishop, on episcopacy, 55
WHITTAKER, T.: Natural Science (1603-1642), 110-118; Philosophy (1642-1660), 388-396; Natural Science (1642-1660), 396-398; Natural Science (1660-1688), 553-560; Philosophy (1660-1688), 560-562; Science and Philosophy (1689-1714), 770-780
"Whole Duty of Man," 497, 577
Wigs, 665, 829
Wilding, James, and Oxford, 570
Wilkins, Bishop, 396, 572

William of Orange, invited to England, 478. 482, 486; and Scottish Whigs, 636; marriage of, 485; made King, 488; and Civil List, 712; reign of, at home, 696, 702; abroad, 700, 706 *seq.*; death of, 703; and the Church, 736, 737; and reforms of morals, 807
Williams, Roger, 379
Willis, Dr. J. 496, 634
Wilson, Arthur, dramatist, 599
Window tax, 718, 727
Wines, 670
Wise, Michael, 550
Wiseman, Richard, 634
Witchcraft and alchemy, 118-123
Witches, torture of, 119, 120; burning of, in Scotland, 458, 460
Wither, George, 157
Women, as actresses, 224; trades of Puritan, 234; education of, in Scotland, 260, 681, 831; in the Civil Wars, 435-440; piety among, 497. *See* Dress
Wood, Antony, on Oxford under the Puritans and Restoration, 566, 567, 570
Woodall, W., treatise on surgery, 630 *seq.*
Woollen manufacture (1603-1642), 172; localities of, 172-173; frauds in, 174;
Woollen trade (1660-1688), 615 *seq.*; Scottish, 838, 839; Irish, suppressed, 177, 273, 850
Worcester, battle of, 334
Worcester Cathedral profaned, 345
Worcestershire, salt trade in, 620
Wren, Christopher, buildings of, 531-537
Wright, Edward, writer on navigation, 114
Wright, Michael, 543
Wycherley, William, 600, 781, 782

Yachting, 824
Yachts, royal, 824
Yeomen, class of (1640-1688), 650
York House, water gate of, 96
Yorkshire, West Riding, rise of manufacture in, 173

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL,
MARIN COUNTY
CALIFORNIA

Printed by Cassell and Company, Limited, La Belle Sauvage, London, E.C.

DATE DUE

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
3 3645 00036483 9

DA 30 . T77 1902 v.4
Social England